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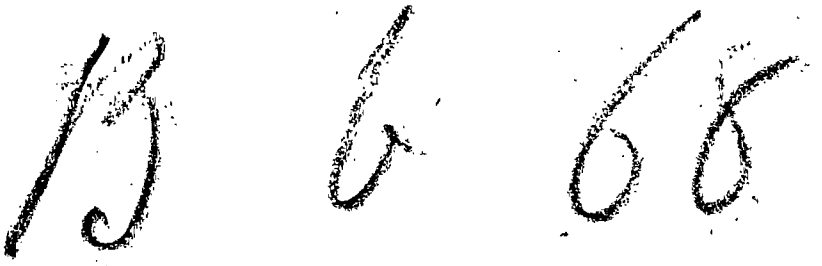
EWALD'S

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

VOL. V.



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THE

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BY

HEINRICH EWALD,

Professor of the University of Göttingen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A.

110876 ae

'The Old Testament will still be a New Testament to him who comes with a fresh desire of information ..... FULLER

VOL. V.

The History of Ezra and of the Hagiocracy in Israel to the time of Christ.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1880.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE PRESENT VOLUME of the History of Israel, though the Fifth of the English series, is only the Fourth of its German original. The translation has been made from the third edition, published at Göttingen in 1864.

The Translator has endeavoured to adhere to the rules adopted in the previous volumes. The spelling 'Jahveh' has been retained for the sake of uniformity, in the place of Yahveh or Yahweh; in other cases the ordinary orthography has been followed, except where special reasons are given for preferring a different form. In order to complete the Analytical Table of Contents, short descriptive titles of the subdivisions of the various sections have been added, so as to exhibit more fully the method in which each branch of the subject is developed. In the hope, also, of rendering more accessible the vast quantity of historical information which the volume contains upon many topics not in the scope of a Dictionary of the Bible, an Index has been appended.

To the friend who so materially lightened his labours in the earlier part of the volume by contributing a considerable portion of translation for his use, the sincerest thanks

of the Translator are gladly rendered. Nor can he omit to acknowledge with gratitude his great obligations to Prof. RUSSELL MARTINEAU, M.A., by whose rich stores of knowledge and unfailing kindness he has so largely profited.

It only remains to apologise for the tardy appearance of this volume. Unexpected circumstances seriously interrupted its execution; and the volume of 'Antiquities,' which was to have been issued simultaneously with it, is now in other hands.

LEEDS: *January* 1874.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE TRANSLATOR has once more gratefully to express his obligation to the Rev. Francis H. Jones, B.A., for the unwearied care which he has bestowed on the revision of this volume, as on its two predecessors.

The references to the *Alterthümer* may be found in the *Antiquities* (translated by the Rev. H. Shaen Solly, M.A.), by means of the original paging given in the margin. The passages in the treatise on the Prophets, so far as they are now accessible to English readers in the *Prophets of the Old Testament* (translated by the Rev. J. Frederick Smith), have been duly noted.

In consequence of the incorporation of the Addenda to the first edition in the body of the work, the paging is slightly altered in this edition; but passages referred to by English writers will always be found within a page of their original position.

LONDON: *July* 1880.

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Corrigendâ.

Page 94, note, line 7 from end, *for* above *read* p. 132, note 2.
Page 416, line 3 from below, *after* twenty-seven years *add note*—
See p. 496, note 9 *ad fin.*

OF THE ASIATIC SOC

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BOOK V.

THE HAGIOCRACY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE HAGIOCRACY.

I. Israel during the Captivity.

1. *The Age and its Sufferings.*

The destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and the disasters which followed it, proved the complete ruin of everything which had hitherto been the pride and glory, the refuge and defence, of the people of Israel. There remained only the ultimate foundation of the eternal sanctity which had now been established and developed upon earth through the history of a thousand years. This was indestructible. Every object outwardly sacred, as well as every means of defence, and every weapon of what, though small, was, nevertheless, a real community, was shattered; the earthly kingdom of Israel down to its last visible remains was utterly destroyed, and the people, as a people, annihilated. And if, strictly speaking, it was impossible for any actual community to survive the infinite anguish and the unutterable grief of this age, the result was that its sufferings pressed with all the heavier gloom on the souls of the scattered survivors of the nation.

Of their severity, indeed, it is hardly possible to form a sufficiently accurate conception. As long as the Chaldean supremacy in Asia remained unshaken, there was no hope of any mitigation of the material punishment which hung over

Israel; just as in later times it was not until the Persian empire had been destroyed by Alexander that the Greeks who had been carried away by the Persian kings could be released, and the rich Grecian booty restored.[1] Nabuchodrozzor, however, the all-powerful sovereign of the age, and the oppressor of Israel, was still in the full vigour of his maturity at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and only eighteen or nineteen out of the forty-three years of his reign had as yet expired. Moreover, he continued to rule with the same energy until near the end of his long reign; for though we now possess but little detailed information concerning its latter years, the period in question, yet we may infer with confidence that the warlike son of Nabopolassar remained the terror of the nations, at any rate in Asia, until his death,[2] and, in particular, that he maintained in full force his severe treatment of Israel.[3] It is true that his successors[4] showed far less military ability; but when the Chaldean empire had prescribed law to a number of nations for more than half a century, the state of things thus established would continue to exist by its own strength even after the death of Nabuchodrozzor; a fact of which we have clear evidence with reference to the position of the people of Israel.

Nor could Egypt, the great rival power of the age, be expected to afford any real assistance or relief. It is true that from the eighth century, and even earlier,[5] great numbers of

[1] As the historians of Alexander were never weary of relating.

[2] Only the account of his divine trial in Dan. iii. 31–iv. 34 [iv. 1–37] represents him as falling into madness, or rather absolute bestiality, for the space of seven years, but as recovering again when converted to the true God, and then resuming the sovereignty, and in a royal proclamation communicating this divine experience to all his subjects. We now know from the cuneiform inscriptions that the great monarchs of Asia were in the habit of recording their private history for the benefit of their subjects and of posterity in public monuments of this kind, and so far there is nothing surprising in the form of this section of the book of Daniel. But this record clearly owes its present shape to the author of the book of Daniel; and, unfortunately, we know nothing further of the original form of the historical materials which were at his command, and which he evidently worked up with great freedom. According to Berosus, Nabuchodrozzor at any rate did not die on the battle-field, but on the sick bed; but only as his father had done before him. See Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 20, cf. i. 19, *Ant.* x. 11, 1; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 11, 40, and *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 62 sq., make no essential additions.

[3] If indeed the narrative in Dan. iv. were strictly historical, we should have expected from the very fact of his conversion that he would have ceased to oppress so severely the people of that 'Most High God' whom Daniel had made known to him; but there is not the smallest indication of this to be discovered anywhere, and even the narrative in Daniel itself is silent about it.

[4] For their names and the duration of their reigns see the Chronological Table at the end of this volume; it is unnecessary here to touch on the details of their history.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 219. Cf. especially all the conclusions which may in the first place be drawn from other indications, and are further confirmed by the book of Aristeas; also Hos. vii. 11 sq., Is. xi. 11. In this last passage it is not without reason that Lower and Upper

individuals were driven from Israel to Egypt by a great variety of causes. Some went as fugitives, some as prisoners, some as settlers, either separately or in large masses, so that in some towns there certainly arose a permanent and more compact population of Israelites.[1] Now, since Nabuchodrozzor never concluded peace with Egypt, but, on the contrary, according to traditions, which of course we can no longer investigate at first hand, conducted an expedition against it which penetrated far into Africa,[2] it might have been expected that the Egyptian sovereigns would have assisted a people whose territory had been wrested from them by these same Chaldeans, and of whom so many representatives, some of them distinguished men, had in recent times sought refuge and hospitality at their hands. But Israel could not hope for any permanent and serious aid from Egypt, for the latter was inspired by too constant a jealousy of the Chaldean empire; and when it had lost all its military posts on the mainland of Asia, the aims of its ambition were concentrated upon the rich maritime cities of Phœnicia, which it strove to subdue; though Nabuchodrozzor himself had directed against them his whole power, without obtaining any sufficiently satisfactory result.[3]

Egypt, as the abode of great numbers of the dispersion, are mentioned immediately after Assyria and before any other countries.

[1] They were specially numerous in Migdol and Taphne (Tahpanes) to the north-east, not far from Pelusium, in Memphis, and in Upper Egypt, in the last case perhaps having been compelled by the Egyptian sovereigns to migrate further to the south; Jer. xliii. 7, xliv. 1, 15, 26–28. We may conclude from Is. xlix. 12 that they preferred 'the land of the Pelusians (Sinim),' so as to be as near to the sacred land as possible; for it always seems to me most probable, from Ezekiel xxx. 15 sq. also, that the Sinim must have been the Pelusians. The words of Lam. iv. 17, cf. v. 4, 6, evidently refer to the futility of the hopes based on Egypt.

[2] According to Strabo, *Geogr.* xv. 1, 6, and the later Abydenus in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41, *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 55, sqq., Megasthenes recorded that Nabuchodrozzor carried his arms as far as Libya and Iberia, and transported captives thence to the Pontus; moreover, we are told in the *Chronogr.* of Georgius Syncellus, ii. p. 453, ed. Bonn, that the Chaldeans only quitted Egypt through superstitious fear of an earthquake. An inroad of this sort into Africa could not have been undertaken until long after the final conquest of all Phœnicia, a conclusion to which the words of the prophet in Jer. xliv. 30, xlvi. 25 sq., Ezek. xxix. 17–20, also point. But unfortunately we have no accurate information on this subject, whatever may be the intrinsic probability of such an event, in consequence of the general relations of Egypt and Asia. This also furnishes the best explanation of the manner in which the power of Pharaoh Hophra (the Apries of the Greeks) was first shaken and he could at last be deposed by Amasis.

[3] The accounts, given without any accurate chronological data, by Herodot. ii. 161, and Diodor. i. 68, of victorious operations on the part of Apries against the Phœnicians, by land and sea, appear to refer to those years of his reign in which, with the assistance perhaps of a party of Phœnician refugees, he may have pursued the Chaldeans as they retreated from Egypt into Asia, and at any rate overthrown the Chaldean faction in Tyre. Thereupon, according to Menander, cited in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21, the Tyrians, after great internal commotions and rapid changes, once more obtained a king of their ancient race from Babylon, eighteen years before the downfall of the Chaldean empire.

Still less did any other kingdom, large or small, trouble itself about the misery of Israel. Numerous remnants of the people must have been scattered through many other countries ever since the glory of the nation, once so great, began to decline. A prosperous people spreads by its prosperity, its importance, its success, its industry and commerce. An unfortunate people by its very misfortunes is scattered 'to all the winds;' and the ungodly race had always been threatened with this latter fate by the Prophets.[1] The 'Exile' in this wider sense begins as early as the tenth and ninth centuries, long before the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; for great numbers were carried away as prisoners of war and subsequently for the most part sold as slaves,[2] and many who sank through internal commotions took to more or less voluntary flight.[3] The ancient people, however, long retained a rooted antipathy to banishment or emigration to foreign lands; and this latter cause must consequently have been far less active than the former in early times. But since the dissolution of the Israelite nationality was mainly the work of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, in the centuries during which it was in progress, most of the Israelites who had not been compelled to settle in the East, and who could not find a resting-place in Egypt, preferred the remaining countries of the Mediterranean or others which were still free. In particular the 'Coasts of the Sea,' i.e. the numerous maritime districts and islands of the Mediterranean, are now (as in the eighth century)[4] frequently mentioned as a residence of the Dispersion.[5] The extensive trade of the neighbouring Phœnicians had long been directed to these countries, which now appear for the first time in the history of Israel, and many who were not sold as slaves followed the example of the Phœnicians, and went thither of their own free will. Others spread more or less to the north-west,[6] and also to the south in the remote tracts of Arabia.[7] But we are not informed of any

[1] Cf. for the latest threats Ezek. v. 2, 10, 12; and in much earlier times Zech. xiii. 7–9.

[2] This appears clearly enough from Joel iv. 2–8 [iii. 2–8], Amos i. 6, 9, and many other indications.

[3] Amos and Hosea, for instance, were compelled to flee, at any rate, from Samaria to Judah, and the example of Jonah, i. 3 sq., shows that many sought refuge even in the far West.

[4] According to Is. xi. 11.

[5] This is why such frequent mention is made of the 'Coasts of the Sea,' or more briefly the 'Coasts,' by the great Unnamed, Is. xl. 15, xli. 1 and succeeding passages; cf. somewhat earlier Jer. xxxi. 10, xxv. 22.

[6] This may be inferred from Obadiah ver. 20 sq., however dubious the meaning of the name of Sepharad may still appear. Some interpreters would make it the Bosporus, some Sparta, and some Sardis, all of them simply following the resemblance of the sound.

[7] In the first centuries after Christ there were numbers of Judeans residing in northern and southern Arabia, and in

nation having shown special sympathy for the fate of Israel, which had now sunk to its lowest, and seemed to be utterly destroyed.

The sufferings of the dispersion, therefore, though differing in the different countries in which, more or less against their will, the Judeans were compelled to live, were everywhere very severe. For some centuries past individual Israelites had been obliged, by a necessity which constantly increased in force, to accustom themselves both to the idea and the reality of compulsory residence among foreigners (the so-called *Gâlûth* or *Gôlah*); but now the whole nation, with no further exceptions, had to learn to submit patiently to this most bitter fate. Those who were obliged to settle in foreign countries under the orders of the Chaldeans, generally constituted in each case (so far as we can learn) a small community confined to the spot assigned to it. No doubt they must have paid for their existence in heavy services and tributes, but in other respects they were allowed free intercourse with each other. The many thousands who were banished with King Jehoiachin to the districts of the East, eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, as the real 'flower of the people,' enjoyed at first a tolerable degree of freedom, as we see from the book of their fellow-exile Ezekiel, and from that of Jeremiah. Moreover, they clearly established a certain unity and a somewhat more compact community amongst all the scattered Judeans, but specially amongst themselves;[1] and, from the very fact that the noblest and most distinguished of the nation were of their number, they enjoyed the highest reputation. But the disturbances which broke out among them even before the destruction of Jerusalem, though only of a suppressed and disconnected character, together with the destruction itself and the increase of the exiles by so large an additional number, inevitably tended to limit their freedom still further and increase the sufferings of

some cases in considerable communities; this we know partly from the Syrian ecclesiastical historians, partly with still greater accuracy from the Koran, and the biographers of Muhammed; no doubt, however, these were not driven thither for the most part until after the final destruction of Jerusalem. But even before that time there were many scattered through the country, Acts ii. 11. During the expeditions of Nabuchodrozzor against the Arabian tribes, which later Arabian writers of history still recorded, many Judeans may have been driven thither. The fragment of the Arabic work mentioned in vol. i. p. 253, which was to have been further explained here, was unfortunately lost with many other MSS. in my removal from Tübingen, nor have I been able since then to make good the loss from the Milanese MS. The Judeans in Yemen believe that the original settlers fled thither from Nabuchodrozzor, see J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 651 sqq.

[1] They are represented in the story of Susanna, ver. 5, as having their own judges, like those which they tried to obtain in later times under the Persian, Greek, and Roman supremacies.

them all. Even Ezekiel's voice is hushed, henceforth, for gradually lengthening periods. But the closest watch was kept over the heads of the people, around whom all the better elements of the nation now strove to collect again in a more compact body. Those of high-priestly, noble, or royal origin were treated with the utmost indignity;[1] and the worst insults were heaped on King Jehoiachin, who had been carried away as a prisoner when so young, and on whom all the nobler minds, wherever scattered, still depended as on the very breath of their own life.[2] But those who were not fortunate enough to live under Chaldean supervision languished by crowds in the deepest want in the cities,[3] or wandered in still greater necessity through the deserts.[4] Amid the ruins of the dismantled Jerusalem a Chaldean garrison was doubtless placed, under the protection of fortifications,[5] so as to make it impossible for any Judean to approach even within a great distance of the forbidden holy city. Hence while this stern prohibition prevented any of them from even visiting the ruins of the ancient sanctuary, and there perhaps making an offering on an altar hurriedly raised, they were all compelled amid their heathen masters to habituate themselves to many things in the way of food and custom from which they had hitherto shrunk with the greatest horror as utterly unclean, but from which they were no longer able to find a satisfactory escape in any direction.[6]

But though the suffering from this twofold source was severe enough, especially to all more tender minds, it was increased by the bitter contempt which fell on all who were too constant at once to approve and imitate every heathen practice. The scorn of the most various heathen nations was drawn upon the whole people from the very fact of their having been conquered and profoundly humiliated; but the closeness of the intercourse

[1] This is clear from Isaiah xliii. 28, lii, 5; cf. Lam. i. 4, iv. 7 sq., v. 12.

[2] No doubt the description in Lam. iv. 20, cf. ii. 9, refers to this king and not to Zedekiah. All that we can ascertain of the last two kings of Jerusalem shows that the object of such deep and general longing can only have been Jehoiachin. The image of capture in a pit is similar to that of a net, applied to the same prince in Ezek. xix. 8; though the same occurs elsewhere, Ezek. xii. 13, xvii. 20, xxxii. 3.

[3] According to the descriptions in such passages as Lam. ii. 10–12, 19, iv. 1–9.

[4] That this often happened, and especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, is clear from Ezek. xxxiii. 27; Lam. iv. 19, v. 5, 9; Is. li. 19 sq.

[5] We may in part take this for granted, and besides it is required to make such lamentations as Is. xlix. 16–19, li. 17 sq., lii. 9, lviii. 12, lxii. 6, completely intelligible; even the strong expression 'Israel has become a curse,' xliii. 28, is not too strong.

[6] Great stress is laid on this point at the beginning of the exile, Ezek. iv. 12–15; far less is said on the matter in the later periods, for reasons which easily explain themselves.

with the heathens which they now found was always inevitable, must have sharpened the sting of this contempt a thousand-fold for those who were most immediately exposed to it. Individuals, therefore, had but two alternatives before them. On the one hand, they must conform more and more to the practices of the victorious heathens—a course to which there were now inducements and temptations so numerous and powerful that in every country (as we know from many indications) numbers were actually content to sink into heathenism.[1] On the other, they must resist all these thousand-fold allurements yet more decisively and boldly, in which case they had nothing to expect but still more bitter scorn, rising even to fierce persecution which did not stop short of extreme indignities and the sharpest chastisement or even of death. Thus we have certain knowledge that no small number must have drained the cup of suffering to the dregs. Some endured confinement in gloomy holes, insults of the most degrading nature, and death itself;[2] while all who were true to their religion, without exception, had constantly to bear, or at least to dread, the bitterest contumely and derision.[3] We can no longer trace the historical details, but we are safe in drawing the general conclusion that the sufferings of the exile were thus rendered continually greater and heavier until at last universal despair may well have seemed ready to overpower the whole people, so far as, represented by its nobler members, it still survived even in the dispersion.

It is true that these sufferings were in many respects lightened by the very continuance of the new state of things. No prohibition was laid on those who desired quietly to cultivate the land, or to pursue any other vocation within the limits assigned to them, and doubtless in many cases this laborious toil bore the most blessed fruit even in the midst of silent misery. Again, the heavy weight of a despotic will often breaks down of itself, as time goes on, at many points; and since those who have no real fatherland are glad to earn their

[1] Long before the destruction of Jerusalem, when first the people were scattered in great numbers into foreign lands, Jeremiah had uttered an earnest warning against the danger of sinking into absolute heathenism which then threatened them, Jer. x. But we can recognise with sufficient certainty how many fell off or at least wavered, in spite of those warnings, from Jer. xliv., Ezek. xiv. 3 sq., Is. lviii., lxv., and many more isolated passages.

[2] It is to this that allusion is made in Is. xxi. 10, xiv. 3, 17, xli. 14, xlii. 22, xlvii. 6, li. 13 sq. 21, Jer. l. 7, 17, Pss. cxxiv., cxxix., and many other passages, especially Is. l. 5–7, li. 7.

[3] Pss. cxxiii. 4, cxxxvii. 1–3. The natural reaction of a contempt for Babylon and the Chaldeans, only too well justified, followed upon this as soon as the state of things showed even distant signs of changing: see such passages as Ps. xiv. (liii.), Is. xiv. 4–23, xli., xlvi.

living by submissive intercourse with the settled inhabitants, by trading, and by diligently accumulating the largest possible quantity of movable property, the necessary permission seems to have been granted at an early period to many of the more skilful and active. Indeed, the direction of their energies to this mode of gaining their living has henceforth developed among the Judeans resident in foreign countries,[1] and to this extent Israel is fain to step into the place of that very Canaan which it formerly so deeply despised. Moreover the skill, the penetration, and surely the pious life also of many of the members of this singular people, must gradually have gained the recognition even of the sovereigns of the time. There were many individual Judeans, it would seem, even at an early stage of the exile, who were favourites at court, and were employed on royal commissions,[2] like Nehemiah at a later period. The termination of the exile itself gives the clearest general proof of these positions; for we shall see hereafter how great an amount of portable property many of the exiles were able to bring together at a moment's notice on that occasion. But as long as the general decrees of the king concerning Israel were unrepealed, all these exceptions could avail little, since even the most distinguished and the most prosperous were constantly exposed to the blows of every changing caprice of their masters, and indeed they had more to fear from them than others had. The sufferings of the people, then, remained, on the whole, unchanged.

2. *The Hope even of this Age.*

But yet, even while whirled through the eddies of such deep despair, the scattered members of this community, which was destroyed only in outward appearance, were never without a protecting rock of sure salvation, and from the darkest hours of that long night the rays of an eternal hope often flashed forth with all the greater brightness. If this great destruction and dispersion, to which external appearances would point as the final extinction of a people and a community of Israel, had really coincided with the completion of that mysterious spiritual fabric which had so long been woven on this

[1] This is assumed even for the Assyrian exile, Tob. i. 13. That many of the Judeans in the dispersion themselves became masters of slaves again, as a result of their gains, follows, for instance, from Is. lviii. 3–6 and Ezr. ii. 65. But it is clear from Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 11, 1, and *Ant.* xviii. 9, 1, Acts xviii. 3, &c., that very many supported themselves by more laborious handicrafts.

[2] This is taken for granted not only throughout Dan. i.–vi., but also in Tob. i. 21 sq.; and no such examples could have been selected in these books unless historical reminiscences had permitted it.

earthly loom, and whose thread could only be broken when it was completed, no genuine rescue from the depth of national misery would have been possible; and every hope directed to that object must have remained as fruitless in result as it was idle in conception, and could only have served to embitter still further the sufferings of the age. But the texture of the great divine work which (as already explained) had now been centered in Israel for a thousand years, had only become more and more tangled during the last centuries, without ever seeing itself completed. Its inner genius, therefore, had already been directed with increasing force towards extricating itself from these embarrassments, and had gained a clear perception of the manner in which the knots must be untied and the commencement of a genuine progress secured. The destruction of the kingdom of Israel, as constituted and developed in Canaan, and the total dispersion of the people, which through the whole period of the monarchy had wandered further and further from its higher calling, had for centuries been proclaimed by the true prophets, with ever-increasing severity, as a necessity before God; but the same seers had always foretold, at the same time, that Israel was only to be purified by this divine chastisement in order that the great and eternal work of God, starting from a fresh and pure commencement, might be the more sure of being completed in it. The first or threatening half of these prophecies was now fully realised; and even if the sufferers of the time as yet bore with them no distinct consciousness of the nature or spirit of the divine work which had now been broken off in an unfinished state, at least the light of the second branch of the prediction, giving assurance of its consummation, must have shone before them; and the certainty of the fulfilment of the first would guarantee that of the second.

And so this ever progressive work of God itself, since it was still far from its completion, could not suffer the scattered members of the nation to rest. They themselves were not willing to be estranged from it; and in the midst of the deep gloom of the age it flashed upon their souls with fresh glory the brightest visions of its own accomplishment, which should surely come. It is true that the desolation of this period echoes to the lament, amongst a thousand others, over the decay of prophetic activity and the cessation of divine teaching:[1] but in general nothing further is meant by this than the heavy blow which the powers of prophecy and instruction, in common with all other national

[1] Lam. ii. 9, cf. 20; Ezek. vii. 26.

developments, must certainly have felt with great violence. The host of prophets and teachers which had often swept through the kingdom with such tumultuous vehemence in the last days of Jerusalem,[1] had suddenly vanished; and the prophetic activity was entirely shut out from the field in which it had hitherto worked with the greatest force, viz. the complete publicity of popular life. The circumstances of the time were such that the fundamental power of the ancient community could only rise under the heaviest burdens and the deepest sorrow of heart. Nevertheless it did rise once more; and even when the people of Jahveh, and with them every oracle and lesson from their God, seemed to have perished from off the earth, its deep spring, incapable of exhaustion, never quite ceased to flow, but rather rose up with a strength proportioned to the pressure which it had to resist. Moreover, at a time when all public discourse and instruction had become impracticable, the high perfection which had long been reached (as has been frequently explained) by the peculiar genius of the literature of Israel, came to the assistance of the impulse of prophetic communication; and, indeed, literature had never before possessed such profound significance for Israel, or rendered such immediate service as at this juncture.

In the midst, then, of the heavy oppression and the severe chastening of these decades, the fundamental power of the ancient community rose once more with increased force and purity by its own inextinguishable genius, and became necessarily the true and all-efficient instrument of that spiritual renovation and inner conversion without which the community could never have rallied from its extreme desolation and distress, and risen to the beginning of a useful external life. Here, therefore, we meet with a most striking repetition of that phenomenon which we have so often been enabled to recognise in the course of this history. At every great crisis of the history of Israel it was prophecy, as the original and fundamental power of the community, which had brought on the decisive moment, and, whether quite alone or in alliance with some other dominant power, had given beforehand the new direction to affairs. Whenever the result had been healthy, one or more great prophets had invariably been at work, and had also left traces of their spirit in immortal writings or in renowned successors; and where the result had been purest and most salutary, there, too, in every instance the

[1] Vol. iv. p. 246 sqq.

prophetic spirit at work had been purest and most divine. This is also the case with the last great phase. Sighing, indeed, most deeply under the darkness and the burdens of the day, the prophetic power is still the first to wake into renewed activity the spirit which the times required, and it is this which, with inexhaustible energy, conducts its work through every stage, in spite of every oppression, until the new order of things issues victoriously from the dreadful struggle. This is the last occasion on which the ancient community offers the spectacle of the true religion, still pure and free from all foreign admixture, exerting its utmost possible strength in the effort to reach its goal; and it would be strange if the Old Testament itself had not preserved to us the most significant and distinctive monuments of the exalted spectacle, since this victory and transition to the last great phase must be placed among the most important and permanently instructive passages of Old Testament history. Such monuments do, however, as a fact exist in sufficient number and clearness, although it is not always easy to recognise them at first sight.

For the first ten or twelve, perhaps, of these years of disaster, the hoary prophet Jeremiah,[1] who has been previously described,[2] still survived from the midst of the preceding period, with his stern sentence on all the past and present, with his deep sorrow, with his lofty confidence as he looked upon Israel's eternal destiny and on the promise of a new covenant, with his unwearied zeal even under the heaviest blows of that heavy time, and his wise counsels under the grave difficulties of the new situation. We have already seen[3] how his constant and impartial care embraced both near and distant members of the community, and how he endeavoured to warn them against the snares of heathenism, which were now far more dangerous than before; but his prudence was too great, and his insight into the future too penetrating, to permit him ever to recommend to the existing generation any other course than quiet resignation to the divine destiny and tranquil obedience to the Chaldean supremacy. This truth had long taken the shape in his mind of a settled anticipation that the exile of Israel would

[1] The orthography *Jéremjáh*, which partly follows the Hellenists, is the only correct one, unless we get still nearer the original by following the Masôra in reading *Jirmejáh*. It is the same with *Hézeqiél*, except that this is a somewhat different formation, the simple combination חִזְקִאל (*God's strength*) instead of the fuller יְחִזְקֵאל (*God is strong*). But the orthography Ἰεζεκίηλος gives an inadmissible mixture of the two forms, and yet it has become the most common with the Hellenists.

[2] See vol. iv.

[3] P. 7, *note* 1.

last seventy years—that is, a complete generation.[1] It was, then, only to a distant future, and to an Israel thoroughly regenerated by the fiery chastisement of long years of suffering, that this last of the great prophets looked for salvation. Yet even when the fate of the moment was the most terrible, he clung with the firmest trust to the expectation of this future salvation, and the completion of the divine work which had been begun in Israel; and as a citizen of his day he brought all the actions and decisions of his life, which, coming from him, readily assumed a higher or prophetic significance, into entire accordance with this faith.[2] Thus by the example of his own conduct and the power of his tranquil confidence, he conducted the whole better consciousness of the nation, with the most salutary results, from the former period to the new one, and in extreme old age, though placed between two very different epochs, continued to be a stay and exemplar of Israel even in the second. Yet that distant future to which he looked forward in spirit with such yearning love, owed still more to his profound declaration that an entirely new covenant must be entered into, in which the divine commands must no longer be engraved, as in the ancient narrative, on simple wood or stone, and stand over against mankind as an instrument of external compulsion, but must be written on the very heart of man, redeemed from the power of sins which had waxed strong in the course of history, and must ever work from the free impulse of the heart itself.[3] This brief utterance brings to a focus at once the highest result of all Israel's previous history, and the highest problem to be solved by the great future which was now unfolding itself. Henceforth all the profounder minds of the community make their deepest aspirations and most decisive objects and efforts depend upon it;[4] and, in its glorious truth, with a claim which cannot be escaped, it maintains itself in living power through every subsequent age, until at the end of this whole epoch it is at length fulfilled.

Ezekiel, the younger contemporary and successor of Jeremiah, is altogether a prophet of the captivity. After beginning his prophetic ministry among the exiles seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, he experienced most acutely, even in

[1] Jer. xxv. 11 sq., xxix. 10; cf. xxvii. 7, and more below.

[2] Jer. xxxii. sq., and many other passages.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 290 sqq.

[4] Not only does Ezekiel repeat it on every suitable occasion and explain it elaborately, xi. 19 sq., xviii. 31, xxxvi. 25–28; cf. xvi. 60, xxxvii. 26; but the great Unknown also returns essentially to it as to the loftiest and final utterance, Is. xlii. 1–4, liv. 9–lv. 13.

this his dearest and holiest occupation, the full pressure of the burden of those days which was ever growing more intolerable; and he felt his action more and more cramped and clouded by the rising unbelief and increasing despair of the majority of his fellow-exiles, as well as by the fearful issue of public affairs, and even by domestic affliction. He is, moreover, far from hurrying the scattered members of his nation into any vain expectation as to the present or any insurrection against the Chaldeans. But the glorified eternal hope of Israel ever burns in his soul with the same brightness, and after each disturbance and interruption in his prophetic activity he turns to it again with yet greater zeal, and finds means enough to cherish and to heighten the glow of the true fire in the hearts of others too, if no longer by public discourse, at all events by private communication, and pre-eminently by his writings. And although in the deepest and most decisive truths he only follows his great predecessor Jeremiah, there is yet a great deal about him which strikes us with the most original force and clearness. As the most indefatigable prophet of the first and severest half of the exile, he occupies a unique position in the development of this age of transition. By the very fact of his first rising as a prophet during the exile, he fitted himself in the best possible manner to become a true labourer in the thorny field of prophetic activity for the whole of this new period. In fact, although he shows less originality and depth than Jeremiah, yet there is more even tranquillity and assiduity both in his literary method and artistic arrangement, and (as far as it falls within our knowledge) in his life also. Only seven years had elapsed since the commencement of his prophetic activity when Jerusalem was completely destroyed, and because from that time his fate required more and more patient endurance, it was with the greater calm (and yet with the greater zeal even in the midst of this calm) that his contemplative spirit directed itself to the task of setting forth the manner in which the future Israel, purified and ennobled, should rise again with genuine life and undergo a new development. Even under the iron heel of the Chaldean supremacy he already foresaw with lofty assurance the final victory of the future Jerusalem.[1] While the Temple with the holy city and all the kingdom lie in ruins, this prophet strives to delineate with the utmost vividness and down to each detail the true type of everything which was to be restored again at the right time, and so to represent by anticipation the perfected state of

[1] Ezek. xxxviii. sq.

the kingdom of God which is surely to come, that scarcely anything more than the actual hand is needed to give it a corresponding existence in reality at a favourable moment.[1] It was more than thirteen years after the destruction of Jerusalem when he sketched this prophetic design for the future kingdom and sanctuary, and exercised his mind, with glowing zeal, in that which his hand soon yearned to express with vigorous completeness; and how easily does the hand set forth at the auspicious hour that which the spirit has thus deeply realised, and the details of which it has already sketched with celestial clearness! Two years later (B.C. 570) Ezekiel wrote down the last lines of his Book which we possess from his hand.[2] We have no further trustworthy knowledge of his later life, and he may have succumbed soon afterwards to the severity of the times. It is true that from the Middle Ages downwards a sepulchre and sanctuary, still much visited, have been pointed out as his in southern Babylonia in the neighbourhood of Kufa but the very name of the sanctuary makes it scarcely possible to regard it as his.[3] Nor again is the late tradition any more credible, that he was one of those who returned from the captivity. His great work[4] must have attracted a number of

[1] Ezek. xl.–xlviii.

[2] Ezek. xxix. 17–21; for further treatment of this subject see the *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, ii p. 322 sqq.

[3] This sanctuary is called after *el-Kefil*, as though this name signified Ezekiel. It was already pointed out in the Middle Ages (see the very detailed description by Benjamin of Tudela in *Early Trav. in Pal.*, Lond. 1848, p. 101 sq., according to whom, however, the graves of Nahum and King Jechoniah were also pointed out in the neighbourhood; Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 459, 495 sq.), and has been accurately described since Niebuhr by Fresnel in the *Journ. As.* 1855, vol. ii. p. 544; Layard's *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 500 sq.; Loftus' *Travels in Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 33–36 (where a representation of the monument may also be found). *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, 1863, Mai, p. 142. The name الكفيل—*el Kefil* (that is, *The Double One*), is probably identical with the ancient saint ذو الكفل—*Dulkifl* (that is, *Double-man*)—mentioned in the Koran (Sur. xxi. 85, xxxviii. 48); but the expounders of the Koran and the Islamite historians (e.g. Abulf. Ann. Anteisl., p. 28) give only the strangest guesses as to who is to be understood under this name. If the name is formed like the ذو النون —*Fishman* (that is, Jonah)—of the Koran, we might think of Elisha, since he might pass for Elijah's double, according to a common interpretation of the words in 2 Kings ii. 9 (where the LXX have διπλᾶ); but in that case we must strike out the ى—*and*—from Sur. xxxviii. 48, where the name actually stands after Elisha. Perhaps, however, the name might also signify the *Double-goer*, i.e. the bail or representative, and we might then suppose that Ezekiel was really meant by it, in accordance with Ezek. iv. 4 sqq. But this seems far-fetched. Thus we have as yet no strong evidence that el-Kefil was originally Ezekiel, still less that the latter died in southern Babylonia.—The case of Daniel's grave (on which more below) is similar. As the *Dul-kifl* is peculiarly closely connected in the Koran with Elijah and Elisha, the name would seem to have been originally applied to Obadiah, 1 Kings xviii. 3 sq., as the preserver of so many fugitives; subsequently, however, it was confounded with that of the prophet Obadiah.—A later narrative of the martyr-death of Ezekiel may be seen in Tischendorf's *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 66 sq.

[4] If Josephus, *Ant.* x. 5, 1, speaks of

readers by the very novelty and extraordinary splendour of its style of composition,[1] but it seems never to have been so widely circulated and so generally read in those times as the work of Jeremiah. Nevertheless it was of great value in fanning the sacred flame during these days of coldness at least in many quarters, and in keeping the fire on the altar of the eternal sanctuary bright, when it had already vanished completely from the eye of sense, and it is the most important monument we now possess of the first half of the period of exile.

That many other prophets were engaged in similar labours throughout the wide extent of the dispersion, we may safely assume. In the first place, the hope of a future restoration of the higher right, and of the fresh victory of Israel over the heathen nations, was upheld in his own neighbourhood by the prophet who worked up a fragment of the older prophet Obadiah[2] against Edom. This was probably only a short time after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the righteous indignation aroused by the unworthy conduct of Edom and other neighbouring peoples at the time of its fall[3] was still fresh and burning. Fragments of the larger work of another prophet no longer known to us by name have been incorporated and preserved in a prophetic composition, which is itself, perhaps, only one or two decades later.[4] These fragments display a

two books of Ezekiel as early as the time of Josiah's death, he can hardly be referring to the present book divided into two portions (for instance, from cap. xxv. or xxxiii., or, better still, xl. onwards); at any rate we have no further traces of such a division, and it is in itself improbable. We should therefore have to suppose that Josephus had before him at the same time the *Apocryphon* of this prophet, which is nowhere else cited earlier than by the Fathers of the third century, and of which unfortunately we have only very small fragments left. But the words of Josephus as they now read (even with the omission of the ὅς) are still more extraordinary in themselves, since they contain the senseless assertion that Ezekiel wrote his two books earlier than Jeremiah. We might be tempted, therefore, to read πρῶτον instead of πρῶτος, so that the meaning would be that Ezekiel first wrote two books about the destruction of Jerusalem, and then other books on some other matter. It is very possible that capp. i.–xxiv. were once considered the two first books of Ezekiel; the section, containing about capp. xxv.–xxxii., would then pass for the third, and so on. But neither here nor anywhere else does Josephus speak of any later books of Ezekiel; the expression therefore remains obscure, and that too, as far as we can now judge, solely through the fault of Josephus. The whole would sound more correct if the passage referred to Isaiah instead of Ezekiel.

[1] More of this hereafter.

[2] We may very safely assume that the name Obadiah, ver. 1, was preserved from the original document, and that the redactor desired that it should be so preserved.

[3] Cf. vol. iv. p. 271.

[4] It has become clear to me, as the result of repeated investigations, that the author of Is. xl.–lxvi. incorporated into his work fragments of a prophet who preceded him only by a few decades, as well as those mentioned in vol. iv. p. 207, *note* 3, from a prophet of Manasseh's time. How deeply all that the great Unnamed himself writes bears the impress of his own heart and his own times, we can tell clearly enough from his first epistle, capp. xl.–xlviii. (where nothing but xl. 1 sq. appears to be repeated from an earlier age); and even in the following capp. xlix.–lxvi. flashes of the same spirit shine forth so brightly as to enable us to ascertain with precision where the author has incorporated the words of earlier prophets into his work,

wonderful depth of feeling and thought, and although here too it is only the cruel and treacherous brother-nation of Edom which appears as the immediate object as well as the type of the divine retribution which might be confidently expected,[1] yet the prophet's soul is already most genuinely absorbed in the contemplation of the great and continued impenitence of Israel itself, partly frivolous, partly morose, as the real cause of the continuance of the great sufferings of the people. Remembering all the long past and the eternal hope of the community of the true God, he strives with all his power once more to raise himself, and with himself all the true members of that community, out of the despair of the dark present to joyous trust in the divine grace. It seems then that this prophet wrote somewhat later, when Jerusalem had already lain in ruins for several decades,[2] but while the full severity of the sufferings of the exile still continued—perhaps in the very middle of the whole period. We see the people waiting long in the depths of sorrow, and sighing gloomily for deliverance; but the reason why that deliverance never came, and why, in fact, it never could come in the sense in which these malcontents desired and expected it, is declared by the prophet in the most striking divine utterance.

In simple song, again, the inextinguishable hopes and all the better aspirations of the first period of the exile, as well as its deep grief, found utterance—a fact of which we still possess the most moving evidence in certain psalms.[3] The bitter scorn entertained towards the unrighteous rulers of the time rises at an early period with genuine prophetic severity in many of the songs sung in the midst of the heathen.[4] Yet none of the prophetic truths which strove to penetrate the age and raise it from its consuming sorrow to a glorified hope

or, as he has often done, repeated long passages from them word for word. The fragments of which we are speaking are found especially in cap. lviii., where especially ver. 12 alone has been inserted by the last author; cap. lix., where at the outside ver. 21 has been appended by him; lxiii. 1–6, a fragment which is closely connected with lix. 20; lxiii. 7–lxiv. 11 [12], and perhaps some scattered passages in capp. lxv. sq. The proverbial expression, lix. 14, cannot prove that Israel had any public institutions at the time. Even the special colouring of the style enables us to detect a prophet with characteristics of his own. The tone of his thoughts connects him most closely with Ezekiel.

[1] Is. lxiii. 1–6; on the other hand Edom is never mentioned in the earlier chapters, and especially not in capp. xl.–xlviii.

[2] Is. lxiii. 18 sq.

[3] As in Psalms lxix., lxxi., and those related to them. See *Die Psalmen*, 2nd edition, p. 237 sqq. I now refer Ps. cii. to those times also, the words of ver. 17 sq. [16 sq.] being nothing more than a vivid prediction of the gratitude described in ver. 19 [18]. Pss. lxxiii., lxxvii., xciv., may also be referred to the middle of the exile.

[4] See particularly Ps. lxxxii. comp. with Ezek. xxviii. 2–10; and in like manner Pss. lvi.–lviii., which, however, belong to an earlier period.

could really sink deep into the heart of the masses and drop most soothing balm upon its fresh wounds, until they consented to clothe themselves in the magic garb of gentle elegy, and, in lines (verses) worthy to live on every tongue, imperceptibly raised the legitimate sorrow of every member of the nation to loftier comfort and to kindred prayer. This is the significance of the popular elegies which beyond doubt were composed in great numbers[1] during these years, and of which a remarkable and instructive example is preserved in the small *Book of Lamentations* which we still possess. The five songs, which compose this book evidently constitute a higher unity, in which the poet sets forth all the painful experiences of the people, and all their real causes for mourning, as well as all the sufferings which were yet more keenly felt by individuals; but, together with them he exhibits all those higher truths which alone could bring real comfort in such great misery, real elevation in such great depression. The fate of Zion, that is of the true community, is so unspeakably heavy, that it can appeal even to the heathen for sympathy;[2] but at the next moment the deep consciousness of its higher destiny rises up anew against these very heathen in all the more irresistible strength.[3] The sufferings of the whole community, and still more of each individual, are bitter and humiliating indeed; but the sharpest sting is the consciousness, on the part of the nation, of having merited them all by its own great sins, and their only alleviation lies in the sincere confession of its own guilt, and in raising itself anew to the divine grace which is for ever the same. To this confession, and to the hope which rests on this grace, the cycle of songs leads imperceptibly on, and thus it formed the most beautiful minor book of songs to which the art of the time could give utterance, and which the genuine spirit of the true religion was then able to produce.[4] We must not place the composition of these songs too long after the destruction of Jerusalem, for they reproduce with the greatest vividness many very special features of that event;[5] but numerous indications point with equal distinctness to a time

[1] The words of Is. li. 18–20 sound exactly as if they had been borrowed from an elegy of this sort, nor does their colouring at all resemble the peculiar phraseology of the great Unnamed.

[2] Lam. i. 18.

[3] Lam. i. 21 sq., iii. 60–66, iv. 21 sq. This thought closes all three songs alike.

[4] The entire contents and the special art of these songs are further explained in the *Dichter des A. Bs.* vol. i. p. 145 sqq. [i. pt. 2, pp. 321 sqq. 3rd ed.] I have repeatedly shown how groundless are the doubts expressed in our own most recent times as to whether all the songs in this book are by the same poet; see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 150 sqq, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 834 sqq.

[5] It is sufficient to notice such traits as Lam. iv. 10, 12, v. 11.

at which the first pang had already passed away, and the new circumstances, with their crushing weight, had already begun to establish themselves firmly;[1] nor do such elegies, with their melting softness and their transitions to the higher teaching, find a fitting place until the first wild burst of grief has subsided. There is no evidence whatever of their having been probably composed in Babylon, but on the other hand there are distinct marks which point to Egypt as the place of their origin.[2] The fact that Jeremiah himself was carried off in his extreme old age to Egypt[3] might warrant us in regarding him as the author of the songs, especially as this little book is early found attached to his larger work;[4] at any rate, if the songs are not his,[5] they are at least the work of one of his disciples who must have been himself a native of Jerusalem.[6]

Again, the hope of Israel, which in the course of centuries had acquired such strength, is not relinquished even in the historical composition of these gloomy days. We see this very clearly in the present canonical books of Kings, which were written about the middle of the exile.[7] At that time there was no prospect as yet of a speedy deliverance of Israel; for although King Jehoiachin, for whose fate the whole people felt such warm and special sympathy, was at last released from prison on the death of Nabuchodrozzor (560 B.C.) by his successor, Evil-Merodach, and even brought to the royal court with special marks of favour, yet, strictly speaking,[8] it was only a former personal injury that was rectified by this conduct on the part of the new king. Special kindness in the treatment of a man who had lost his crown nearly forty years before had no bearing on the fate of the nation; besides, when this historical work was written he had already died—no doubt during the two years' reign of this Babylonian monarch. In spite of all this the unknown historian dwelt with the utmost enthusiasm on the memory of

[1] Consider in particular the words in Lam. i. 7, ii. 15, iii. 14, 17 sq., v. 7, 18, 20.

[2] See above, p. 6, *note* 2.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 276.

[4] This is shown by the history of the Canon of the Old Testament. Even Josephus found the minor work connected in this way with that of Jeremiah, and on that account considered it to be his work; but in representing it (*Ant.* x. 5, 1) as having been composed by Jeremiah on the death of Josiah, he no doubt derived the idea from 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; but it by no means follows, however, that the Chronicler himself entertained this opinion, since it is more probable that he refers in the passage in question to a great book of Lamentations, to which he still had access, and which included Jeremiah's elegy on Josiah's death, together with others.

[5] They certainly have a great deal of Jeremiah's style and thought about them, but in the colouring of the language there is also much that is foreign to him; and the poet himself most probably belonged to the young men in whose name he speaks, Lam. iii. 27.

[6] The native city of the poet mentioned Lam. iii. 51 can only be Jerusalem.

[7] Vol. i. p. 159 sqq.

[8] Vol. iv. p. 263 sq.

the kingdom of Israel; and though his Messianic hopes may be derived from older documents, he still takes a special delight in bringing them into prominence.[1] Just at the time, therefore, when these hopes in their narrow and literal sense, so far as they referred to the confident expectation of a successor of David who should complete the destinies of Israel, must have seemed to have lost all foundation and support in external history, the work of this historian shows how far they were from having been actually destroyed.

II. Israel among the Heathen.

1. *The Inward Transformation.*

Since the glorified hope of Israel was cherished so sedulously and so universally among the scattered masses of the people from the very first years of this heavy time of trial, and the recognition with which it was greeted darted rays of such brilliance through the life of this long period of gloom, it is clear that any favourable opportunity would fan into a flame of light the fire which still glowed beneath the ashes. Thus in the long run the years of exile, instead of turning out a curse to the community of the true God, which no longer survived except in ruins, would prove, contrary to human expectation, a real and great blessing to it. Repulsed by the world, and thrown back upon itself, the peculiar genius of Israel, in so far as it was still uncorrupted and unexhausted, and yet strove with all its might to secure the continuance of its own life and development, took advantage of this compulsory pause to collect its powers round their abiding centre, as a preliminary measure, and there condense them into the germ of a new life with greater tranquillity and less disturbance. The ruinous errors and perversities of earlier centuries were over now; and all the storm was past of that wild passion into which even the essentially noble efforts of Israel had so often degenerated in the time of the nation's independent life. Only the Immortal and Eternal in Israel could maintain itself, and the sole method by which it was enabled to hold out against the trials of the time was by severing itself more sternly than ever from all that was foreign to it, and returning more quietly and exclusively into itself. As we look upon the great stream of history, therefore, we may say with justice, 'It was absolutely

[1] See especially 2 Sam. vii. 16; 1 Kings xi. 39.

necessary that the noble and immortal in Israel should one day learn simply by its own intrinsic might to hold its own against the ignoble efforts and degrading tendencies which still enter into its own fibre on the one hand, and against the whole of the great heathen world in the midst of which it is placed on the other; and the period we are considering is the remarkable one in which both these things were accomplished at once. Against the degrading tendencies of Israel itself there was now no Josiah or other champion to contend; against heathenism there was not the smallest power, not even a visible sanctuary of Israel, left. Even the hereditary priest could now derive no temporal advantage from the established Jahveism, since the offerings and other gifts had ceased of themselves, and indeed were demanded by no one;[1] whereas the heathenism which was everywhere supreme appealed to each individual with all the force of its seductive charms. If, then, in this altered state of things Jahveism was still to maintain itself, it could only be by its own intrinsic energy and essential truth; and although, in the course of the centuries immediately preceding, Jahveism had already felt in many ways the beginning of an inner purification and strengthening against heathenism,[2] yet all this had now to be consolidated a thousandfold, for the time had come when Jahveism must either entirely drop out of existence everywhere, or else increase its inner power and gather strength for a fresh life, as it had never done before. Thus, towards the end of this most heavy time of trial, we observe a nation, already completely transformed within, and marvellously purified and invigorated, rising once more under the disadvantages of dispersion and external powerlessness. Moreover, this process takes place on the grandest scale, as the sequel of the history will more fully show; but we feel it with peculiar power as soon as we turn to the numerous songs of the period, the language of which soars on the wings of a courage and enthusiasm arising from the deepest source, combined with a sincerity of heart open as the day, which is always the sign of a nature deeply stirred and renovated.[3] The great prophets[4] had often foretold a thorough sifting in the last days, and the higher deliverance of a very small portion of the people only, when it had been thoroughly tested by sufferings; and much of this was now realised more powerfully and

[1] In such passages as Ps. li. 18–21 [16–19] and Is. xliii. 22–24 the great poets and prophets make striking allusions to this fact.

[2] As is further shown in vols. iii. iv.

[3] See further the *Dichter des A. Bs.* 2nd ed., p. 263 sqq.

[4] Ever since Joel iii. 5 [ii. 32], and still more since Amos v. 15, ix. 9, and Isaiah.

generally than ever before; for although many individuals partially or entirely sank into heathenism, yet others rose with all the more decision and energy against every perversion in that quarter or in Israel; and the few who were accustomed to watch diligently for God's hidden will and government, followed the silent or express development of things all the more intently during the period of compulsory inaction.

Indeed, such active observation was at this time exceedingly necessary. The simple conditions under which Israel had formerly moved had long passed away; and although the great destruction itself had now broken away many of the surroundings which by their excessive complication had entangled the national life more and more inextricably, yet their remoter effects continued to exercise a powerful influence enough. Meanwhile, however, the deficiencies of the old order of things were deeply felt by more earnest minds, and a new order sought to establish itself so as to supply them, and carry out the uncompleted efforts to attain what the old still lacked.

1) The first and at the same time the most powerful impulse of the time was simply a return to the ancient but eternal truths and forces which had established the community of old. It was these alone which in every age had brought to the people of God the salvation which it had enjoyed; and now, though they had so often before been neglected and despised, they were at last recognised most fully as the only truths capable of effecting its genuine deliverance again, and they still supported Israel even in this long and heavy trial. Repentance, and a return to the ancient, the everlasting, and the true God, from the delirium, the charms, and the seductions of the world, had indeed been for centuries the cry of the best prophets, ever growing in intensity. In the decline of the kingdom Josiah had striven with all his might to carry out this change through the whole life of the people; but it seems as if Israel needed to be violently torn away from all the beloved habits and the security of its original fatherland, before it could wrest its heart from the corruptions which had there sunk so deep into it. What all the better kings and prophets had failed to accomplish in sufficient fulness in their own country was now, however, rapidly achieved by the inexorable severity of the time, on a foreign soil, and almost without the co-operation of man.

The many stern threats of the Prophets were now realised in the sight of the people in the most rigorous manner; men ceased to mock these anticipations as they so often used to do,[1]

[1] See vol. iv. p. 128.

and believed more seriously than ever before in the words of the great Prophets who had passed away.[1] They saw and felt most keenly the consequences of those errors in the life of the ruined kingdom, against which the long line of Prophets had uttered their warnings, though for the most part in vain; and by those very Prophets the spirit of many a survivor had been rendered sensitive enough to look for the guilt in his own heart. Thus the heaviest blows which can fall upon a people were met, in accordance with the long-felt necessity, with deep grief and sincere repentance. The clearest proof of this is found in the four fast-days which were now celebrated every year in four different months, and continued into the times of the new Jerusalem, as a memorial of the four chief national disasters.[2] And so, as far as we can judge, the contrition and repentance were as genuine and deep as possible; and at the same time most fundamental and far-reaching as regards the past. Not to err again as 'the fathers,' i.e. their ancestors, erred and perished in their errors, is now the great cry to the new generation;[3] but 'even thy first father (Jacob) erred, and thy Prophets (so often) became traitors to me,' cries the divine voice to the scattered people.[4] Thus no other than Abraham himself is to be the true and best example offered by the past to the nation[5]—so stringent is the demand now put forth, and so far back does it go, passing over everything in the least imperfect, and only resting where it can find perfection in its historic quest. But when the claim of religion thus goes back to the very origin, it must comprise the most enduring and universally needful conditions, and demand these with the most vigorous determination; just as we now see the great Unnamed (of whom we shall have more to say presently) refer all true religion back to the few principles of its supreme claim, but insist on these with

[1] See especially Zech. i. 4–6, vii. 7.

[2] Allusion is made to this in Is. lviii. 3 sqq.; according to Zech. vii. 5, viii. 19, the days fell in the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 10th months, but especially (as one may gather from the first of these two passages) in the 5th and 7th. The reason why the fast days were fixed for those months in preference to any others is not indeed mentioned in this passage, but it appears probable from 2 Kings xxv. 8, Jer. lii. 12, that in the 5th month they commemorated the burning of the Temple, and in the 7th, in addition to the old Mosaic fast, the murder of Gedaliah, the last Judean prince of the Holy Land, 2 Kings xxv. 25, Jer. xli. In the tenth month they probably commemorated the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem, Jer. lii. 4, 2 Kings xxv. 1; and in the fourth its conclusion, together with the sacking of the city, Jer. lii. 6. The four fast days were no doubt introduced in the first instance by the most numerous and influential colony of exiles, which had been in Babylonia ever since Jehoiachin was carried away captive, and to which Ezekiel belonged. See more on this point below, under Cyrus.

[3] Zech. i. 2–6, vii. 7–14, viii. 14; cf. Is. xlviii. 18 sq., xlii. 24 sq., lxiii. 10; Ezra ix. 7, 13–15; Neh. ix. 2–37, i. 6 sq., xiii. 18, 26 sq.; Mal. iii. 7; Bar. i. 19, ii. 19, iii. 5, 7 sq.

[4] Is. xliii. 27, xlviii. 8; cf. vol. i. p. 346.

[5] Is. li. 1 sq.; cf. xli. 8.

the utmost emphasis.[1] In all such periods of difficulty, when the very foundations are shaken, the contest can be sustained only by the deepest forces of religion, and none but her purest truths, few in number, can be insisted on. Since the time of Moses, Israel had never had to contend for the truths of its religion so strenuously as now, but these truths were such that the severest conflicts only caused them to be more and more fully and deeply recognised. Thus the conversion, which was now demanded in deep repentance for former sins, was nothing but the grasping anew, in these first birth-pangs of a new age, of the loftiest truths, in spite of all obstacles, and therefore with a determination and power never realised before.

As to the means by which this return to firm faith and hope and a complete renovation of spirit were to be secured, but one way remained open to the community, individually and collectively, after the overthrow of the external sanctuary and the sacrifices. It was the simplest and last, but the most inalienable and efficacious—viz. the power of prayer. Prayer had never before had the significance and power in Israel which it wins and keeps henceforth in its history; and the long prayers which are so often inserted in books from this time forward are only a reflection of the earnestness, power, and constancy with which this most simple and wonderful instrument for strengthening the spirit laid firmer and firmer hold of every branch of life. During the preceding centuries, it is true, the practice had already become increasingly dear to many pious hearts; and it was specially at the hour of the daily temple-offering, morning and evening, when the 'incense' rose to heaven,[2] that the faithful far and near delighted to put up their prayers,[3] so that the prayer of the holy and the pious itself came gradually to be considered the best 'incense of God';[4] but it had never before appeared in such power as that with which it henceforth seized hold of the nation. If several individuals assembled for common prayer and edification, they now selected some suitable place near running water, on account of the associated ablutions;[5] just as in later times also they always established the *Proseuchæ* in heathen countries in the neighbourhood of a stream.[6] But wherever a prayer was offered throughout the whole extent of the dispersion, the face was still turned to the site of the ancient

[1] This refers to the whole of the great work Is. xl.–lxvi., especially to ch. lv., where, indeed, his exaltation is highest.

[2] See the *Alterthümer*, p. 132.

[3] Cf. Pss. cxli. 2, v. 4 [3].

[4] See *Comm.* on the *Apoc.* viii. 3.

[5] Ps. cxxxvii. 1; Dan. viii. 2, x. 4. Philo *contr. Flacc.* Opp. II. p. 535.

[6] Cf. 3 Macc. vii. 20; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 23, cf. 24.

sanctuary in Jerusalem, where the presence of the Holy One upon earth was always felt more powerfully.[1] This usage was already established among the exiles long before the destruction of Jerusalem, and was perpetuated in later times after the rebuilding of the Temple, when it gained even far greater strength. It subsequently became customary to connect prayer with a fixed order of specified hours of the day,[2] and in the age of the Pharisees the hypocritical abuse of frequent prayer was great;[3] but we ought not to shut our eyes to the fact that henceforth, and from the midst of this people, prayer became a power whose wonderful influence rose higher and higher, down to the days of Christianity and even of Islam, acquiring in the latter a momentary position of the highest significance to the history of the world,[4] though so caricatured as ultimately to do irreparable injury to the cause of true religion.

Now the return to the deeper and more permanent life in God at this time necessarily assumed the shape also of a more thorough revolt from every form of heathenism than had ever been achieved before. With this every individual member of the nation was now brought into the closest and most constant contact; and scarcely in the time of Moses had the question been so universally and so definitely put to them, whether they would submit to the religion of the heathen who were their sole masters, or not. But the very closeness of this contact, and the accuracy of the knowledge thus obtained, must have created a profound repulsion in all the deeper minds; and the fact that the genius of heathenism had been developed by the Babylonians of this very period to the highest point of art and science of which it was susceptible, but had become utterly corrupt as a rule of life,[5] necessarily increased the horror with which it was regarded. Thus the rejection, in the most contemptuous manner conceivable, of every feature of heathenism kept pace with the deepening consciousness of the eternal truth of Jahveism; and never before had all the senseless and therefore intrinsically ridiculous notions involved in idol-worship

[1] The earliest indications we now have of this custom are found in 1 Kings viii. 48, Dan. vi. 11 [10].

[2] Three are mentioned in Dan. vi. 11 [10], probably in accordance with Ps. lv. 18 [lv. 17].

[3] Ecclus. vii. 14, Matt. vi. 7.

[4] The first and most wonderful victories of Islam sprang in a very essential degree from prayer reduced to *method*, as an accurate knowledge of their history shows.

[5] It is true that we do not yet possess any actual Babylonian records which we are capable of interpreting to give us a clear knowledge of this state of things; but the graphic descriptions of Isaiah xlvii. and Jer. l. sq., together with the accounts scattered through the Greek writings, are in themselves enough to establish the positions of the text.

been pursued and exposed in detail as they were now.[1] Entirely new expressions, moreover, embodying this horror of everything heathenish, and specially of idol-worship, which now sunk deep into the people's heart for the first time, are gradually coined in their language. The mocking play on the words *Elôhim* 'God,' and *Elîlîm* 'Nothings,' i.e. idols, was certainly frequent in Israel from the time of Moses;[2] but the designation of the heathen gods collectively or individually, even in simple narrative style, by such terms as 'abomination,' and the like,[3] occurs for the first time about the end of the eighth century,[4] and does not come into general use until the Babylonian exile.

2) This twofold movement, leading on the one hand so decidedly away from every form of heathenism, and, on the other, approaching with such earnestness and determination to the ancient God of Israel, constitutes the grand and permanent gain of the age, and upon this point the whole history of the nation now turns. This transformation seizes without resistance the deeper mind of everyone who does not become a heathen among the heathen; and so for the first time it is effected throughout the whole people solely by the intrinsic force of the true religion. The true religion had, indeed, been able at first to gain possession only of some few individuals in the fulness of its life and light, and it always required the support of great special powers, such as those of Moses and the other Prophets on the one hand, and of the consolidated national power of Israel as an established community on the other; but now it learned for the first time to maintain itself entirely without any external stay or assistance, simply by its intrinsic and unconquerable truth, in the hearts of a countless number completely dispersed, and both collectively and individually utterly helpless. Thus, in fact, it now becomes what it has never been before, a blessing which can never be lost in the midst of mankind, and has gained that inward strength and outward permanence after which it had striven from the very beginning, but which it had never yet been able to attain. Hence its violent disruption from a national Israelite power now begins to bring it advancement and blessing rather than

[1] See especially Is. xl. 19–21, xli., xliv. 9–20, xlv. 20, xlvi. 5–7; Jer. x. 2, 3–16, cf. li. 47, 52; in the shortest form in Is. xxi. 5, 9. These passages in Is. xl.–xlvi., however, only elaborate more fully Jer. x., and no one can fail in this instance to recognise the original in Jeremiah.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 123.

[3] גִּלּוּל on which see vol. i. p, 116 *nt.*, תּוֹעֵבָה, שִׁקּוּץ.

[4] Their origin is shown in such passages as Deut. xxxii. 16; but this is still a long way from such expressions as are applied even to the worshippers of idols, Is. xli. 24.

ruin. This prepares the way for one of the mightiest steps in advance which is possible at any period of this history, and lays the firm foundation of a fresh stage of national development. A new life is now possible for Israel, and one which, with respect to the supreme goal of all this history, is higher and purer—viz. life in the true religion supported simply by its intrinsic truth and power,—so complete is the stability and strength acquired by it in the thousand years of its development. This life lasts through the whole period of exile, and there is, therefore, nothing to prevent its maintaining itself still longer. This is a further and important step towards the New Testament.

Every genuine step, however, of historical progress implies the commencement of another by the very impetus which it imparts, and pushes on towards the next which has now become necessary. To this rule the present case is no exception. The fact that life in the true religion had now become possible to each individual, even in the midst of the heathen, without the protection of the compact nationality or the national sanctuary, annulled the temporary limitations without which during the early centuries the community of the true God could not have existed. There was thus no longer any stringent reason for confining this religion to a single country, such as Canaan or Judah, or even to a single people, such as Israel. Nay, more, since this was the true religion, and was therefore called from the first by its deepest aspirations and final destiny to enlighten and guide all men and all peoples alike,[1] it must of necessity, as soon as its national limitations ceased to be required, go forth all the more boldly and mightily to every nation without distinction; and now that this tendency, originally implanted in it, could move with freedom and was endeavouring to realise its object, every member, in proportion to the liveliness of his communion, necessarily felt the strength of the impulse to labour in this direction. No stranger who desired to submit himself to its loftiest claims ought any longer to be denied all its blessings;[2] but, on the other hand, every member of that people which had hitherto been its support, and which had been the first to experience its glory, must have felt a burning zeal kindling within him to discharge to its ultimate author his debt of gratitude for its beneficent power, by spreading it far and wide, and proclaiming the 'God of Israel'

[1] Vol. ii. p. 106 sqq.

[2] This, too, is proclaimed by the great Unnamed with more original power than by any of his predecessors, Is. lvi. 3 sqq. (cf. xiv. 1 sq.), and even with reference to Priests, lxvi. 21.

amongst all the heathen. But Israel, Jerusalem, Zion, and the other names which in their past history had received their high significance and sanctity, as vessels of the true religion, were destined to fall in this hitherto contracted sense, in order to rise again with an import far more lofty and undying.

From the very first the true religion was characterised by a strong desire to extend itself beyond the limits of Israel, and to include strangers also within its own limits and those of its community. This has been shown already by the history of Moses and the early times of the community;[1] and although the tendency was soon checked by formidable obstacles, it had never allowed itself to be entirely suppressed during the thousand years which had since elapsed. The Canaanites who remained within the boundaries of Israel, in the course of time passed into it completely.[2] Through the instrumentality of David and other heroes the name and the law of Jahveh would also be glorified among all the peoples who were at all closely connected with the kingdom of Israel;[3] while the inmost heart of this community could never forget its claim on the border tribes which had once been subdued by David, and this not from a simple love of conquest and possession, but from the consciousness that the supremacy of a true religion over individuals and nations is always better than that of its opposite, and that nations (such for example as Edom) which have once drawn near to it and have then fallen back into absolute heathenism from simple levity of disposition, must be barbarising and destroying themselves.[4] Even in the period of the decline of the kingdom of Israel, when the nations subdued by David were becoming more and more detached from Israel, and therefore from its sanctuary and the influence of its religion, the great Prophets at any rate still exercised a powerful and often a very fruitful influence over the neighbouring or somewhat more distant heathen kingdoms.[5] They always followed with close attention the fate not so much of Israel alone as of the whole earth, including even the mightiest nations, for they anticipated with certainty that they would all arrive at some time at a direct knowledge of him who was now shaping their destiny, though they knew him not;[6] nor were there ever wanting some distinguished

[1] Vol. ii. 106 sqq.

[2] Vols. ii. and iii.

[3] Cf. David's expression in Ps. xviii. 50 [49], which woke a thousand varied echoes in these later times.

[4] This is what causes the great prophets with unwearied gaze to watch especially over the kingdoms once subdued by David, and to discourse so much about Edom, Moab, and Ammon.

[5] Vol. iv. pp. 92 sq., 120 sq., and elsewhere.

[6] Is. xix. gives the clearest expression to this sentiment, but it is only the loftiest amongst a number of similar passages. Cf. also Ps. lxxvi. 11–13.

individuals among the heathen who voluntarily obeyed the guidance of the spirit of Jahveh and of his Prophets.[1] But as long as the external kingdom of Israel stood fast, and 'those who feared Jahveh'[2] had not yet learned to be true to him without its protection, this movement could not be carried on with the freedom which the spirit of the true religion itself demanded. Never had this great step of progress been rendered possible, or rather (in view of the inner sequence of the whole development) necessary, till now.

This advance, however, is of infinite significance for the outward development of the general history of the world, and, when conceived from the point of view of its divine necessity, involves the most extraordinary results. The mutual relations of all the peoples and kingdoms of the earth are necessarily altered by it. All nations, embraced in one higher conception, must now receive a new and loftier unity, and must move in one identical direction. But the members of the small nation in which alone the kingdom of the true God had hitherto been established, were themselves the only men capable in the first instance of clearly recognising and vigorously carrying out the progressive movement which was now offered by this true God to the world; nor could they fail, having once recognised the divine necessity of this advance, to feel their enlightened consciousness urging them most powerfully to its accomplishment. They must now, therefore, recognise it as their special and divine mission to promote this extension of the true religion among all the heathen, and so to become the harbingers of 'Jahveh's name' among them, and also the exemplars of the life which he required. In so far then as we may still permit ourselves, in accordance with our former usage, to speak of a people of Israel, this expression must now be taken in the sense which it really ought to have had from the beginning, but to which it has never yet corresponded, viz. that of the messenger of the true God to the heathen and his instrument for leading them to himself. This alone must henceforth be held fast as its highest mission, and only in this new and glorified life can it still retain any true life at all. But even the clear conception and expression of all this alone, with its further consequences, was at that time something quite extraordinary and monstrous, for it ran counter to the whole previous direction of the national efforts and achievements, and at the same time brought them to the very foot of a mountain of fresh and immeasurable toils

[1] Vol. iv. p. 86.

[2] The יִרְאֵי יְהוָה are the same as those who are afterwards called *Proselytes of the first degree.*

and trials so soon as a hand was put forth so much as to begin the work. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find this truth, entirely new at the time, proclaimed at first only by one Prophet, namely the great Unnamed, of whom we shall soon have more to say, and even by him only when he is upborne by the loftiest and purest aspirations of the time.[1] But this very truth, when once clearly grasped, has such a wonderful intrinsic power, and corresponds so fully to what may be described at that time as the hidden yet mightily self-revealing will of God,[2] that we need not be surprised any longer by the heavenly clearness and exhaustive universality with which he presents it. It is the most brilliant flash which illuminates this long night of suffering, and its bright glow could never again quite disappear. And assuredly this is another step, at once new and forcible, towards the New Covenant.

3) The previous step, then, had actually made it possible to realise this new advance in the great development of the history of the true religion, and of Israel as its temporal vessel and instrument; but the very fact of its theoretic possibility makes it all the more necessary to ask whether it was yet thoroughly practicable at that present moment. A little reflection shows that this was not yet the case. The true religion ought not yet to have utterly destroyed the vessel it had hitherto employed, and passed over to all nations without distinction, unless its internal development had already been quite completed, that is to say, unless it were not only the true but the perfectly true. Had it been so, it might have broken its previous vessel without detriment to itself and without incurring any danger of evaporating in the infinitely wider region into which it effected its passage. In fact, like a perfectly ripe fruit, it could not possibly have remained within the contracted rind which had at first sufficed it, but would have burst through it irrepressibly to begin a new life in the more open space which it now required. We have, however, already seen[3] that the true religion, in the form which it assumed in Israel after a thousand years, still failed in two respects to achieve its perfection or attain the maturity of its own fruit. It was still without that Messiah whom it had now learned to long for, the perfect and therefore perpetual sovereign of the kingdom of the perfect religion; and it had not yet brought about the absolute supremacy of the most essential

[1] See further the *Proph. des. A. Bs.* ii. p. xlviii. 16: 404 sqq., 573 sq.

[2] Comp. Is. xlv. 15 with xlv. 19 and

[3] Vol. iv.

principle of the perfect religion—pure love, i.e. divine love working in man. That it was still wanting in these two requisites, and that the deficiency at last began to be distinctly felt, is an important result and a great achievement of the whole of its previous history, as was observed at the close of the preceding book; and had it not at last discovered this twofold defect in itself, it would never have been able to reach its own perfection. But the want which began to be perceived could not be immediately supplied, for the simple reason that before an imperfection can be remedied it must first be deeply felt, whereas none but a few of the greatest Prophets had as yet become really sensible of this twofold need, and uttered prophetic declarations concerning the Messiah and the New Covenant. Thus far the sense of the deficiency had not deepened into a profound and conscious yearning on the part of the whole community, and for that very reason the preliminary conditions necessary to the rise of the perfect religion were not yet all present.

If we now take another step backwards, and ask why it was only a few great Prophets that had hinted at the existence of this double imperfection, in the moments of their most lofty anticipations, and why it had not sunk deep enough into the consciousness of the whole people, we should find a ready answer in the fact that hitherto the true religion had been compelled to direct its special efforts and struggles against external rather than internal obstacles, or, in the latter case, against none but the more obvious defects. Up to the time of David it had had to fight to obtain any place at all among the countries and nations of the earth in which to continue its development in peace; and after David and Solomon it soon had to fight again in like manner to avoid losing this place prematurely. One great defect, the original dread of a human monarchy, it had successfully overcome, but since the time of David and Solomon it had had to contend most strenuously against the corruption of this new independent power. It had waged unceasing war against its natural opponent, heathenism, in its thousand shapes and transformations, but hitherto the struggle had necessarily been severe. At last it has gained a complete mastery over heathenism, and can never again run any serious risk of sinking beneath it; at last it has remedied a host of more obvious defects. At last, therefore, it can fall back upon itself with a tranquil satisfaction never before experienced, for it really has no longer anything to fear from all the seductions of heathenism, and can ever rise above it with the

humour of quiet scorn. Thus drawing back into itself after developing its utmost strength internally and externally during its preceding stage, it certainly approached the period of transition from manhood to old age, inasmuch as its close connection with the life of a single nation subjected it to some extent to conditions of time. There are many indications also which show that the same might be said of the nation itself with which it was connected.[1] We must indeed allow that at some time or other the moment would necessarily arrive at which this religion, outwardly, in fact, for ever victorious, might quietly draw together its resources within, and, thus consolidated, look back upon itself. Otherwise the development of its life would be by no means perfect and rounded off. But this process is itself the means of its feeling and discovering, in their fullest and deepest extent, both its inalienable and eternal superiority, and also its more remote defects, which had hitherto been recognised by none but the great Prophets of the preceding centuries; nay, this withdrawal into itself which now set in so powerfully may perhaps be the cause of its becoming aware of wholly new deficiencies, which had not previously been able to make themselves so strongly felt.

While, therefore, the imperfections to which it was still subject made it impossible for it as yet to accomplish that great step forwards, and transcend its own limits, it was compelled to take the opposite course, and, since it had never yet collected itself together in complete tranquillity, it was obliged as a preliminary measure to confine itself all the more vigorously within its own bounds. The feeling of the final necessity of advancing to the other nations was never lost again, as the subsequent history will show. The Proselytes become henceforth a new element of ever-growing importance in the many-sided history of Israel, which reaches its highest power and significance at the close of this third great term of the national existence. But the necessity of first collecting itself together is paramount, and in virtue of the prominence which it assumes at this great crisis it gives a preponderating direction to the whole period which follows. There is still something in the background which Israel must further consolidate and develope before the final perfection becomes possible. This feeling now takes the lead, and therefore exercises a most powerful influence over its subsequent destinies.

The expression of this feeling when it had found its way to

[1] For involuntary allusions to this fact, see Is. xlvi. 4, cf. xl. 31.

the heart of the people, was epitomised in the hope that Israel might gather once more in freedom, from the dispersion and exile, in the Holy Land; that Jerusalem might rise anew, and the Sanctuary of Jahveh again be built within it. Indeed, the eye of the elder Prophets from the ninth century onwards had always rested on a Jerusalem rising again in glory and innocence. As yet their glance did not venture far beyond this sacred spot, though they laid no further or special stress on this limitation, and ultimately had in view merely the certain regeneration of the true community; nevertheless the precedent they afforded exercised a powerful influence. Even Jeremiah looked for the permanence of the true religion itself in the perpetuity of Israel as a people and of the foundations of its national and priestly ordinances; nor could he imagine the future regenerated Jerusalem without them;[1] while Ezekiel's imaginative mind carried all this out into still greater detail.[2] Thus, even the Prophets who at last distinctly promise a New Covenant, and, as its fundamental condition, require a free love towards God, as soon as they ventured on more explicit indications of the form which the future would take, were unable to think of it except as linking itself to that spot on which the sanctity of the true religion had already obtained an abiding seat and a distinct shape for so many centuries; for the imagination of the true Prophet never loses itself in shapeless and unsupported visions. Nor does the great Unnamed, any more than the other Prophets towards the end of the exile, relinquish these expectations. To this we must add the indignation newly aroused by the injustice of the Chaldeans, and the burning sense of the necessity that the broken thread of Israel's development should be taken up again in the very place where they had so violently and cruelly torn it asunder. No great change, therefore, in the destinies of Israel, and no deliverance, could at present be conceived or actually brought about, without the simultaneous rise of an irrepressible yearning and an imperative demand for a restoration of the ancient people and kingdom; and in this the still unbroken force of national pride and courage did but encounter that higher necessity for a fresh effort on the part of Israel to collect its energies, which was implied in the strength of the great development of the true religion as the supreme though hidden power of this people.

[1] Jer. xxxi. 35-40, xxxiii. 17-26, passages which follow in both cases immediately after the lofty promises of a New Covenant. The attempt (which has unfortunately been made in our days) to show that they do not belong to this Prophet is quite futile.

[2] Ezek. xx. 40, xxxiv. 26, xxxvii. 26-28, and then fully developed in xl.-xlviii.

4) But yet the necessity of this return to the ancient fatherland, and this restoration of the ancient kingdom, cannot have been universally felt. On the one hand, experience had proved, and was proving day by day as years went on, that the faithful adherents of the true religion, even in the midst of the heathen, though covered with misfortune and persecution or scorn and ridicule, might yet remain loyal to their faith. The extensive intermingling and the close and continued contact of the worshippers of Jahveh with their heathen masters involved this unexpected advantage, that many of these heathens themselves now became more intimately connected with the true religion, and gradually began to feel a genuine reverence or a nascent respect for many of its adherents.[1] More peaceful and friendly relations between many sons of Israel and many heathens could not fail in the long run to result from the dispersion (Diaspora); and a considerable number of those who had at first been loaded with contempt and misfortune will be found to have gradually earned the special love and friendship of those in power at the time, while the Chaldean names which many Israelites now assumed[2] are in themselves an indication of a closer fusion of nationalities. In this respect the important narrative of Daniel, and of Mordecai and Esther, which will be examined more in detail hereafter, simply exhibit the strongest reflection of the historical experiences of the exile; and towards the end of the captivity a prophet could even anticipate that many of those who had hitherto been mighty in the earth and lords of Israel would now attach themselves voluntarily to the returning band of Jahveh's worshippers and their newly-rising community, and that this would be the fairest victory which Israel would gain over those who formerly oppressed it and now were struck with shame.[3] These mutual approaches must at any rate in many quarters and in various directions have increased with each successive year of the exile; and if in one place the relations grew more and more inharmonious and harsh, in another they assumed a more and more friendly aspect; and the subsequent history will show that many of the sons of Israel, especially of the second generation, without wavering in

[1] Cf. narratives such as that of Ezr. vii. 6, Neh. ii. 1 sqq.; even the accounts of later books such as Tobit i. 13, Dan. i. 5 sqq. still present a reflection of historical truth.

[2] Such as *Zerubbabel*, *Sherezer*, Zech. vii. 2, and *Shenazar* or *Shenezer*, which is similarly formed, 1 Chron. iii. 18; *Mordecai*, Ezr. ii. 2, and Esth. (perhaps a Median name originally); comp. with the narrative in Dan. i. 7.

[3] Is. xiv. 1 sq. Cf. a most beautiful instance in the great Unknown, Is. lvi. 1–7.

their fidelity to the commands of Jahveh, had allied themselves so closely with the new fatherland upon which they had been cast in Chaldea, and elsewhere, that they did not even avail themselves of the permission which was given them to return. Great numbers of individuals, also, in smaller or larger groups, had already been thrown among the heathen before the great dispersion and the destruction of Jerusalem. In the course of one or two to three centuries they had adapted themselves to the heathen nations, yet had not always become apostates from the higher religion on that account; for though it must be confessed that we are unable to follow out any individual cases with certainty, we may recognise the general fact clearly enough.[1] On this side, therefore, no small weight was necessarily opposed to the idea of returning to the ancient fatherland, and the decisive feature in the matter was that it was thus shown to be no inevitable obligation even for the faithful worshippers of Jahveh. Thus in this manner also the way for the gradual transition of the true religion to the heathen still remained open, as though that more remote and higher necessity, though somewhat thrown into the background at first, could not even then be completely set aside.

On the other hand, the complete restoration of the ancient kingdom of Israel in Canaan required also an adequate force, and the question was whether such a force was still to be found in Israel itself or not. Now the real strength of the nation itself, the broadest foundation of every enduring external power upon earth, had been sinking lower and lower, slowly indeed, but constantly, ever since the disruption of the Davidic kingdom, as has been shown in the preceding book. The destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the last remains of the Davidic kingdom were only the last death-blow dealt to a body long diseased; and when the national unity and power is so shattered and corroded to the very vitals, as was the case in Israel then, or among the Greeks in the time of Philip of Macedon, it can seldom or never be brought back to its former life, and certainly cannot at once be called into fresh existence at pleasure. Indeed, we have seen already that when the exile had extended over a number of decades, all the exiles cannot well have felt any very great inclination to return to the ancient fatherland. As far as concerns one main portion of its special task and its divine calling, Israel had already as good as finished its life when, by the employment of its noblest powers, it

[1] For more on this subject in general see the discussion of the ultimate fate of the exiled Ten Tribes, *infra*.

had established many an immortal principle which might serve to enlighten every nation and every age of the world. Add to this that Israel had never been a wide-spread nation from the first, that its history had hitherto taken a course widely divergent from that of other nations, and that its relations with its immediate neighbours had been hostile, while no kindred and allied race ever stood by it, filling the position occupied by the Macedonians towards the Greeks, and ready to inoculate it with fresh vigour. Lastly, it was a fact of decisive importance that all the countries of western Asia had already been finally absorbed in the vortex of great conquering empires, so that the independence enjoyed by smaller peoples must at best be more or less restricted, and could never be complete for any length of time. Israel, however, since the breaking up of the Davidic kingdom, far from being able to aspire to the rank of an imperial power in this sense, had, on the contrary, been long undergoing a process of more and more complete dispersion amongst other peoples. Only a few members of the national body, therefore, were now left hanging together, and it was inevitable that it would prove a very hard task for them to lay even the first foundations of a new nationality and a restricted independence.

The only question, therefore, which we can ask, is whether there was at that time any single power in the nation capable of accomplishing such a restoration. The royal power, using the term in its ordinary signification, can draw its strength only from a strong nation; and the entirely exceptional power of a Messiah, to which the noblest yearnings of Israel had long been directed, and which might perhaps be able to create something new, as it were out of nothing, even without the aid of this national power, cannot be called up at will. Moreover the right moment for it had not come as yet (as will appear hereafter), nor was there any individual among the descendants of David at the time who could have satisfied these longings. There remained then the prophetic power as the deepest force of the community. Not yet, it has already been shown, and it will appear still more clearly presently, had prophecy quite completed its life; nay, it still manifested itself as the most tender conscience and the most aspiring power of the scattered community. At the beginning of the whole of this long history, prophecy had no doubt guided and strengthened the national power single-handed; but even in the second term of its existence it had been compelled simply to walk by the side of the authority of the king, and unite itself with it as it went, and

though it valiantly resisted its degeneration, it was unable to avert the ruin of the external kingdom, which was shattered more and more by the continuance of internal dissensions. This change is to be ascribed to the fact that it was at first a power of direct command, and was therefore called to outward rule, whereas it had now [1] become more and more hortatory on behalf of the true God. In this latter capacity it could neither uphold nor re-establish an external kingdom without other aid.

This is indeed recognised by the prophecy of the period itself; and it is a good sign that, although its ancient style and external power were already completely dissipated, and nothing but the extraordinary pressure of the times raised it to power once more, we find it still wonderfully illumined by the pure truth of God. If towards the end of the exile it had foretold the Messiah, or even a second Moses, as about to come in the immediate future, it would only have caused confusion; but 'Jahveh sought in vain for a man to help him to establish again the salvation of Israel, as he had it in his heart to do; therefore he will himself alone be the redeemer and helper of Israel, and so make known his wondrous power all the more mightily.' Such was the prediction of the prophet already referred to [2] about the middle or somewhat past the middle of the exile; [3] and towards its close the great Unnamed repeats the oracle, simply developing the truth still more distinctly and exhaustively.

Thus, then, it was in reality impossible for any more propitious turn of affairs to re-establish the kingdom of Israel in its ancient independence. In spite of a still predominant desire to assemble again, and when assembled to fulfil its most immediate remaining function, Israel, after having once been thrown into the great stream of universal history, though only as a spiritual power, could never again withdraw from the midst of all the nations and form itself into a close and strong kingdom similar to the other greater or smaller empires of the world. If, then, it wished to avoid perishing in every sense, it was now, as the prophet declared, thrown more than ever upon its God as its only true help and redemption; and, however violent might be the changes effected in other directions by these ten centuries, still in what is the main point of the true religion, viz. in putting trust in the true God alone, the community was led back to its primitive state under Moses, as though the whole

[1] Vol. iv.
[2] P. 16
[3] Is. lix. 16–20, lxiii. 1–6, especially ver. 5.

circle of its history were now about to draw to a close. Israel was again to be cast into the wilderness, there to lay hold of the true God afresh, and with a firmer grasp than ever before—so had the great prophets from Hosea[1] downwards foretold in oracles, which, amid the utmost variety, were still in the highest sense in constant harmony. This was exactly the condition of complete helplessness in which it had subsisted for many years; and since even the faithful might now be in doubt whether they could return to the ancient fatherland to which for the moment the most passionate desire and the most imperative necessity still impelled them, or whether they must remain still longer amidst the heathen, nothing but a still purer and stronger confidence in the succour of the true God and in his government and redemption could rescue them from utter destruction, and preserve them in the protection and light of all the eternal blessings of the true community. But the remoter consequences of this necessity had no small determining power on that internal transformation of the whole spirit and object of the people for which the preceding centuries had already opened the way, but which had only been brought to rapid maturity by the purifying period of the captivity.

Putting together all that has been said, we see that this internal transformation was of the highest significance, and fully as important and fruitful in results as from the weight of the whole history of Israel we should have expected that it would be. At its first rise, however, and before it had been able to take any definite shape, it presents the most startling contrasts and apparently inexplicable contradictions. While, on the one hand, Israel is impelled with the utmost strength towards the final completion of its destiny, viz. the perfection of the true religion, extending to the utter destruction of its national limitations and its transition to all nations, other impulses, on the contrary, draw it back from this goal; and the last mighty steps of progress for which the way has now been cleared, and which must in the end be taken, are opposed by fresh obstacles, which drive the nation back again and threaten to throw it back upon its very first commencement. Thus the whole history, as it really enters upon a fresh stage, must flow in still more distinct channels, and become still more varied, and therefore, if the new order of things acquires more solidity and power, still more vigorous than it had been even in the period immediately preceding; and even now we can see in embryo the magnitude of

[1] Hos. ii. 4 [2] sqq. Cf. viii. 13.

the powers and impulses in accordance with which it must shape its course. Of these the greatest and most permanently vigorous were now all included in the effort genuinely to fulfil what had been recognised with all the clearness of necessity as the final destiny of Israel, as the hitherto solitary 'people of God.' This implies both the impossibility that any of the divine blessings which Israel had already secured should fall to the ground, and also the zeal, which was never again to be entirely lost, for drawing the heathen by the simple power and light of the true religion to the God of the true community, and elevating the latter into a community of all nations and men. This was an aspiration capable of calling forth the greatest enthusiasm and the purest self-sacrifice, and it could be obscured only by perverse endeavours. Its more immediate, and therefore, in the first instance, its stronger, impulses were the desire first of all of reunion, and the consciousness, distinct or obscure, of the necessity of returning at this crisis to the ancient fatherland. And since these impulses were the most immediate in point of time, and demanded their satisfaction the soonest, they were also, no doubt, like everything which fills and animates the present very powerfully, most liable to be damped; for the question at once arose how far this return to the ancient order of things, and this withdrawal into itself on the part of Israel, was still possible and salutary; and the dread of losing in the turmoil of this period much that had been tested long ago might easily result in the most disastrous reaction. But there could from the first be no doubt as to the final result of the internal conflict which was thus developed, and which might continue for centuries, for it was an indestructible and lofty truth which had fixed the true and ultimate goal of the whole life and labours of this nation. In many of its most important particulars it had even now been realised, and the eye of spiritual enlightenment already saw it rising in the distance.

But yet, until a more decisive occurrence should fall upon this period of transition, the impulses which were already secretly at work could not as yet shake themselves free and rise to fresh life. Such a crisis, however, drew on rapidly enough.

2. *The Approach of the Crisis.*

As soon as the union which had hitherto subsisted between the Chaldean and the Median empires was dissolved, and the Perso-Median empire, moulded by Cyrus into a fresh great

power, stepped victoriously forth in Asia, an event which nearly coincided with the death of Nabuchodrozzor, a new crisis necessarily became imminent for all the more western countries, and a general presentiment of it may soon have been stirring through the majority of the nations hitherto held in stern subjection by the Chaldeans. But scarcely any one of the subjugated nations could have been so powerfully seized by the idea as Israel, for no other had lost so much and yet still bore within itself the elements of so great a future. No other nation of the time, assuredly, counted in its ranks minds so noble and so completely possessed by the certainty and truth of God, understanding so clearly and expressing so unequivocally the divine signs of so exceptional an age, as the prophets of Israel. In every period such as this, when a suffering people, which has long been pining for redemption and salvation, sees in the distance the first glimmer of a new and brighter day, its glance opens out into a future which from that moment is free to receive the stamp of the purest and loftiest ideal which hovers before it. Even the most exalted type, which has never yet been actually realised, seems now to be brought into close proximity. What has hitherto only been yearned for in silence can be more directly pursued, and the hardest task may be undertaken in the boldest spirit and with purest zeal; and never yet in the world's history had there been a more exalted object, or one worthier and more difficult of attainment than that which we may suppose to have hovered at this time before the eyes of Israel. Not only its redemption, but also the fulfilment of all its higher destiny in the world, now seemed to be brought near to the penetrating and inspired eye; and if even such a glance as this, in spite of the most longing search, could not discover among the living members of the ancient community any single instrument suitable for God to employ for the immediate accomplishment of his plans for Israel, yet outside this sacred circle it easily found the divine hero whom the Lord of all the earth might have selected for the purpose.

Obscure as the primitive history of the Medes and Persians and their religion still is to us, we yet see this much with certainty, that the Persians at any rate were at that time a people very free from corruption, and that their Zarathustrian religion, with Ahura-Mazdâo as its supreme god, was still very serious and austere. Indeed, the extraordinary distinctness with which it grasps the principle of evil in imagination, and in the myths of the gods, as well as in life, makes it

essentially the most strict and lofty of all heathen religions. With all the vividness and variety of its imaginative conceptions, it yet preserves itself from the adoration of actual images, and exhibits in many respects an antithesis to every other form of heathenism. It is a kind of reformed heathenism, and boasts with reason of Zarathustra as its lawgiver; for he was the first to give it its most characteristic shape, and so to separate it entirely from the Vedic or oldest Indian religion with which it had originally been almost identical. As far as its origin is concerned, it has nothing whatever in common with Jahveism; but of all heathen religions it comes nearest to it in its austerity, and it resembles it in the rejection of the adoration of images. This horror of image-worship seems to have been the very first feature with which the Babylonian exiles became acquainted; for while the relation of the Persians to the Medes was as yet but little understood in Babylon, and people there still spoke only of the more familiar Medes,[1] it was nevertheless already known that the Persians were not worshippers of images.[2] Moreover, there are many indications of the Zarathustrian religion having been already known and honoured in various parts of western Asia before the Persians made it the religion of a great conquering nation.[3] The great hero Cyrus, who professed this faith, and to whom again the Persians and Medes were attached with the most enthusiastic veneration, quite unlike his son Cambyses in later times, was full of gentleness and love of justice, and delighted in rescuing the oppressed.[4] The prophets had all the more reason, therefore, to recognise in him and in his hosts the warriors called forth and consecrated by Jahveh himself for the restoration of the rights of so many nations of the earth which had been crushed by the Chaldeans, and especially of Israel; and the certainty and unshaken

[1] Is. xxi. 2, xiii. 17, Jer. li. 11, 27 sq.; this comes out with special clearness in ver. 28. But in Is. xxi. 2 the well known Elam at least is mentioned at the same time as the frontier land of the Persians; and also the Armenian nations who were subdued by Cyrus long before the conquest of Babylon and dragged along with him in his career of victory, Jer. li. 27. The name of the comparatively more distant Persia is first found (except the case from still earlier times mentioned in vol. iv. p. 216, *note* 1) in Ezekiel, whose knowledge of various nations is so extensive, xxvii. 10, xxxviii. 5; both references, as the oldest and as reaching beyond the time of Cyrus, are of great historical importance. But even Æschylus and Aristophanes still speak of Medes rather than of Persians.

[2] According to the first passage which belongs to this subject, Is. xxi. 9; cf. Herod. i. 131, viii. 109, Æsch. *Persæ*, 817. It was not until the time of the later Artaxerxes that idols became general through the worship of Anahita and Mithra, Berosus apud Clem. Alex. *Exhort.* c. v., and according to the cuneiform inscription of Artaxerxes II.

[3] Cf. vol. iv. pp. 169 and 268 sq.; and again below.

[4] The artistic picture which is presented in Xenophon's *Cyropædia* is confirmed throughout, at least in its essential features, by Herodotus also. See especially iii. 89.

confidence with which they foresaw and foretold this great change so long before it was accomplished, afford no small proof of the internal truth and strength which the prophetic power in Israel still retained in these later times. Before Cyrus finally advanced to the conquest of Babylon more than twenty years were spent for the most part in very distant military operations; but long before he drew near to Babylon these prophets foretold his victory and the deliverance of Israel, which was no longer to be delayed.

We are, indeed, unacquainted with the individual names of these prophets. They no doubt belonged for the most part to the second generation of the exiles; and when the stillness of the grave gradually threatened to reign in Israel, it was only as they approached the great turning-point that they were seized with fresh inspiration. The time was one of such oppression that for the most part they contented themselves with sending into the world fly-leaves, so to speak, to which they did not think it worth while to put their names, and thus they soon called into existence once more a branch of composition which was shortly afterwards to die out altogether. We certainly possess none but the most important of these leaves;[1] but by means of the few which have been preserved, we can still recognise clearly enough the progress of this new species of prophetic literature, and the wide extension which it rapidly attained. We seem to hear in them the deep breath and the beating heart of a mighty age when a great crisis was drawing near.

First of all, a prophet announces to his people the fall of Babylon as a lofty certainty revealed by God in a distinct though distant vision, in the first instance to him alone. No one on earth yet knows anything more of how it will come to pass. This prophet alone has beheld it with certainty from his heavenly height, and foretold it to his down-trodden countrymen in words of almost uncontrollable enthusiasm and impetuosity, through which the short enumeration of the sins of Babylon, which render its downfall inevitable, hardly makes

[1] Each fresh investigation confirms anew the conclusion that these fragments were really in part composed and in part put together from more ancient sources at this time and no earlier; and all that remains is to endeavour to understand all this more clearly in detail. The arguments which Fr. Windischmann has thought fit to bring forward quite recently in the *Zoroastrischen Studien* (1863), pp. 129–137, to prove that Isaiah wrote everything contained in the present book called by his name, like all the other opinions of this author on the Bible and its separate parts, are only a convincing proof that he has never yet worked his way to any fundamental comprehension of the Bible.

itself heard.[1] A second prophet next declares this divine necessity in far calmer language, and he even concludes with a long dirge on the fall of the proud Chaldean king. But since his actual fall must still have been in the future, it can hardly be intended for a serious elegy. On the other hand, it involuntarily becomes a legitimate satire on the king who still presumptuously imagined himself safe and was yet so weak, who boasted that he would abide in strength like a god, and yet in the sight of God was as good as thrust down into hell already.[2] Both these prophets certainly lived in Babylon itself or the neighbourhood, under Chaldean supremacy; and the same spirit, boldly and even contemptuously foretelling the approaching collapse of this supremacy, no doubt often manifested itself in this region in purely lyric utterance. Of this we have a telling example in Ps. xiv. (or liii.) But the deepest meaning involved in this extraordinary period, with all its ramifications, is finally proclaimed by a prophet who, from all the traces we can discover, seems to have lived not immediately under Chaldean supremacy, but somewhere in Egypt,[3] and to whom we can now give no suitable designation except that of the 'great Unnamed.' With the creative glance of the purest and divinest inspiration, he recognises Israel's true and necessary destiny in the course of the ages, and for the first time declares that this people, as 'the servant of Jahveh,' must now at length, by fully grasping and faithfully clinging to its ancient true religion in the very midst of the heathen, become the divine instrument for drawing them to it also, and so by establishing the divine truth and salvation for all nations fulfil its own divine destiny. This sunbeam pierces the gloom of all the ages. In its light he sees the loftier certainty of the approaching redemption of Israel, and offers it true comfort for its long sufferings; nay, he can already point, full of triumph, to the marvellous glory which now, for the first time, awaits it. But the same light enabled him to recognise most clearly those errors and sins

[1] Is. xxi. 1–10.

[2] Is. xiii. 2–xiv. 23. The author of this piece certainly lived in Babylon, as did the author of the first, whom he resembles closely in the colouring of his style, though he differs from him widely in the whole spirit of his representation. For the rest, I have proved at greater length all that is here briefly touched on in the *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. ii. [vol. iii. 3rd. edit; vol. iv. Trans.]; on this account a great deal is only shortly referred to here.

[3] This also is confirmed by every fresh investigation. This is the reason why this prophet could urge his fellow-believers in the distant Babylon to come forth out of it, to return through the deserts on the Euphrates, and, as the bearers of the sacred vessels, to form a sacred procession, in the way he does in Is. xlviii. 20, lii. 11 sq., lxii. 10; cf. xl. 3 sqq., xli. 18 sq., xlii. 15 sq., xliii. 19 sq. None of these passages betray the presence of the prophet himself among the great mass of the exiles in Babylonia.

which still opposed the realisation of its fairer destiny, and made him the severest censor of all the defects which remained, as well as the noblest vehicle of the admonition to obey at last without reserve, when the hour was come, the clear and mighty voice of God. Thus he covers with the inexhaustible stream of his inspired discourse a great number and variety of objects, and yet proclaims in every case nothing but the glad tidings of the divine salvation which now opened out with an entirely new power. It was the gospel of God to that age. The breath of the gospel blows for the first time through this period,[1] as though the inmost impulse of Christianity were already endeavouring to make itself felt; and the grand truths and forces which now for the first time endeavoured to penetrate through Israel to the great world have never again been completely dissipated or dried up. On the contrary, Christianity on its side had to take up and continue the thread at the place where it had first been spun. But, apart from a number of pregnant minor songs of this date,[2] this evangelical spirit, which now animated the world for the first time, nowhere found so adequate a mouthpiece as in the great Unnamed. In him the noblest spirit of the great prophets of old, elevated and glorified by the aspiration of this new crisis, rose once more into the most amazing vitality, and on this ground he may with justice be called the last great prophet. In a spiritual sense he may be said to have completed the whole prophetic work of the Old Covenant, for no other great prophet of the same kind could follow him except the immediate precursor of Christ himself. But the full measure of this prophet's greatness is also displayed by the fact that though he so clearly recognises the final destiny of Israel as the only qualified instrument for the declaration of the truth and salvation of Jahveh amongst all peoples, and though he points out with such confidence the future glory which would thus accrue to it, yet he no less distinctly grasps the fact that the most immediate necessities of the time also required as a preliminary a fresh reunion of the people of God amongst themselves, and therefore a return to the ancient holy land. The best proof of the preponderant power of true religion in this prophet's inmost soul is found in the perfect transparency, like that of the open heaven, with which he ultimately refers everything back to the eternal rule of the true God alone, as a power before which even Israel might sink into nothingness again.

[1] See p. 25 sqq.

[2] See *Die Psalmen*, 2nd edition, p. 272 sqq. [3rd. ed. 278 sqq.]

History had already been teaching most clearly for two centuries, and would teach again still more clearly, how transient was even that external power which appeared the most abiding, and that human empire which held the widest sway; how eternity and eternal salvation were to be found only in the true God and in that *Word* of his which had now been revealed so long, but was continually proving afresh its truth and power.[1] Thus, in contrast with the heathen nations, among whom no germ of the eternal progress of indestructible salvation existed, Israel itself may be called an *eternal people*; but its eternity rests only on that of the divine word and salvation, so far as it supplies a base for these upon earth.[2] In contrast with the same heathen, Israel is also the chosen people, which God himself has moulded for his special instrument, and has destined to be his 'servant,' just as a great lord or monarch might select any one of his servants or dependants to do his work or extend his realm; but the work to be so done, and the kingdom to be so extended, are ultimately the work and the kingdom of God himself and of no other. It is only his free grace which selected this solitary nation for such a high destiny, without any merit of its own, and without its having any right to claim it.[3] On this ground it would indeed be delivered from the depth of its present misery, and would even be glorified to a corresponding degree; but only in order that it might be stirred all the more deeply with gratitude to God for this last and greatest mark of the divine grace and saving power, and that all its members, as living monuments and inspired witnesses of the salvation of the true God, might with the more force draw all the heathen towards him.[4] The actual fulfilment of all the new dispensation which now approaches and is introduced for the first time into the promise, with its glory such as eye hath never seen, is guaranteed by the very fact of the fulfilment, now certain, of the old dispensation—the predictions, namely, of the earlier prophets concerning the downfall of all the enemies of the true community, and its own duration for ever.[5] Nevertheless, in spite of this confidence, and in spite of his glowing zeal for the honour and the call-

[1] Hence came such exalted utterances as Is. xl. 5–8, 15–17, xliii. 9, xlv. 18–24, lvi. 7, lx. 11 sq., and many others.

[2] Is. xliv. 7, liv. 8, to be explained by xlv. 17, li. 6, 8, lv. 13, lxiii. 11. Similarly lx. 21, lxi. 7 sq. Henceforth in general not only a wider outlook upon all peoples near and far, but also an inspired glance into all the eternity of past and future, is a characteristic of this age. Cf. e.g. Pss. cxxi. 8, cxxxi. 3, cxxxiii. 3, and many other songs.

[3] Is. xlii. 21, and elsewhere.

[4] Is. xli., xliii. 7–10, 12, 21, xliv. 8, and in spirit many other passages also.

[5] Is. xlii. 9, and elsewhere.

ing of Israel, this prophet knows well enough that the majority of the members of Israel then living answered but very imperfectly to the idea of the 'servant of Jahveh,' and so he makes a further distinction between the 'servant of Jahveh' in the strict, that is, the narrower sense, and the 'servant of Jahveh' in the wider sense. The former he hopes will, in accordance with the will of God now openly revealed, co-operate in the redemption of the latter also;[1] and he himself, at the same time, enters at once upon his share of this labour as far as his powers allow, at least encouraging and summoning himself to the work, and not in vain, with divine ideas. When, however, many of his contemporaries murmur because the physical deliverance of Israel from exile was not to proceed from the promised Messiah, but from a king who did not belong to it, he points out that Jahveh, who can make any man the instrument of his power, has chosen Cyrus as his true 'Anointed,' that he may restore justice upon earth and set Israel free.[2] On this account, too, the hopes of the Messiah from the midst of Israel itself are provisionally dormant with this writer, as with all his contemporaries; not as if they were discarded, but simply from a correct perception that they could for the present have no significance. The place which is thus left vacant, however, is only the more easily occupied in the prophet's view, by the summons to Israel to become, side by side with this Cyrus, the other instrument of God, in the long run far more glorious and eternal, for the establishment of a better world; so that thus far what seemed to be untoward in the destiny of Israel might rather turn out a loftier advantage.

In such wise does this prophet link together in marvellous discourse the old and the new: the fate of the Chaldeans and of all other nations, the calling of the mighty ones of the time, and the apparently insignificant but eternal destiny of Israel, still bowed so low, and pining in gloom and misery.[3] But meanwhile, long seasons passed before the new great power of the world drew near to the conquest of Babylon, or indeed, of Egypt either (for the prophet had distinctly foretold that she, too, would have to submit). The fulfilment seemed to be delayed, and the sufferings on the one hand, and discontented dejection on the other, increased in Israel. On this the same great Un-

[1] This runs through the whole when properly understood.

[2] Is. xliv. 28-xlv. 13, xli. 2 sq., xliii. 14, xlvi. 11, xlviii. 15; with which the declarations of Is. lix. 16-20, lxiii. 1-6, mentioned on p. 36, were really quite compatible.

[3] Is. xl.-xlviii. It is clear from the words of xli. 27, xlviii. 3-8, that this book was written comparatively speaking very early.

named felt himself impelled once more to lift up his voice, and in another great work to hold up before Israel its ideal type and its actual perversions far more clearly and impressively than before.[1] As everything presses on to the final crisis, the deepest tones become audible, nor is there in the whole range of the Old Testament another piece which speaks of Israel with more heartfelt earnestness, and strives with greater power to raise it from its material depths to its purest spiritual height. Meanwhile, in all the countries in which members of the ancient people dwelt at all near together, the tension must constantly have risen higher and higher amongst them also; and no wonder that even the predictions of the earlier prophets were now sought out and read with an intensity of interest never felt before, and were even employed and worked up afresh. In his second work, the great Unnamed himself inserts long passages from older prophetic books, just as they seemed appropriate to his subject.[2] A second unnamed writer, who lived somewhere in the holy land itself, published the book of Jeremiah, enlarged by the addition of a new section, and worked up afresh in some passages.[3] This publication took place when Cyrus had already advanced to the siege of the outworks of Babylon; but he was compelled, as we know, to spend several years in bringing this formidable siege to a conclusion. At that time the most various reports and counter-reports, anticipations and apprehensions, were flying about,[4] and doubts were still entertained in many quarters whether the Chaldean empire would really collapse, and the walls and other defences of Babylon, the strength of which had even become proverbial,[5] fall before the hosts of Cyrus. All the more emphatically, therefore, does this prophet promise their immediate fall,[6] and the final and well-merited punishment of the superstition and cruelty of the Chaldeans. On the other hand, he urges the members of Jahveh's people

[1] Is. xlix.–lxiii. 6. All this in accordance with the classification which I expounded publicly in 1841.

[2] See above, p. 15 sq.

[3] This is the section Jer. l. sq. Like Nahum, who paid very close attention to the means of defence of Nineveh when first its besiegers drew near to it, this disciple of the prophets takes a survey, on the first approach of the hosts of Cyrus, of the varied and extremely strong defences of Babylon, its artificial aqueducts, l. 38, li. 13, 32, 36, 42, and walls, li. 44, 58. On the great length of the siege by Cyrus, see the *Cyropædia* and Herod., i. 178 sqq.

[4] This extreme suspense and confusion during those years is graphically delineated in Jer. li. 46.

[5] See Herod. i. 178 sqq., and elsewhere.

[6] The twofold lamentation, as though Babylon had already fallen utterly, li. 41–43, cf. ver. 8, is only a copy of the picture which, as we know from other indications, hovered before this prophet, Is. xiv. 4 sqq. Jer. li. 44, according to my *Lehrb.*, §§ 341*a*, 135*c*, may be taken as an assurance against all doubt, 'yet Babylon's walls are falling!' We may therefore suppose that the walls had not yet fallen, and the whole piece then becomes more intelligible.

who still dwelt there boldly to flee from a city in which the exiles and captives of many conquered nations had already been pining for deliverance only too long;[1] and he clothes the whole in the form of an oracle of Jeremiah himself, because many of the exiles in Babylon may have endeavoured to shield their faint-heartedness under the words in which Jeremiah had once exhorted them to submit quietly to the supremacy of the Chaldeans. It was probably this same disciple of the prophets, who, later on, when no obstacle stood any longer in the way of the return of Israel, re-issued a very considerable section of the book of Isaiah, with the addition by himself of an appendix of joyous promises, in which many of the thoughts of the great Unnamed recur, as if meanwhile the writings of the latter had already become known in wider circles.[2]

3. *The Liberation by Cyrus.*

'In the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia' (for in reference to all the Syrian countries the first year of his reign could only begin with the destruction of the Babylonian empire), 'that his word spoken by Jeremiah might be fulfilled, Jahveh stirred up the spirit of this king, so that he caused a royal proclamation to be published throughout all his kingdom, that "Jahveh the God of Heaven had given him dominion over the world, and had charged him to build up his sanctuary in Jerusalem again; all the members of his people, therefore, who still remained, might return thither in order thus to build the Temple, assisted in every way by those amongst whom they had hitherto lived."' Such is the account of the Chronicler. This method

[1] Jer. l. 8, 16, 28, li. 6, 9 sq., 45, 50. Several of these passages refer more generally to the exiles, captives, and craftsmen of many other nations also who were thrown together in Babylon, of whom it could be foreseen that they would flee from Babylon to all quarters of the world in the last hours of danger, and so hasten its downfall; the same may be said of Is. xiii. 14, xlvii. 15. It is a fact, however, everywhere observable, and of importance in the history of the origin of this piece, Jer. l. sq., that its author nowhere has the great work, Is. xl.-lxvi., or even any part of it, before his eye. The writers show a mutual similarity only in so far as neither wrote in Babylon itself.

[2] This is the section Is. xxxiv. sq. That this section is later than the other is clear from the fact that the author was now acquainted with the writings of the great Unnamed. Since he coincides most closely in many turns of expression and thoughts with the author of Jer. l. sq., and like him reproduces a more ancient prophetic work, we may reasonably suppose him to be identical with him: in this case he was one of that class of disciples of the prophets of which we shall have more to say hereafter. No doubt the style of Is. xxxiv. sq. is more ornate and rounded than that of Jer. l. sq., but the probable explanation of this is that in the former the florid language of Isaiah served alone as the author's special model. Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 219.

of representation is followed out still further by a later writer, of whom we shall see more hereafter as a Hellenistic narrator of the Perso-Hebrew history, and whose words have been preserved by Fl. Josephus.[1] He relates that Cyrus had read the oracles of Isaiah concerning himself delivered two hundred and ten years previously, in which it was foretold that he would rebuild the sanctuary in Jerusalem, and was led in consequence to form this determination, actually assigning it in his public proclamation as the principal ground of his relations with Israel. This Hellenist then transferred to his historical narrative what was read in his time in the book of Isaiah, as we now have it, with the interpretation which was then put upon it, although a more accurate investigation[2] has shown us that the passages in the book of Isaiah here referred to originated no earlier than with the great Unnamed.

The edict of the great king concerning the liberation of Israel, the permission given to restore the ancient sanctuary, and the royal support to be granted for the purpose, have certainly not been preserved in a sufficiently full and original form even in the more simple representation of the Chronicles. The Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which have been deciphered with sufficient certainty for this at least, show us clearly, it is true, that the great kings of Persia delighted in beginning their official proclamations with the name of the Creator, and distinctly acknowledged that he had given them their power and dominion over the world;[3] but whether Cyrus ever called this

[1] *Ant.* xi. 1, 1 sq. With this narrative we should compare the very similar one or the favour shown by Alexander towards Jerusalem, xi. 7, 2 sqq. (of which more below). It admits of no doubt that Josephus from this point forward makes use of a historical work in which a Hellenist, about the last century before Christ, had addressed himself to giving a circumstantial account of the proofs of favour to Jerusalem and its temple furnished by earlier kings. In fact, from the Chronicles, which already aimed at a similar object, onwards, historical works of this description became more numerous and popular, as the period of decline advanced, in proportion as Jerusalem appeared to be dependent on the favour of powerful foreigners; but the more such works (on the fragment of one of which in Esdras iii. sq. see below under Zerubbabel) came to pursue these side objects, the loss was their representation tied to facts. From the time of Israel's subjection to foreign nations, it became a very general custom to support the narrative by royal edicts and other public documents; but the looseness of these historians gradually increased till they were bold enough actually to restore them freely when they no longer had access to the original documents themselves. And yet Josephus evidently makes almost exclusive use of this very work, the book of Esdras (see below), and several others of no higher authority, for the history of the following centuries up to the Grecian times, without paying any attention to the more ancient authorities; no wonder that his work has very little value until far down in the Maccabean period.

[2] P. 39 sqq.

[3] In detail, however, the form of a royal Persian composition of this kind is different enough; the great God Ahura-Mazdâo is never called 'the creator of the heavens' so concisely and significantly as Jahveh in the Old Testament, but always the 'creator of the earth, the heavens, and mankind,' the earth being

creator Jahveh, is another question. In other respects, too, the decree, as we now have it, is clothed in the language and style peculiar to the Chronicler alone. Again, any such decree, if it dealt with the help which was to be given to the people in their return, and in the building of their Temple, certainly contained a number of more detailed specifications on the subject.[1]

But if we turn our eyes away from the colouring of the language in which the determination of Cyrus has been handed down to us, from no earlier source than the Chronicler, we can entertain no manner of doubt as to the correctness of the fact itself. Many, it would seem, had already reassembled among the ruins of Jerusalem during the years immediately preceding the fall of Babylon, in some cases fleeing from the great city before it was too closely invested,[2] and in some instances returning from foreign lands as the fall of the Babylonian power gradually became quite certain. Without permission from the new Persian ruler, however, the city could never be rebuilt even on a modest scale. We have no longer, it is true, any accurate knowledge of the way in which the movement fell into shape, nor of those who most exerted themselves with the conqueror of Babylon in order to obtain a favourable decree for the restoration of Jerusalem and the return of the exiles. But when, in the light of the facts which we have already established with certainty, we consider what intense spiritual activity reigned amongst the members of the ancient people during the years immediately preceding the fall of Babylon, and what kind of men, guided by the purest and the warmest zeal for the honour and the historic rights of Israel, still rose up from among the great masses of the dispersion and the exile, we cannot be surprised that the right moment for their liberation, when sent by heaven, was not suffered to pass by them unused. As the mighty destroyer of

always put first in this connection. The earliest inscriptions of the sort which have as yet come to our knowledge are from Darius I.; but still, if Cyrus really had such long inscriptions made anywhere, he may already have expressed himself in a similar manner. All this is far from proving the *verbal* authenticity of the decree of Cyrus as we now read it in Ezra i., and it is of no use being determined to hide this fact from oneself and assert the contrary, as, for example, Windischmann does (see above, p. 41, *note* 1). The words of Is. xlii, 5, xliv. 24, sound more like an intentional variation on those Perso-Zarathustrian sacred words.

[1] Yet the Aramean historian who at a tolerably early period composed the work from which passages have been preserved in Ezr. v. 14–vi. 5, was evidently very closely acquainted with the circumstances. From the nature of the case the document concerning the restoration of the costly vessels of the temple would pertain to the royal treasury; and such a copy of the original decree, which was preserved in the castle of Ecbatana, actually existed in the royal treasury at Babylon.

[2] A course to which they were urged by many a prophetic utterance, see p. 42, *note* 3, and p. 46 sq.

the Babylonian empire, Cyrus was already called, without being stimulated by others, to bring freedom and restoration to all the peoples it had oppressed, and all the cities it had overthrown. In Israel he gave back to freedom a people which, in spite of its seeming insignificance at the time, nevertheless bore with it a more momentous future than that of any of the nations subjugated and crushed by the Chaldeans, and in which he really only restored free movement to an eternal community; in its liberation, therefore, whether consciously or unconsciously, he served a purely divine purpose, which stood infinitely higher than himself. In the bosom of the community the belief was cherished from the first, as we saw from the Chronicles, that Cyrus had been moved by the spirit of the true God himself in setting Israel free; and, even before the liberation, the great Unnamed had declared, only still more distinctly than the other prophets of Israel, that the question of the fall of Babylon, and of the advancing power of Cyrus, was ultimately a simple question of the destinies of the true religion, and that Cyrus had been raised by the only true God to irresistible sovereignty for the primary purpose of delivering the people of God.[1] Such thoughts may easily appear too lofty, but yet they were supported by the strength of an inner truth, which the great course of history has fully confirmed. When that community which vividly realised that the true religion rested and sought to complete itself within it, had been set free, it could in the end only attribute its liberation thankfully to the power of the true God, which worked in Cyrus also, without on that account being ungrateful to Cyrus; and amongst all the events produced by the victories of Cyrus, and especially by his overthrow of the Chaldean empire, no other was in the long run, and with reference to the whole history of the world, so momentous as the restoration of Israel, insignificant as it might appear at the time. Of this the conclusion of this very history will supply the proof. That great prophet, then, did but form a true estimate of the work, purely divine in its ultimate significance and power, which must be completed in Israel, were the time short or long, and of the higher necessity which this immediately involved of the restoration of Israel as a nation; so that the most profound designs of Providence seemed to hinge on this unique and tremendous crisis in the history of the world.

But in later times, among all the reminiscences of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, one never to be forgotten feature

[1] See the passages quoted above, p. 44 sq.

always rises above the rest, viz. the startling rapidity with which the victory was gained, and the way in which the whole Chaldean supremacy was shattered by it as at a single blow. It is true that no very ancient account of this has been preserved in the Old Testament; and what the Greeks tell us about it,[1] like everything else they have to say on the marvellous character and exploits of Cyrus, simply reflects those scattered, half-obscure traditions which Xenophon finally endeavoured to unite together and to bring into a clearer light in his 'Cyropædia;' a task which he accomplished, indeed, but with little regard to history. But even in the later book of Daniel[2] this reminiscence forms the clearest point in the whole Chaldean history; and if from the whole scope and aim of the work its author could only sketch the picture in the merest outline, yet this outline stands out all the more boldly from the dark background, and casts a fiery glow upon the whole narrative. The capture of Babylon by Cyrus in a single night, while the Babylonians were celebrating in careless ease a luxurious feast, is the fixed kernel of the tradition in all its forms. The later Hebrew narrator, however, in retaining the equally old tradition of the sacred vessels of the Temple,[3] which had been brought as it were by robbery to Babylon, and further vindicating the genuine truth of the eternal sentence inflicted by God on the pride of human sovereignty, sketches the wonderfully striking picture of the fall of the last Babylonian king. It is on that very night on which in insolent caprice he has ordered these most sacred vessels to be brought to his luxurious feast. He falls, not indeed without warning from the clear voice of heaven; but the hand of God, whose brief and oracular writing not one of the Babylonian sages, but only a Daniel, could read and interpret, had nothing to write for him on the walls of his stately hall, in the midst of his wanton banquet, but the doom impending on his empire and himself.[4] The walls of the royal halls of Nineveh and Babylon were covered with significant representations, as we know once more

[1] Herod. i. 188 sqq.; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, 3.

[2] Dan. v.

[3] See more on these vessels below.

[4] In spite of its extreme brevity the Oracle falls quite correctly into two members, as is usual in more exalted style:

Numbered, numbered!
Weighed and—they divide!

for so the words *menî, menî, tekêl, upharsîn*, in their literal sense, are to be understood. The וּפַרְסִין should properly be punctuated וּפְרָסִין from the root פָּרַס; *they divide*, i.e. division is made; the shortening of the *â* can at the best only be explained by the fact that פָּרְסִין at the same time would afford a play upon פֻּרְסִין, *lot* or *fate*, which is formed from it by contraction.

from the researches among the ruined heaps of those bygone capitals of the civilised world; but among the forms which art then traced, as they now issue again into light, who will search for the letters of that writing of God and find them? Who will not see, after a moment's thought, that the whole narration, insomuch as it endeavours to set before our eyes the purely divine purport of the events, can only be reinterpreted and retained in the spirit from which it originally flowed?—But this does not prevent us from adequately recognising the grounds in external history on which it is also based; and if on the one hand it is impossible to deny that in this later representation a great deal of the narrative is simply drawn from popular sources,[1] on the other hand we have no reason to doubt that the designation Belshazzar here given to the last king of Babylon, elsewhere known by his ordinary name Nabunid,[2] was his proper royal appellation.[3]

[1] This is the origin, in particular, of the mention of Belshazzar as the son of Nabuchodrozzor. He was only his son in the sense of being one of his successors; although, however, according to the inscription of Behistun, he named his son Nabuchodrozzor again. According to more accurate history, he had only been one of the Babylonian nobles, as Berosus tells us, in Jos. *contr. Ap.* i. 20; between the two came the reigns of the Evil-Merodach mentioned above, p. 18, Neriglissor (properly Nergalsarezzor) and the child Labosarodak; cf. also Megasthenes in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 11, 40 sq., and *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 62 sq. Yet even Herodotus, i. 188, relates that Labynetus had received both his name and his empire from his father, by whom he cannot mean anyone but Nabuchodrozzor. We see by this how early this became the usual representation in the ordinary narratives. In the same way it is only these which speak of Nabunid being slain on the same night; according to Berosus and Megasthenes, on the other hand, he was sent by Cyrus to Caramania, and afterwards died there.

[2] Berosus is twice confirmed on this point by the inscription of Behistun. Herodotus's Labynetus is evidently the same as Nabunid, a name which might easily be interchanged with the abbreviated Nabuchodrozzor.

[3] Whether Rawlinson (*Athenæum*, March 18, 1854), and subsequently Hincks in quite another way (*Journal of Sacred Liter.* Jan. 1862), are correct in discovering and interpreting the name Belshazzar in the Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, is indeed still doubtful, but it would be folly on that account to reject the historical character of the name itself. On a perverse confusion of his name with that of Evil-Merodach, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. 129. The LXX call it Βαλτασάρ, confounding it with Daniel's name, Dan. i. 7.

The same Baltasar, with the same Hellenistic spelling, is also found in Baruch i. 11, as the only son and successor of Nabuchodrozzor. Now, if this book of Baruch was not written until after Daniel, and if this pronunciation Βαλτασάρ, which is evidently shortened from Βαλτσασάρ, had arisen from a simple confusion of the two names in the version of Daniel in the LXX, then no further evidence for the historical character of Belshazzar would have been furnished by this fact. But it will appear below that the book of Baruch is on the contrary older than that of Daniel; and in the same way the translation of the book of Baruch, as well as that of the book of Jeremiah, is older than that of the book of Daniel. The Hellenistic confusion of the two names may be older than the Greek book of Daniel, since a pronunciation like Βαλτσασάρ is in itself impossible to the Greeks; or if the original pronunciation were Βαλτασασάρ, this, too, would easily be contracted into Βαλτασάρ, and imperceptibly come to be identified with Βαλσασάρ.

III. The Special Character of the New Period.

1. *The Hagiocracy.*

1) As soon as the commonwealth of Israel was in a position to remodel itself in the ancient fatherland, there was an immediate rewakening of all the national pretensions and efforts which had formerly moved even the nobler heart of the people, inasmuch as they had become indissolubly connected with its knowledge of the true God, and its consciousness that this knowledge and with it the kingdom of this God must rule over all individuals and nations. During the general misery which accompanied the decline of the kingdom, both Jahveh's people, and with it the religion of the true God which it had hitherto supported, had fallen into deeper and deeper contempt with the great masses of every heathen nation; and this feeling was only strengthened after its final overthrow. Israel then bore the twofold guilt of having by its perversity made not itself alone but also the everlasting truths which had hitherto been entrusted to it an object of contempt and scorn in the eyes of the great world—a point which Ezekiel brought out at the time with the utmost emphasis.[1] Thus there rose most vividly in the minds of the new prophets who discoursed towards the end of the exile, the fresh conviction that Jahveh would now once more reveal to the world his unique power and truth in all their might. Too long already, as it were, in the turmoil of the world's great race, had he held silence and restrained himself, too long permitted his name to be despised and rejected amongst the nations of the earth. Now, however, he neither would nor could hold his peace any longer; with the thunder of his voice he would make the earth tremble from end to end, and step into the battle as the only true and eternal hero, to re-establish, even though by the profoundest perturbation which could no longer be avoided, and by the conflict of all the gravest forces of the earth, the eternal right that had been overthrown. With this he would restore his fear and the glory of his name, so that salvation, as the final object of all divine energy, might be accomplished. Thus had the great Unnamed been impelled in the fulness of inspiration to unveil the hidden purpose of the true God who ruled the age, in unusually violent anthropomorphic images, as a consequence of the great excitement of the age itself, but yet corresponding completely to the inner truth.[2] The object of the deepest prophetic yearning was now

[1] Ezek. xxxvi. 20 sq. Cf. xxii. 4; Jer. xxiii. 40, xxix. 18.

[2] Is. xlii. 10–16, lii. 4–6 (with which the historical description, Jer. l. 18 sq.,

at last realised, if not at once in all its extent, yet at least so far that a first beginning was assured. The community of the true God could again raise its head upon earth in independence, with external honour, and move freely; nay, in the first moments a clear future of an unique kind, and as yet without a cloud, spread out before it. The very nations which had hitherto poured out their bitter scoffs against Israel as Jahveh's people, now saw it set at liberty, and that, too, as if by the simple decree of the heavens above, without attempting itself, with all its spiritual activity, to take up the sword against its former destroyers. The conquerors of the age paid honour to it; and in accordance with the inseparable connection in which nationality stood with religion among the ancients, the great change in the national destiny of Israel must in itself have been the cause which enabled the religion entirely peculiar to it suddenly, and for the first time in the world's history, to attract in the furthest circles an attention and respect from the heathen proportionate to the somewhat more accurate knowledge of its character which had now (for the first time also) spread far and wide among them. And therefore a thousand varied forms of such words as these—

'Jahveh rules, the earth trembles,'

ring with a sacred joy never before experienced in so high a degree through the songs of the time;[1] and a perfectly new and prouder consciousness henceforth runs through every vein of this people, reborn as it were from the dead.[2] Since the first establishment of the community of Jahveh none of the nations of the earth, not even the most powerful, had been able to destroy it. All the more consistently and boldly, then, did it now rise up, with the innermost consciousness of its divine privileges and its eternal destiny, in opposition to them all, rejoicing in the victory of its ever true God, feeling its ultimate though as yet scantily acknowledged power over them all, and foreseeing that its universal dominion must finally be acknowledged, even externally. Once before,[3] it is true, the community had quivered through and through with a similar joyful exultation and presentiment. It was almost two hundred years earlier, towards the close of Isaiah's life; but at that time Israel had not yet learned as it now had to survive the absolute collapse of its external empire and sanctuary, and so

should be compared), and in other passages also.

[1] Ps. xcvii. and many similar ones: see *Die Psalmen*, 2nd ed. p. 297 sqq. [3rd ed. p. 407 sqq.]

[2] Cf. Ps. cxviii. and many similar ones.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 184 sqq.

the kingdom soon afterwards fell once more into all the deeper confusion and calamities. But now the trust in God, which had been first kindled then, returned to the regenerated people, as it glanced far into the future, in all the greater purity and strength; nor was it ever again to vanish from its inmost heart. On the contrary, it was to become a firm foundation stone for the rising edifice of the next great period of its history.

2) But this 'sovereignty of Jahveh,' in which Israel was now prepared to take a purer and serener joy than ever before, could never again be the same, in an external sense, as it had formerly been, prior to the destruction of the ancient kingdom, a fact which was necessarily taught soon enough by the development of the history. Every spiritual power which stirs within us necessarily strives to find a corresponding external representation and expression. The spiritual power, however, which moved in Israel, was from the first animated by the supreme desire to subdue all mankind to itself; and the strength of the opposition of the whole of the great world as it stood undivided and unmoved only increased the darkness but at the same time the boldness of its inextinguishable longing and hope to see all this heathen world subjected, even externally, to Jahveh's rule. But the new energy with which this hope and expectation now arose on Israel's side soon encountered, as it became bolder, a corresponding increase in the fixedness of the *status quo*. The conversion of the heathen in the mass would not come to pass. The community, when liberated from the Chaldean supremacy, was still subject to the same heathens who had released it; when the opportunity of returning was given, it became clear how many and what potent ties already bound the remnant of the ancient people to its home amid the heathen; and even the modest stem of a new Jerusalem, waiting for an external kingdom of Israel to be developed from the humblest and most painful beginnings, long remained only too feeble a shoot. Thus, while ardent longing might behold a sovereignty of Jahveh over all the heathen realised even externally, yet meanwhile the ancient independence and power of this rule could not be re-established even in the holy land itself; and a contradiction between the pretensions and the actuality of this newly-restored community, to which all were keenly sensible but which none could remove, necessarily sank deeper and deeper into its heart. But this contradiction in the nature of the dominion which now presented itself, was in reality only the same that we have already observed [1] rising in

[1] P. 37 sq.

another form in the far higher region of the eternal and the temporal destiny of Israel. These grave internal contrasts and obscure contradictions arise at every decided step forward in the great development of human history; for every advance of this kind is first of all the vital germ of a general reorganisation, but at the same time is restrained by the principles and exigencies of the previous organisation until it has developed itself internally to such a degree as to enable it to rise in the right course above its predecessor.

It was impossible to re-establish now a 'sovereignty of Jahveh' in the earlier sense, either as in the preceding period, under a human king of Israel, with prophets and priests at his side, or yet without a monarch, so that Israel should again form a compact nationality and an earthly kingdom under the invisible King alone, as in the first period of all this history. Nevertheless the community could by no means bring itself absolutely to tolerate the supremacy of the heathen, however well disposed they might be. With irrepressible force there rose within it a loftier consciousness, causing it to feel that its destiny was rather to rule over the heathen element and dissolve it in its own power. The community, now forming itself anew, might learn to endure the heathen supremacy in all the outward circumstances of life, so far as this did not more directly touch its daily religion; just as the many individuals who remained behind among the heathen were compelled to learn obedience to their masters in what related merely to material possessions and actions. And in the lesson of peaceful obedience to the heathen supremacy on the part of the whole new community, as well as of the many scattered individuals, there lay, as has been already remarked,[1] one of the mightiest, and, at the present crisis, one of the most necessary instruments for developing the true religion. But the line between material things within the jurisdiction of the temporal power and the purely spiritual is in itself difficult to draw, and in those times had never been sufficiently clearly understood and sharply laid down; it is only the close of the whole of this history which is capable of teaching this lesson. For the present, then, the new community could learn to tolerate the heathen supremacy so far as it might, simply to gain the new experience of the extent to which this might be permanently possible; but it could not possibly recognise it as perfectly satisfactory and final when it was further tried by the law of the true religion.

[1] P. 19 sqq.

But yet there must always be some higher power by which a whole community, just as much as the individual members, if truly noble, feels immediately supported and borne along. In the last resort there must inevitably be a genuine and absolute supremacy in which the mind can place perfect trust, and to which it can consecrate all its most earnest efforts. If, then, neither the heathen supremacy nor the immediate establishment of a purely national kingdom could offer the shelter under which Israel could now assemble and commence a new development with full confidence, there was nothing left to exercise power and dominion over its heart except that very sanctity which had now been growing for a thousand years into an inalienable blessing in its midst. The true religion itself, as the vicissitudes and trials of a great history, and the progressive spirit of the great prophets of the earth, had stamped it more and more definitely and clearly upon Israel, and caused it to sink deeper and deeper into its heart ever since the days of Moses,—this, and this alone, was the one great blessing of infinite price which Israel had rescued from its ancient days, and now grasped with an earnestness never known before as its highest possession; and it had determined, with a vigour hitherto unseen, not to suffer anything ever to tear it away, or even to lessen or obscure it. This, then, was the power and dominion to which it submitted as to no other, and from which it expected all the salvation of the better life. But this religion, with its customs and ordinances, was even then far from retaining the ductility and plasticity of youth. Although not yet internally complete, inasmuch as it was still impossible for it to reach its own culminating point, it was already so far exalted above all the other religions of the time that it might easily pass for the perfect religion; and the thousand years of its history had already cast it in so firm a mould, and welded it so inseparably with the noblest life and efforts of its people, that it came down to those now living as an ancient and holy blessing, with a meaning peculiar to itself, to be prized above everything else. Thus the elements of its religion, which Israel now reverenced and embraced with a depth of zeal altogether new, might well be not only its inward and eternal truth, but also that which was simply venerable from its antiquity, and had acquired an outward sanctity. And, indeed, this temptation was so immediate, and of such unknown seductive power, that it soon gained an overwhelming ascendency in determining the course of events.

Whenever an institution which has been dominant in earlier

times is revived in a later day, or when one first framed in distant lands or ages is adopted by strangers with fresh predilection and even enthusiasm, there is great danger that its dazzling and misleading externalities rather than its essence will attract the eye and sink into the heart of the majority. Even if the case is one of a religion already sanctified by its former greatness and its antiquity, the holiness which is embraced with new fervour may very easily be nothing but that outward sanctity which itself in the first instance was only hallowed by the true and eternal holiness of the life and contents of the religion. Everything external in which the inmost life and aim of the religion has moved, the ordinances and customs which its spirit formed, the vessels and the localities in which its power and will were expressed most vividly to men, the writings in which its contents are perpetuated, and, finally, even the men who are its immediate channels and interpreters, all readily acquire the appearance of sanctity. These externalities were the most immediate vehicle of the impulse of its inner life and will; they were the most visible modes of its activity; its memory and name at least are most permanently associated with them, and it is inevitable, therefore, that they should themselves revive with every awakening of the inner power of the religion, and the more their observance has for a time been neglected, the more forcibly do they obtrude themselves now, as the easiest illustrations, the most obvious manifestations, and the readiest instruments, of the religion itself. But these sacred externalities are then apt to be substituted more and more completely and injuriously in the place of the religion, and a holy zeal and faith are directed to them which ought rather to be consecrated to the pure and eternal truths and forces of the religion itself. It is still holiness, indeed, to whose dominion men submit themselves, but it is now no longer the original holiness which is ever the same, namely, God himself, and his clearly revealed will; it has only a derived sanctity, the simple reflection, as it were, of a pure light which has retired behind it. The result is something which we may correctly designate by the ambiguous word Hagiocracy (Sovereignty of the Holy), since the usual signification of this term would point to the lower side; for it is self-evident that sanctity in the true sense of the word ought to rule, but in this purest sense it is more clearly denominated at once, when dominion is spoken of, as God himself.

3) Now, if in embracing its own religion, which had become

so venerable, with a zeal altogether new and unparalleled in the past, and in having recognised in it its own unique and absolutely inalienable blessing, Israel was easily exposed to the danger lurking in the Hagiocracy by an excess of this glowing zeal to return to its ancient form, it was inevitable that it should be almost irresistibly led astray in this direction when it became a question of laying down some settled ordinances for the new community under which it might resume its activity within the limits of the independence still open to it. If that final perfection, the first dawn of which[1] had been distinctly seen by the eye of inspiration at the beginning of the great new period, had really broken at once into perfect day, an entirely new form and constitution of all the relations of God and man must have burst forth to correspond to it, and every element in the ancient order of things which opposed it would only have obtruded itself as a crumbling heap of ruins. But this early dawn, as we have seen,[2] could not yet grow into the fulness of day, and meanwhile some settled organisation for this period soon became a pressing necessity. A return to the mixed constitution of the preceding period could not be thought of at present, for the earthly king of Israel was not to be found. The pure Theocracy, therefore, came once more into nearer view. Its sanctity was derived from much more ancient times than that of the Basileo-theocracy, and the disadvantages of the latter were still quite fresh in the memory, while the former was besides made specially prominent in the Pentateuch, which was now constantly growing in sacredness. Again, the strongly marked tendency of the age to return to ancient and original types in Israel was itself constantly endeavouring to lead back the way as consistently as possible to the primitive constitution of the community of Jahveh, as the subsequent course of events will show in detail. This pure Theocracy, however, required a nation solely and entirely given up to it, and held together by it. But the great prophets of a former time could not really return again now,[3] nor did the nation ever again become outwardly firm and compact, and thoroughly united. Both the living scene of operation, therefore, and the receptive activity demanded by the austerity and truth of the former pure Theocracy, were utterly deficient; and hence every attempt at its actual restoration was immediately frustrated, and, as we shall see, only increased the evils of the time. In the absence, then, of what was really new and better (i.e. the

[1] P. 42 sq. [2] P. 29 sqq. [3] P. 35 sq.

perfection longed for, but not yet realised), nothing remained but to return provisionally, as far as the time required and allowed it, to the tried and ancient way which had become holy and venerable. The sanctity of antiquity cast a mighty shadow over this age, and it was only under it that it believed itself capable of a healthy existence. Generally speaking, therefore, but few novelties of importance were produced, but, wherever it was possible, they adhered to all that had been sacred in ancient times, seeking in it types and rules for everything, and even honouring and imitating it for the simple reason that it had once been considered holy.

The best proof of the fact that in this no mere human caprice, but a loftier decree, held sway, is furnished by a prophet who discoursed and laboured long before this epoch was even near. Since Ezekiel had already drawn a most vivid mental sketch of the new and better kingdom,[1] it would have been open to him to trace the minutest details of a great picture of this perfect kingdom in an entirely new spirit; and surely this prophet was anything but deficient in the most rich and versatile imagination. But yet he furnishes the most striking proof possible that the mind may be able to anticipate and look with confidence to a perfection never yet realised, without the power rigorously to describe its details, for, on the other hand, whenever he attempts any particular delineation, he involuntarily falls back upon the great and fixed pictures of what the past had produced. Like most of those who grew up in the exile, this prophet was not satisfied with regarding the temple and its mountain as something holy; the whole city in which the great earthly sanctuary once stood, and even the whole of the ancient land of Israel, seemed to share its sanctity in a remoter degree. Thus, such expressions as 'the holy city'[2] and 'the holy land'[3] first become common now that the bands of the exiled and dispersed accustomed themselves to gaze with the melancholy yearning of those decades towards their ancient fatherland. Ezekiel, even while he sketches the final consummation, cannot take his eyes from the pictures of this sanctuary, this holy city and this holy land; and, whenever he throws in any detail, antiquity, as portrayed in the Pentateuch and a few other books, always hovers before him, although in particular points he desires to see a

[1] P. 13 sq.

[2] This name is found for the first time in Is. xlviii. 2, lii. 1; cf. lvi. 7; and even 'the holy cities,' lxiv. 9 [8] sq. In the same way 'the holy people,' lxii. 12 (cf. ver. 9), lxiii. 18. Even this would enable us easily to recognise the real age of the great Unknown.

[3] For the first time in Zech. ii. 16 [12], then in the Wisdom of Sol. xii. 3, &c.

great deal carried out more strictly and completely, that is to say, in closer conformity with the divine pattern which he bore in his heart. Nay, in this great attempt to restore what was perfect, his mind evidently went back still further in its researches into the past, and he accepts many details so distinctly simply because he felt bound to be definite, and he could find nothing better within the hallowed circle of antiquity.[1] If, then, an Ezekiel, when freely sketching out his ideas, still felt himself drawn back by such a strong necessity to the sacredness of antiquity, and tied down in individual traits so closely to what had been rendered holy by previous history, how much less was it possible for others to avoid making this same principle the universal foundation, and allowing it a general supremacy when they were themselves engaged in re-establishing and maintaining the community amid the struggles of the actual world!

The Hagiocracy, then, was the constitution which, immediately on the final liberation, inevitably issued from the great internal transformation which had been so rapidly accomplished by the exile; and its formation was so necessary and was effected so definitely that for the whole of the six or seven centuries of its history which yet remained it maintained itself essentially unaltered. It is always the focus of the highest efforts of these last ages, and when it seems from time to time to be fading away, it is only that it may at once reimpress its stamp still more distinctly. Maturing itself at first but slowly and amidst much opposition, it becomes at last the mightiest and most firmly developed power of the age; as though it were to be the mail-clad body in which the soul of the re-awakened community, assembling again in the ancient fatherland, made its final and strongest effort to maintain itself in the isolation in which it was fortifying itself again.

But as it had never before existed in Israel, although an obvious and highly significant form of government, it could not fail now to become one of the last and most powerful means of developing the community and the religion which was recognised within it.[2]

Every hagiocracy has a more secret or exalted meaning

[1] An example is furnished by the emphatic distinction between the Priests and the Laity, see *Die Propheten des A. Bs.* ii. p. 209, [2nd ed. ii. 330; Trans. iv. 12] and the *Alterthümer*, p. 310 sqq.

[2] This with all that follows from it is the decisive feature which absolutely separates this hagiocracy from that of the Papacy. The former was necessary till the time of Christ, for no human power could prevent it; the latter has now rested for centuries on the simple obstinacy of men and on continued and increasing culpability.

concealed within it to which it can never give complete expression or action; for the further question is always asked, what sort of sanctity it is which it possesses, and what it really includes; and since time is always needed for anything to win also outward recognition and reverence as holy, the hagiocracy must always be secondary, not original. This was particularly the case with the hagiocracy to which the community of Israel now at last submitted itself after having existed for a thousand years. Behind these holy ordinances and customs, the holy priests who protected them, the holy books which expounded them in writing, the infinitely holy place in which they were upheld—behind all this visible sanctity stood something holy in itself, of the loftiest meaning, the true religion, with its eternal verities and its lofty hopes and endeavours, at that time, moreover, strained to the utmost, but also with its austere demands and moral code. But this essence which underlay the external scaffolding and even the dazzling glory of the hagiocracy, was in itself indestructible, even in a legal point of view inviolable, and it further included in itself the germ of a fresh development of far greater, nay even of infinite, scope. The hagiocracy, then, could not seriously desire to crush and stifle this intrinsic sanctity, the life and sway of the true religion itself; or if it did really attempt it in good earnest, the further question inevitably presented itself whether the latter was not strong enough to turn round and annihilate the hagiocracy itself. It was only because that which was essentially holy could not freely unfold its inmost tendencies in the great world, that it retreated within the armed body of the hagiocracy and allowed what was already considered holy in the world to have free play. But even though gradually checked at many points by the increasing rigidity of its shell, it put forth its activity through it without ceasing; nay, was even enabled under its protection to collect and prepare itself in greater peace and security for a new and stronger life. Accordingly, during the succeeding period, we see the eternal power of the true religion ever sinking deeper and deeper into the hearts of very many individuals in Israel, establishing its truths more and more firmly, and extending the area over which they are acknowledged; and many a word[1] and deed of true religion of the most powerful and imperishable kind came to maturity as it thus quietly gathered up its strength. Under this hard surface the nation also acquired in many of its strata

[1] For example, Pss. xci., cxxxix., and others like them. See *Die Dichter des A. Bs.*, ii. p. 308 sqq. [3rd ed. ii. p. 428.]

a more compact and therefore more vigorous existence; and it still retained in many points much of its ancient simplicity and austerity, as the following history will show. Thus, this last stage of the history also has its great and good elements. The community of the true religion now addresses itself with all its heart and soul to the last great task to which it is called. Beneath this hard shell, a new people, with increasing strength and independence, grows up again, ready once more to dare the utmost that a nation can in pursuing its final object. As soon as it desires to regain its strength, the open effort to reach the final lofty goal rises within it with growing power, and it becomes clear that its ultimate destiny, together with the reward of its own loftiest struggles, can be decided only on that soil on which it had been originally formed, and on which it had in spirit seen this final prize of its warfare too clearly to admit of its ever losing sight of it again, except perhaps with its own destruction.

4) No hagiocracy, however, could endure for ever, as the observations already made about its essence and origin sufficiently prove; and its associated evils display themselves soon enough without restraint. The longer it exists and the more fully it is developed, the more completely does it conceal and impede the true religion which is hidden behind it, with its truths, its powers, and its requirements; and the more sturdily it endeavours to maintain itself in the contest which thus springs up between it and that which it obscures, the more grievous is the injury which it inflicts on the object which it really desires to protect, and it may at last even feel itself impelled actually to attempt its annihilation. Even in Israel the hagiocracy was unable to keep its own development clear of this tendency. It was only very slowly that it completed its formation there; for the indestructibly sound foundation of its religion resisted it too powerfully, and the national powers were for a long time too completely relaxed and dissipated to admit of its immediately finding an extended and sufficiently secure field for its activity. But as it gradually gained strength, it made the people devoted to it too sensitive to any infraction of the merest externalities of religion, and led their thoughts more and more away from the real conditions of life which it imposed and its most distinctive and binding requirements, as the history will show in greater detail. Moreover, inasmuch as it did not allow full enough sway to the deepest powers and truths of religion, it also failed to promote any free development of all

the better spiritual activities, and necessarily acted as a check upon them in proportion to the tenacity and one-sidedness with which it gradually developed itself; and for this reason it was disabled, even when Israel gradually regained its strength, from ever again making it that people of marvellous mental capacity and material power in every direction which it had been in the past. From the moment in which it felt itself sufficiently strong and proud, it would never submit patiently to an earthly dominion, inasmuch as it regarded itself as possessing a loftier holiness which, as held by it, ought rather to rule over every earthly power; and hence, as soon as ever it could act freely, it fell into incessant and destructive conflict with it. And so, even when in the course of centuries its external position and power had again bestowed on Israel the necessary qualifications, it never could recover a national kingdom for itself, since every effort in that direction miscarried at once.

Israel, therefore, even as far as it gathered together again in the holy land, and there step by step became once more a numerous and vigorous nation, always remained in the long run subject to the supremacy of foreigners and heathens, without ever really seeing the days of David or of Solomon again, or even rejoicing in a succession of sufficiently independent kings of its own. Hence the fall of the nationality, and of the national independence of Israel, which began, as has been already proved, in the last centuries before the exile, could not be permanently delayed, in spite of the liberation and the foundation of a new Jerusalem. Israel, although it once more rose with new vigour, and in many directions earned numerous fresh blessings, yet remained on the whole a scattered, externally down-trodden, and, in comparison with others, feeble people; as though to afford it early and enduring admonitions that its mission was something very different from continuing in the position of one nation of the earth by the side of others. Through all these ages, then, in spite of the joyous light and lofty serenity with which they opened,[1] there runs a deep dissatisfaction on the part of Israel, which often takes the form of a dark and murmuring disposition, and which nothing can permanently and wholly dissipate. The depressing feeling could not be removed, that the perfect state for which Israel sighed would ever fail to appear, and in its place fresh afflictions would ever wait on the nationality which could hardly raise its head again with any spirit.[2] The

[1] P. 38 sqq.

[2] All the 7 × 62 years, from the first year of Cyrus onward, are called 'oppressed, sad,' Dan. ix. 25. No doubt the first Maccabean victories seemed for a time as if they would banish all oppres-

history of Israel, therefore, even now, though internally still sufficiently active and progressive, nay, often animated, and even roused to the intensest life, yet in the last resort always shapes its outward course in accordance with that of the most powerful of the other nations, and changes in a marked degree with the change of the dominant peoples, as though Israel, in spite of its renewed insulation and the threatening rigidity which it assumed, could never again be permanently rescued from the great sea of nations into which it had been plunged by its previous history. Again, the influence of foreign customs, knowledge, and activities, could no longer be by any means permanently warded off; especially as the most characteristic and eternal elements of Israel itself had now satisfactorily survived all the changes of time, and were too deeply rooted in the mind of the people to admit of any great damage being inflicted by the incursion of the foreign element. Hence much that penetrated from without now proved rather a beneficial and useful supplement to what they had themselves possessed in antiquity, and often served even to reanimate some good thing of their own which seemed to be gradually losing its force.

But even the serious disadvantages and the heavy gloom of this new period were at last outlived by the ancient and true religion in Israel in such a way that it was enabled to recognise all the more certainly the ultimate deficiencies which still clung to it and might yet become formidable, and that the perfection to which it aspired might finally come with the greater certainty, and be the more purely embraced. So this last great term, both in its bright and in its dark aspect, is still of the most elevating significance for the final goal of the whole history. Israel must in the first place draw itself together once more with the utmost earnestness, and, so drawn together, must look back upon its great past, and with most diligent care seek out the noblest monuments and traces it had left, so as to avoid ever losing them again. It must ponder deeply over its whole past and future, so as to grasp its final goal clearly; it must investigate its ultimate capabilities within its previous limits, so as perfectly to understand even those mistakes which can only be adequately recognised last of all and with the utmost difficulty, namely, those which pertained to the very things it considered holy, and which were rendered possible precisely by that which appeared to it most infallible. Externally secure

sion, but even after them lamentations over the continuously gloomy times of the new Jerusalem soon enough appear again, e.g. Enoch lxxxviii. 114 sq., xcii. 12 (lxxxix. 73 sq., xciii. 9 in Dillmann).

and compact, the true religion must quite clearly understand itself internally also, and learn to be on its guard against its own snares, before it can become the perfect religion. The hagiocracy, which alone remained at this period, developed itself completely, in order that, in destroying itself by the very completeness of its development and the consistency of its logic, it might allow that holiness, ever the same and ever manifest, which had at last, and in no small degree under its hard shell, reached its full maturity, to escape from it into the whole world.

2. *The Progressive Development of the Hagiocracy.*

When, however, a hagiocracy has once succeeded in tranquilly developing itself, it seeks to preserve its form as long as possible unaltered. It dreads every innovation, and can the more easily concentrate the whole of its strength on maintaining its rigid attitude in proportion to the intensity of its conviction that it is already itself in possession of the highest and holiest blessings which can draw nigh to men. And so in Israel, too, a sort of numbness seems to fall upon the aspiration after holiness for entire centuries. All freedom of fresh spiritual progress seems crushed, while the hagiocracy through the weary course of ages becomes more and more like a rock, against the immovable strength of which every storm shatters itself in vain. But in fact, the whole previous history of Israel had already established in it for all time too large a measure of the higher spiritual life and noblest effort, and even of urgent hope, and too much of what its deepest yearning expected, and, as it were, demanded, was still held back, to permit the coming ages to remain long content in any benumbing rest which might creep over them. On the other hand, beneath this hard rind there soon rose up a fresh life, full of movement, change, and variety, which often became all the more restless and stormy with the growth of fresh and unsuspected forces in the midst of outward tranquillity.

If we proceed to ask in what manner the long ages of the hagiocracy which was now established are divided by the changes which occurred in them, and by what progressive steps the life which heaved more and more mightily beneath them was developed, we cannot fail to discern that during all these centuries the destinies of Israel were most powerfully determined by the purely external influence of foreign nations. We have

seen that this could not well be otherwise;[1] and with each of the more marked revolutions in the supremacy of the great nations of the world, the position and fate of the surviving remnant of the ancient and independent people of Israel also assumes a different form. It is, then, in correspondence with the succession of the powerful supremacies of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that the long extent of the history of this third and last great phase of the destinies of Israel falls into its three broad primary sections, while the power of the Parthian empire plays but an unimportant part in its chief events. But the forces and movements which exercised the most potent influence were in reality very different, and, in the long run, very much mightier. Coming forth from the inmost heart of the people, and the deepest impulses of its most peculiar claims, efforts, and hopes, they at first simply helped to guide the course of events, and then laid it down with more and more peculiar and irresistible decision. If we investigate it more closely, we shall see that it is ultimately nothing but that one fundamental conception which, ever since the high noon of the history of Israel, had worked itself more and more deeply into its progress,[2] and now reappeared in this stage also as the principle which nothing could completely cancel, and which must at last lay hold of and determine everything by itself. It is the conception of the Messianic hope of Israel, with its fascination now so long hallowed, and the unbounded power of its mysterious purport. It reached back through the furthest conceivable spaces of the past, and it pointed forward to the glowing expectations of the future; and it is henceforth present with its dangerous inflammatory power and the fire which the true religion, in the form it had already assumed, could never suffer to be quenched, but rather supplied with nourishment ever new. Little as we might suspect from a superficial glance over the period of nearly six centuries, up to the time of Christ, that this fundamental conception was most profoundly and irrevocably determining their course, nevertheless the fact becomes proportionately certain as we take closer cognisance of the inner life and movement of the history as a whole.

The whole of this long period, in truth, far more than either of the former stages of Israel's history, was from the first, as appears from all that has been said above, dissatisfied and unreconciled internally. It moved amongst contradictions which none of the powers it had yet possessed could remove, and never again found true or enduring rest and happiness.

[1] P. 64 sqq. [2] Vol. iv. p. 18 sqq.

It opens with the loftiest hopes and boldest enterprises, and soon falls all the more deeply into despair and misery; it rises afresh from time to time to still more daring and even audacious ideas, and then loses again all outward power and glory. It feels that the best of which the whole life and effort of Israel is capable is still absent, and yet it cannot reach it by any of the methods hitherto adopted; it seeks to fortify and tranquillise itself in what at last it finds to be provisionally the best because already hallowed by the better past, and yet even so it gains no real joy or blessedness. The power which would not let it rest was no other than the fundamental Messianic idea, which was never again to be completely stifled. This idea included in itself a hope which all through Israel's history up to the present time had been too necessary ever to be lost again, too glorious and already too clear and certain to allow those who lived under its active influence to be permanently content amid all the imperfections of the present, and too true to be laid to rest except by its own fulfilment. But this fundamental conception, with its unique and marvellous purport, re-enters again and again into the larger course of national and religious history, because it affects all dominion, even the loftiest and most powerful. It must of necessity, therefore, be involved in a violent contest with everything else which passed for a more or less justifiable sovereignty throughout the long course of these centuries. It could not avoid encountering the heathen supremacy, which at that time included Israel together with so many other highly civilised nations; and it must be brought into fresh collision with every succeeding heathen dominion, without ever being able entirely to assimilate or reconcile itself to any one of them, because the kingdom of the true and perfect religion, on which its heart and eye were fixed, is diametrically opposed to all heathenism. They could only rest in peace together transitionally, for a period more or less disturbed and of longer or shorter duration. Again, the violence of this collision would inevitably vary according to the different character of the successive heathen supremacies. At one time it would be sharper, at another more gentle, now full of hope and now of despair. Even a deadly struggle might be of various kinds, victorious or ruinous, initial or final. A fresh encounter could never be completely and for all future time evaded, so to speak, even if the previous attempt had been unsuccessful, or the fundamental idea had long been dormant. The power which gave its deepest impulse to the whole of this

history, and which was never completely at rest, lay in this fundamental Messianic conception, and nothing but the fulfilment of its indestructibly sacred hopes for the perfection of the true religion and of its kingdom could ultimately bring about any conclusion which, by attaining the goal of all the history of Israel, would necessarily coincide with the termination of this its third and last stage. But, further, any great power or sovereignty which established itself within the community of ancient Israel was inevitably brought sooner or later into collision with this idea, and on this field nothing could equal the importance of the collision with the hagiocracy itself; for this form of government, as has been already said, attained a solitary pre-eminence of power and determined the condition of everything within its reach during all these centuries, and even aimed at stepping completely into the place of the Theocracy as the primitive constitution of the community from the time of Moses. Ultimately, then, the whole question which this term of Israel's history has to decide, necessarily hinged on the manner in which its fundamental conception (this being after all only a return to that of the original pure Theocracy, simply endeavouring to fertilise it anew, and, as it were, bring it to full maturity and strength) could take the place of the hagiocracy, and even overcome its defects and its serious faults when they had assumed their full proportions.

It is only from the point of view of this leading idea and its complications with the ruling powers that we can take a correct survey either of the inner life and texture or of the progress and articulation of the development of all this long history.

1) In the Persian age, as we have already seen,[1] even Cyrus, the powerful and upright liberator of the people, could only be temporarily regarded as a divine instrument for the accomplishment of the Messianic expectations; and, therefore, after the restoration of the ancient kingdom and temple, so far as this was still possible, the eternal hope was free to fix itself soon enough upon some hero who might seem more worthy, and await from him the satisfaction of its venerable and high-wrought longing. But the speedy disappointment of this and all other such premature hopes, together with the inexorable fall of the nation, still young in its antiquity, from its high excitement into all the cruel reality of these recent times, compelled at last the definite establishment of the hagiocracy

[1] P. 45 sqq.

under Ezra with all its advantages and all its defects, as the most tolerable constitution for the period. Thus it seemed as if nothing could happen more relaxing or fatal to spiritual life than the continuance of the Persian supremacy, the weight of which was ever felt to press more and more heavily.

2) The Greek age, however, suddenly introduced into everything an entirely new freedom and ease of movement, and this freer tendency was capable of being turned to more and more fruitful advantage, at any rate by many isolated and, as it were, preparatory movements of the fundamental Messianic conception. But when this took place, the kernel of the eternal hope was too thickly covered by the hard rind of the hagiocracy which had already assumed its full rigidity, and its variegated pictures of the future had fled as it were in terror too far into the pure heavens, to enable even the victorious revolt against the Greek levity which grew out of this new freedom to introduce a genuine advance towards the grand and final goal. This second great section of the whole period, therefore, in spite of all its external growth, only ended at last in all the more complete internal dissolution.

3) This continued until the fresh and inexorable severity and stern rigour which the Roman supremacy, like that of the Persians, brought with it, drove the hagiocracy, which had already reached the absolute culmination of its development long before, as if by a doom which it could not resist, into the most vehement and destructive opposition. The whole of this long history must necessarily have come to a close with the inevitable death-struggle of these two supremacies had not the other and happier alternative still remained, viz. that the true religion should even now, before the absolute crash of all that had become radically perverted and pernicious, gain a genuine victory over the formidable power alike of the hagiocracy and of all heathenism, and of the imperfections which had hitherto accompanied them. Ceasing to aspire improperly in any one direction, it would thus attain its perfection, and so fulfil all the glorified hope which gathered round the ancient sanctity of the community. And the passage of this fairer possibility into the absolute reality of imperishable truth and power can alone form the proper termination alike of this third term and of the whole of Israel's protracted history.

Such, in briefest outline, is the description of the three successive steps of the development of this last great phase of the history, each one mightier than its predecessor. The

material duration, again, of each of these three concluding periods is about the same, except that the Greek period was additionally protracted by its gradual transition into the Roman. The Persian age is very obscure in its individual features; indeed, it furnishes the dark and difficult commencement of the whole of this long term. But if its work was the hardest, it was also undertaken with the most indefatigable energy, and constituted the broad and solid foundation for the whole. Thus this period also has its own peculiar charm and special significance. The Greek age was immediately swayed hither and thither by a profusion of fresh impulses, and oscillated between amazing elevation and the profoundest dejection. But just as throughout the third great section the whole history approaches with increasing certainty towards its one true and lofty goal, even in the midst of the most violent convulsions and paroxysms, when every perishable element within it sank down ruined and ruinous, and just as the perfect order itself, which is ever new, struggles forth out of the old, which vainly and spasmodically contended against its own collapse, so too the visible area of its operations is at once amazingly enlarged, and the last of these three ages, inasmuch as it at length brings with it the fruit of the whole history, transcends all comparison with any of those which preceded it.

The authorities, however, are henceforth for the most part more fragmentary, especially for the ages included in the present volume, viz. the two first. No work embracing the whole of the long period of over six hundred years, or even the history of the new Jerusalem, was produced in the declining period of antiquity. The whole of this last term appeared to the survivors of the destruction of Jerusalem to present too little of an elevating character, and they themselves, as was not unnatural, still failed to understand the true meaning and the great lessons of this dismembered history. This gap appears to be filled up by the Hebrew historical work, divided into six books, of *Josephus*—or (to use the diminutive by which he more correctly designates himself[1]) *Josippón—ben Gorion*, which, like the Old Testament Chronicles begins indeed with Adam, but soon arrives at Cyrus, and then carries down the history to the destruction of Jerusalem. But although this book was much read in the later Middle Ages, even by Christians, and was

[1] See v. 1, p. 351 Breith. (cf. *Lehrb.* § 167), to be compared with ii. 24. The late narrator himself plays with his mask as though he desired to pass for the old Josephus.

translated into many languages,[1] principally because it was confounded with the real Josephus, it was in fact only composed in the earlier Middle Ages, in order to supply the place of the true Josephus, whose history had been for a long time lost, as far as the Jews of that period were concerned. It would be more correctly entitled a Romano-Judean history. Its author no doubt imitates the ancient Hebrew style with great dexterity, and made use of all the authorities he could get together in Italy, where he probably lived in the eighth century after Christ; but, in common with his age, he suffered from a total want of historical perception or judgment, and gave himself no trouble to produce anything more satisfactory.[2]

The Duration of the Exile.

At this point, however, we must for a moment once more turn to the beginning of this long period, and observe how this internal transformation, which was brought about in Israel by the exile, produced from the first such important results, that, as soon as ever affairs had come to their crisis, which they did (as we shall see) under Zerubbabel as the first governor of the new Jerusalem, it at once led up to the hagiocracy, which was henceforth the only enduring constitution in the centuries which elapsed before the close of this whole term. And unless the way for the profound transformation and regeneration of Israel had been already prepared, as has been amply explained above, long before the beginning of the general exile, and unless the change had been brought on by the great prophets themselves, it certainly could not have been accomplished in so short a time as that for which the exile really lasted.

Strictly speaking, its duration was only forty-seven years if we reckon by the Canon of Ptolemy, from the nineteenth year of Nabuchodrozzor to the first of Cyrus; or better, forty-nine years, if we add on, as we probably ought to do, the two years' reign of the Median King whom Cyrus set on the throne of Babylon.[3] Besides this we have evidence to the same effect,

[1] For instance, into Arabic and Æthiopic, as I pointed out in the *Zeitschr. für das Morgenland*, vol. v. p. 200 sq.

[2] Scaliger and other men of his stamp already estimated the work correctly.

[3] The intervening reign, very short at any rate, of Darius the Mede (aged 62) mentioned in Dan. vi. 1, 29 [v. 31, vi. 28], ix 1, xi. 1, is not noticed by the Canon of Ptolemy or Herodotus (or Ctesias ?), but he may be the same as the Cyaxares, son of Astyages, of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. It is in fact difficult to understand how such an intervening reign could have been a pure invention of the Book of Daniel; the difficulty is only that the Cyaxares of Xenophon is here called Darius son of Ahasverosh, ix. 1. Now

though it is certainly somewhat remote, in the Old Testament itself, for the Book of Daniel reckons seven times seven years from Jeremiah's prediction concerning the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of Jerusalem up to 'a princely anointed one,' by whom Cyrus is evidently signified.[1] This evidence, at any rate, gains additional weight from the fact that the Book of Daniel limits the time during which Jerusalem was completely in ruins to these forty-nine years. But another method of computation was frequently employed at an early period. Jeremiah had fixed the duration of the Chaldean supremacy which still remained at seventy years.[2] This, indeed, as the prophet most distinctly explained, was nothing but a round number, to signify a space of time reaching to the third generation, or about the extent of a whole lifetime, and to indicate that only the smallest possible number of those then living would see the end of this supremacy. Accordingly, Ezekiel, speaking a considerable number of years later, reduces the round number to forty.[3] To this it may be added that Jeremiah fixed the term of servitude at seventy years with reference not to Israel alone but to all the weaker nations, and did not definitely specify any particular year from which the seventy were to be counted. This number was first given out by him eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem,[4] and was afterwards repeated without alteration in subsequent years, as a fixed number,[5] although it is easy to see that he always let the year in which he first uttered this grand oracle concerning the future of all the nations of the time stand as the immediate commencement of the seventy years, and had no intention of altering it. The oracle itself was indeed fulfilled in the same sense as others were, for a year or two more or less need not be considered in the case of so large a round number, and it was

this last name, at any rate (cf. Ἀσυηρός, Tob. xiv. 15), is undoubtedly identical with Cyaxares, namely, Axares with the prefix Cy, like Kai-Chosrev. A distant connection between these names would accordingly still appear if the new king assumed some such name in Babylon as Darius, son of Ahasverosh (son of Astyages). When, however, the Hellenistic writer who edited the latest Book of Daniel (vid. infr.), in the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, v. 1, calls the predecessor of Cyrus in Babylon Astyages, i.e. the father of Cyaxares, it is only a further confusion of father and son similar to that of Herodotus, i. 127 sqq. The only difficulty is that we have as yet no further evidence concerning this name, and indeed do not meet with it anywhere else before the Persian Darius I. At any rate, only the Babylonians and their neighbours the Babylonian Judeans reckon in this short intermediate reign, because their release could only begin with the immediate supremacy of Cyrus in Babylon.

[1] Dan. ix. 25.

[2] P. 12.

[3] See further *Die Propheten des A. Bs.*, ii. p. 131 sq., 215 [2nd ed., 230 sq., 336; Trans. iii. 219, iv. 20]. A good explanation is further afforded by a prophet of the early years of the new Jerusalem, who again makes use of the same expression, *Is.* xxiii. 15.

[4] Jer. xxv. 11 sq.

[5] Jer. xxvii. 7, xxix. 10.

this that soon brought the figure into such universal renown and constant use. But Jeremiah had not intended the number seventy to serve as a historical datum, still less did he wish to specify by it the number of years during which Jerusalem was to lie in a state of absolute ruin. As, however, this prediction about Israel had been, broadly speaking, entirely fulfilled, and Jeremiah was regarded in later times as the most renowned prophet of the decline of the kingdom, it gradually became usual to transfer Jeremiah's seventy years to the period of the exile in its narrowest sense, i.e. the time during which Jerusalem was in ruins. The first instance of this is furnished by the Chronicler;[1] but even if we take the period of the exile in the wider sense, that is, if we count from Jehoiachin's banishment eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the number seventy is still too high.

It is only by reckoning the Captivity from the year of Josiah's death and the beginning of the Egyptian vassalage that we make out about seventy years before 538 B.C., but this year cannot be regarded in this light, and the whole computation would be opposed to the ideas of antiquity. On the contrary, about twenty years after the first year of Cyrus, Zechariah, as the first witness we can call, still speaks of seventy years during which the great affliction of Israel had then been going on;[2] as indeed we shall soon see that the keenest sufferings of the age were by no means terminated at once with the first year of Cyrus. And when several centuries later in Jerusalem they still felt themselves heavily oppressed by the supremacy of the stranger, they thought that the seventy years of Jeremiah were not yet over, and endeavoured to find a secret meaning in the number, as though it must needs signify a period of much longer duration.[3]

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20 sq.; but even here the number seventy does not yet appear as a definite number on the same footing as others in the continuous chronological reckoning.

[2] Zech. i. 12, vii. 5. So Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, iii. 25–29 (where, however, we can easily see from many indications the full uncertainty of this view), Clem. Al., *Strom.*, i. p. 329–31 (Sylburgius), and Eus., *Chron.*, i. p. 183 sqq., ii. p. 202 sq., arbitrarily reckon the seventy years of Jeremiah down to the second year of Darius, as if the exile had not ended until the completion of the building of the second Temple. So, too, the *Seder Olam R.*, c. 29, and *Zutta*, with an estimate of 52 years for the exile proper; but these works furnish us with no genuine chronology. Generally speaking, the chronological notions of the later Jews on all the centuries between Cyrus and Titus are so entirely perverse and inadequate that it is better to pass them over in absolute silence whenever we can avail ourselves of older authorities.

[3] Perhaps 7 × 70, or 70 weeks of years (as if a week of years were only a greater, a divine year), Dan. ix.; or as if 70 years in a still wider and less definite sense were intended to signify the years, i.e. the reigns, of 70 foreign princes, Enoch lxxxviii. 94 sqq., lxxxix. 33, cf. x. 15 (in Lawrence's edition lxxxix. 59 sqq.); for details see below. It was also thought that at any rate the exile had really lasted for seven generations (i.e. throughout the whole Persian age), Epist. Jerem. v. 3. Compare the 77 years of the *Ascensio Mosis*.

SECTION I.

THE HAGIOCRACY UNDER THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

In the course of this period, which extended over rather more than two hundred years, from 538 or rather 536[1] to 333 B.C., the community which was forming itself once more round the ancient sanctuary and fortress of the hill of Jerusalem could but renovate its strength by degrees, beginning under the humblest and at the same time the most trying circumstances. It is true that there was much to favour its development. The good-will of the Persian government was at first secured to it.[2] It was, in fact, one of its fundamental principles to allow every nation or tribe in its broad dominions to continue almost undisturbed in its peculiar customs, its internal organisation, and its self-administration, provided it remained quiet and complied with the imperial decrees; and the far-famed justice shown by a Cyrus, and still more by a Darius I., to their subjects, long kept the majority of the subjugated nations in no unwilling submission to this government. In all these respects the Persian supremacy was quite unlike and far superior to the Assyrian, or its simple continuation by the Chaldeans; and even under Artaxerxes I. there were still some propitious days in store for the ancient people of Israel.

But in spite of the initial good-will of the Persian rulers, the ancient fatherland could not be regained without a thousand toils and trials. The foundations of the new settlement long remained very weak and subject to the most various oppression. The seat of the Persian government was too remote, and indeed the supreme power itself was hardly capable of finding a permanent solution of the complications and hostilities between the almost innumerable populations which were crowded together under its sway. Moreover, the new Israel once more occupied, so far as its members were gathered in Palestine, one of the most critical and exposed positions in the Persian empire, close by the Phœnician cities, which were never quite content, and the still more unruly Egyptians. Nor was it long before the relations between this peculiar people, as it arose once more, and its Persian governors gradually

[1] P. 72. [2] P. 47 sqq.

became more and more overcast. To this were added later on the grave evils from which the Persian supremacy languished in most countries, so that this period, after opening with the most eager anticipations of the benefits which would accrue from the rule of Cyrus, drew to a close amid increasing indifference and even keen hostility to the Persians. Thus for two hundred years the new commencement of a more independent community and a national development of Israel could only maintain and unfold itself under the heaviest pressure from without, and its dominant tendency was towards the completest retirement from the bustle of the great world, and the closest internal consolidation. But the hardness of this shell and this tranquillity were precisely the conditions which enabled the indestructible growth of this community to rise with fresh power after every oppression. And so, in spite of all this, it becomes again more and more convinced of its special higher calling, and sees many new elements connected with it flourishing gaily; and towards the end of the whole of this period it even presents the spectacle of the resurrection of one of the most courageous and vigorous nations, hardly to be restrained from bursting through its narrow bounds.

Externally, then, Israel had hardly any connected or in any way elevating history during this period; and scarcely a single historical work of antiquity has ever been specially devoted to the description of the Persian age of Israel. When in after times it looked back upon these two hundred years they seemed on the whole to form a period of but little light or joy; and since the memory bequeathed to Israel by the majority of the great kings of Persia was only one of indifference and distance, or even of gloom, less and less accuracy came to be practised in distinguishing between the many monarchs who had borne the names of Darius, Xerxes, or Artaxerxes. The names of many of these remote kings were confounded, and only for some few was a fixed place retained in tradition and narration.[1] But in the quiet inner sanctuary, in the secret world of Israel, a life was kindled of all the more intense activity. A few great men found a field for their noiseless but enduring labours

[1] At any rate in popular language, where there was no particular need of perfectly accurate history. Dan. xi. 2 (cf. vii. 5) mentions only four Persian kings after Cyrus; just as Baruch, i. 11. and the Book of Daniel, speak of only *one* son and successor of Nabuchodrozzor, Belshazzar or Baltasar (contrary to Berosus, see p. 52 *note* 1, and also to the Canon of Ptolemy). The later chronologists, accordingly, generally followed the *Seder Olam R.* in contracting the 200 years or more of the Persian supremacy into an incredibly short period. This has thrown the whole chronology of these centuries into the utmost confusion.

all the more free and grateful, and they became pre-eminently the powerful and blessed instruments by which this age, in the enforced tranquillity of oppression, was also enabled to satisfy its purer and nobler necessities. Since the whole period was supported only by these great but single and isolated personalities, it is fortunate that we still possess tolerably full and trustworthy monuments of them, partly composed by their own hands. These are therefore our readiest and richest materials for the restoration, on as sure and connected a basis as possible, of the history of a period of which we have little other accurate knowledge, and in which we are entirely without the guidance of a continuous thread, more or less perceptibly distinct.

This period of Israel's history might be regarded as a complete anticipation of that which followed the final destruction of the new Jerusalem itself and the second kingdom, when the nation could only rally round its spiritual instructors and leaders, and that hagiocracy which afterwards exercised so profound an influence over all the remnants of the ancient people by means of the Mishnah and Talmud was developed under the *Rêsh-gâlûtha* (Head of the Exiles) and his rabbis, especially under the Parthian and Neopersian empires. Indeed, at these times, when a nation has nothing left to rally round and lean upon except its ancient spiritual privileges, especially its venerable religion, the conditions are the most favourable to the development of a hagiocracy, whatever shape or form it may assume in details. Even Christian nations, when enslaved by Islam, have in many cases clung more closely to their clergy, and the ancient sanctity protected by them, as to their last refuge; and in like manner Islam has never been grasped with a firmer faith than when, through exceptional circumstances, it has fallen under foreign dominion. But the great difference between Israel as the second Temple rose and Israel as that Temple fell in ruins for ever, is that the former could assemble once more on its ancient fatherland, not simply to enjoy the inheritance of its fathers, but above all things because it still retained the truest and most vivid consciousness of being destined to accomplish an infinitely lofty divine purpose, which could be achieved only in that land in which it had been incessantly pursued for a thousand years, and the attainment of which had been broken off violently for a little while, only that it might forthwith be followed up again with the greater purity and consistency. In the Israel, then, which gradually reassembled during these two hundred years from its dispersion

and exile a true nation might once more develope itself, even though the process must be slow, and it could never be so powerful outwardly as it had formerly been. Israel had still a task to accomplish which was capable by itself of moulding the whole life of a people, and which, of all the nations of the time, whether great or small, Israel alone could achieve. Clearly or obscurely it was conscious of this, and this thought supported and moulded it, drew it together and strengthened it, and, in spite of the hostility of the world, once more secured it a marvellous growth and prosperity, until it approached nearer and nearer to the goal at which it would be inevitably compelled to decide once for all whether it really desired the Perfect or not.

A. THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

I. ZERUBBABEL OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID, AND JOSHUA THE HIGH-PRIEST.

The edicts in which Cyrus granted the exiles the right of returning, together with certain other privileges, are no longer in our possession,[1] but yet there are abundant traces from which we can recognise with tolerable certainty even their minuter details. Next to the return itself, the most important concession was the liberty to erect a new temple on the site of the former one. Cyrus must have taken a specially warm personal interest in this undertaking, since he ordered his treasurer Mithridates to return the gold and silver utensils of the sanctuary of Jerusalem, which had been brought to Babylon by Nabuchodrozzor, and were there preserved as trophies in the great temple of Bel. About this circumstance we still possess the most accurate specifications.[2] Cyrus further gave per-

[1] P. 49 sq.

[2] Ezra i. 7–11, comp. with 1 Esdras ii. 10–15. The vessels are indicated according to their form; basket-like, i.e. open above (גרטל, cf. *Lehrb.* §§ 177 *b.*, 215 *a.*, passed into the Greek *κάρταλλος*), woven, i.e. adorned with network above, perhaps to let the smoke through (מַחְלָף), and covered (כִּפּוֹר); then the other smaller ones (such as cups, &c.). The numbers, however, are variously given in Ezra and 1 Esdras: in the former 30, 1000, 29, 30, 410, 1000, that is 2499 in all, and yet they have to make a total of 5400; in 1 Esdras we have 1000, 1000, 29, 30, 2410, 1000, giving a total of 5469. No doubt the only mistake in 1 Esdras is that the first item is given 1000 instead of 1030, so that the correct total is 5499; hence, in the first item in the Hebrew 1030 must be read for 30, and then ver. 10, אֲלָפִים for מְשֹׁנִים. But the LXX already follow Ezra. From this single example we may understand the whole relation of 1 Esdras to Ezra. Distinct reference to these sacred utensils is elsewhere made in Ezra v. 14 sq., vi. 5, Jer. li. 51, Baruch i., and the story of Daniel v.; and, according to Is. lii. 11, even the great Unnamed refers to them in all such graphic passages as xl. 3–5, lxii. 11 sq., in the hope

mission to those who wished to return, to take with them not only their private possessions, of all kinds, but also any presents which might be offered them by their recent neighbours either for their personal use or for the projected erection of the sanctuary.[1] These two things were by no means a matter of course, and the latter was of great significance for that age. We have seen [2] that a partial improvement in the relations subsisting between the captives and their Chaldean conquerors had gradually taken place, and that many individual heathens began to experience a certain reverence for the fate of Israel, and still more for the truth of its religion. Now this feeling might in some cases rise into a desire to be received into their community, and in others might at least express itself in heartfelt sympathy with their future and with the honour of their sacred objects; and the favour shown to them by the mighty ruler of the then known world certainly quickened this active sympathy on the part of many heathens. The prophets of the time, who have been described above, had therefore all the more ground for anticipating that even the heathen would devote their affectionate assistance of every kind to the returning exiles, nay, that princes and princesses would be as it were the guardians and nurses of the feeble infancy of the community as Jerusalem rose from its ruins.[3] Indeed, generally speaking, the richer and more influential Judeans were very little disposed to return. Most of those, on the other hand, who did not shrink from the hardships of the journey and the new settlement were, according to every indication, so utterly helpless and destitute that these thoughts and anticipations may easily be understood, though they would have been impossible in the earlier and more prosperous days of the nation; and we can well conceive how important this second privilege granted by Cyrus must have been to them. We do not know exactly to what extent, or in what form the necessities of the exiles were relieved by these benefactions;[4] but poverty and helplessness of every kind were the lot of the settlers

that they would be at once a glory and a sanctification to the procession of the exiles returning from Babylon, as they bore them in their midst as their holiest possession; for it will become still clearer hereafter that there can be no reference to the ancient sacred Ark of the Covenant.

[1] No more than this can originally be implied in the words Ezr. i. 4; cf. ver. 6.

[2] P. 33 sq.

[3] The great Unnamed first speaks of this in his second composition, Is. xlix. 22 sqq., lx. 8–10, lxi. 5–11, lxvi. 12, 19 sq.; cf. lxii. 2, and further, p. 45. These thoughts and anticipations, however, are expanded and brightened by the great Unnamed until they reach a height corresponding to the general elevation of his survey; but we must not, on this account, mistake their historical foundation.

[4] With the exception of the very general statement of Ezr. i. 6.

long after the new foundation of Jerusalem, and constituted one of the greatest contrasts between the later and the earlier people. Hence there was much depression and despondency in the hearts of the new Israel. The fear that, at any rate, the sanctuary of the true God very likely would not attain to suitable splendour, and that the external honour of its worshippers was suffering in the eyes of numbers of heathens, was a source of still deeper sorrow to many Israelites, and excited thoughts and wishes within them which were far removed from the older nation.[1]

We may, however, doubt whether Cyrus gave permission to this first band of returning exiles to take possession again of the whole territory of the former kingdom of Judah. Even the very brief account of the Chronicler makes everything which took place at this time revolve exclusively round the Temple and Jerusalem. The whole circuit of the ancient holy city, with a suitable piece of territory, must of course have been made over to the restored exiles, and evacuated by the foreign inhabitants who might have settled there in the meanwhile. It is, however, very remarkable that in the exact list of the first restoration (to be discussed presently) we find new settlers mentioned only in a small number of the cities of the ancient kingdom, and these are for the most part only the northern cities which, together with Jerusalem, were reckoned as belonging to the ancient Benjamin. In a southern direction we only find Bethlehem, which, since the time of David,[2] had been almost inseparably united with Jerusalem. Such a phenomenon cannot be accidental. It was certainly made known in Babylon that no cities except these would be open to the returning exiles; and none but these, together with Jerusalem, were occupied in the first instance.

Now, in the first place, we should be ready to suspect the Idumeans, on general grounds,[3] of being concerned in this matter, since they were Israel's most bitter foes when Jeru-

[1] We see this, for example, only a few years later, in the case of the disciple who added the words in Is. xxiii. 15–17 to the ancient oracle on Tyre. This is, in particular, the meaning of the words of ver. 17 sq. Even in Tob. xiv. 5, the poverty of the second temple is a subject of lament.

[2] We have this list twice in Ezr. ii. and Nehem. vii., and a third time, in a very ancient copy with many variants, in 1 Esdras v. 7–46. The names given in Ezr. ii. 21–35 all belong to cities; only 'the sons of the other Elam,' ver. 31, cf. ver. 7, and 'the sons of Harim,' ver. 32 (cf. Neh. iii. 11. x. 28 [27], xii. 15), are out of place here, and are omitted moreover in 1 Esdras. The position of most of the cities mentioned here is, generally speaking, known with certainty.

[3] See vol. iv. pp. 271, 274. P. 80 sq. Cf. also vol. ii. p. 336 sqq., and the brief remarks on Lam. iv. 21 in the *Dichter des A. Bs.* I. *b*, p. 345, 3rd ed.

salem was destroyed; and, in the second place, we actually find them in possession of important portions of the ancient territory of Judah and Israel even so late as in the times of the Maccabees; and we shall see more clearly hereafter how hotly the doubtful contest for these districts was maintained between the Idumeans and Israel, even in these later times. They were then in possession of the whole of the southern part of the old kingdom of Judah, with the ancient capital of Hebron, up to the former territory of the Philistines to the west;[1] but even further north-east of Jerusalem, between Jericho and the territory of the inhabitants of Samaria, now very much contracted, they occupied a tract of land extending to the Jordan, with Acrabat as its capital. This city seems, as far as we can make out, to have been founded here in the first instance by the Idumeans. The whole district was still called after it Acrabattinê in the Greco-Roman times.[2] How the Idumeans became possessed of these tracts of land as regular settlers we have, it is true, no direct evidence; but there are certain indications which point to a tolerably safe conclusion. Obviously they were put in possession of these southern and north-eastern tracts by Nabuchodrozzor, as a reward for the repeated and faithful assistance they had rendered him in his wars with Jerusalem, and in order that they might hold it in check upon two sides. It may have been that the kingdom of Judah, when the last king, Zedekiah, was placed upon the throne, was already reduced to these narrow confines as a punishment for the revolt which had preceded,[3] or it may have been that on the destruction of the kingdom, Jerusalem alone, with its immediate environs, came under the special ban, and so must be left desert, while the rest of the country fell to the Idumeans. These old hereditary foes of Israel were still occupying that portion of the territory of which they had taken possession,

[1] 1 Macc. iv. 15, 29, 61, v. 65; 2 Macc. x. 16; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 10; westwards lay, in particular, the cities of Adora and Marissa, of which we shall often have to speak below, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 4; *Ant.* xiii. 9, 1. Gaza, too, on the south-west, is often mentioned as an Idumean boundary, Jos. *contr. Ap.* ii. 10. A short reference is preserved from earlier times in 1 Esdras iv. 50 (cf. ver. 45), and is repeated with amplification by Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 3, 8.

[2] 1 Macc. v. 3. The name of Acrabit is found in the Book of Jubilees, c. xxix. (*Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 36), and that of Acrabattinê often in Josephus and others. On the site of the place Akrabbim, cf. Eusebius in the *Onomast.* According to the same *Onomasticon* there was even a little city called *Edumia* situated in this neighbourhood, and the ruins of both have been rediscovered in modern times, cf. Kiepert's Atlas and Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 280, ed. 1856, also *Adomin. in Thetmari peregrinatio*, c. xi. p. 30. Laur. 37; Brux.

[3] In that case, an easy explanation would be afforded of the phenomenon pointed out in vol. iv. p. 271 sq., and the two fortresses mentioned p. 273 would only be retaken by Judah in the last war; but there is no explicit proof of this.

when Cyrus sanctioned the return, and, as far as we can tell, this monarch was by no means prepared to expel the Idumeans from the lands they had occupied and cultivated for fifty or sixty years. The violence of the fresh collisions between the Judeans and the Idumeans which soon arose out of these relations, and the persistency with which the new Israel maintained, at least in hope and aspiration, its claim to its ancient sacred possessions, may be gathered clearly from the prophetic utterances of the time.[1] Yet twenty years after, when Zechariah preached, the southern and western districts of the ancient land of the tribe of Judah had not yet been recolonised by Israel.[2] Later on, towards the time of Nehemiah, they must have succeeded already in gaining a firm footing in Hebron, for example, and in other places to the south.[3] It is probable also that the Idumeans themselves soon lost a great deal of their prestige and power by internal divisions and commotions, for there are clear indications[4] that their monarchy, which was now only held in vassalage, still continued to be elective.

So small, then, even in its extension, was the commencement of the new community. But in numbers, too, the restoration itself was in the first instance scanty enough; for it might easily be foreseen that the returning exiles, in addition to the dangers of the journey, would have to contend against a thousand difficulties amid the ruins of their ancient country; and so it can only have been the more courageous, and those who were inspired by a more eager love for their former fatherland and its sanctuary, who would now decide to set forth at once and commence the new settlement. We still know with certainty that the whole number of those who then reassembled in the ruins of Jerusalem and the other cities which were open to them, did not amount to more than 42,360 men, with 7,337 servants of both sexes. An accurate record of the primitive condition of the new settlement was certainly made soon after some kind of order had been established, and although it has only been preserved in two or three versions, which already exhibit a tolerably wide divergence from each other, yet on the

[1] P. 15 sq.

[2] This may be inferred with sufficient certainty from the words of Zech. vii. 7, comp. with vii. 2.

[3] This follows from the very accurate catalogue of the cities actually inhabited in Nehemiah's time, Neh. xi. 25–35; nay, we may reasonably conclude from it that many of the cities had not been fully repopulated before Nehemiah's time, for otherwise the catalogue would have no real significance. Moreover, Nehemiah's own catalogue of the districts which took an active part in building of the walls, Neh. iii. 1–32, proves the same thing when compared with Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii.

[4] Is. xxxiv. 12. The sentence pronounced in Mal. i. 2–5 also has a clear reference to these heavy subsequent disasters of the Idumeans.

whole it is very trustworthy, and is full of those instructive details which are peculiar to documents of this description.[1] Of the thousands who returned, many, no doubt, were descendants of the great band of captives who were carried away with King Jehoiachin.[2] These men, since they were, to begin with, so numerous, and at the same time were drawn from the better classes of the people, must have been generally regarded as the proper representatives of the nation in Babylon. A certain connection was still for the most part maintained amongst them, and joint regulations, like those concerning the days of penance already mentioned,[3] could most readily emanate from them. Any one, indeed, who should only consider the numbers of those who were carried away under public supervision, on occasion of the first and second conquests of Jerusalem,[4] would be at a loss to understand how even so many as 42,000 could return; but we may certainly assume that on its final reduction the great mass of the Judeans were handed over as booty to the Chaldean conquerors, and that these also now received their freedom.

But the most fortunate circumstance of the time was that two men were found in Babylon to put themselves at the head of the movement, who, by their lofty zeal for Israel and its God, by the distinction of their tribe and family, and by the vigour of their age (neither appears to have been very old), were exactly qualified to become the leaders of the people as it rose again at a period of such great depression. Zerubbabel[5] sprang from the royal house of David. He was a grandson, through

[1] The document concerning the first inhabitants of the new kingdom only reaches from Ezr. ii. 1 to ver. 67, and is quite complete within this compass, and the length of the two or three duplicates mentioned above [p. 80, *note* 2] is not greater. But no doubt the register as we now have it was originally written by the oldest historian of the time in the 'Book of the generations of those who returned from Babylon,' mentioned in Neh. vii. 5, which may still be detected by certain peculiarities of language, cf. vol. i. p. 189. The leading numbers have remained the same in all the three copies, but in other respects very great differences in details have crept in, which supply sufficient proof of the great liberties taken by many ancient copyists. A marked example of this may be found in the passage mentioned on p. 78 about the sacred vessels, which seems ultimately to have been derived from this same ancient Book.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 264 sq.

[3] P. 22, sq.

[4] Vol. iv. pp. 264, sq. 274 sq.

[5] Spelt by the Hellenists Zorobabel, but also Zorombabel in many of the oldest MSS. in Luke iii. 27. He is universally called a son of Shealtiel (Hellenistic Σαλαθιήλ) by his own contemporaries, Hag. i. 1, 12, ii. 2, 23, and in the same way by the Chronicler, Ezr. iii. 2, 8, v. 2. 1 Chron. iii. 17–19 is the only authority for the statement that he was a son of Pedaiah, and that Shealtiel had no son. But no doubt an ancient clerical error has crept into this passage of the Chronicles; moreover, according to Holmes-Parsons, the MSS. of the LXX are also very far from agreeing in this place. Probably the mention of the sons of Pedaiah has dropped out. In opposition to this passage, and to Matt. i. 12, he is not traced back to Solomon in Luke iii. 27. The expression in the *Ascensio Mosis*, iv., '*unus qui est supra eos*,' probably designates Zerubbabel.

Shealtiel, of King Jeconiah, who had died[1] about 560 B.C., and at this time, therefore, he was by no means too far advanced in years; besides, we know that he and his colleague were both living twenty years afterwards. This colleague was Joshua (or Jeshua, as the Chronicler calls him throughout, in accordance with the later usage, but in opposition to the older authorities), a son of Jozadak, who had been sent into exile after the destruction of Jerusalem, together with his father, the high-priest Seraiah.[2] He was, therefore, about the same age as Zerubbabel, and both belonged to the younger generation of the exiles. The priests, in general, took a most active part in the enterprise; and this passage of Israel's history shows in the strongest light how the continued existence of a nation may be promoted by the presence of distinguished families of long-inherited position, occupation, and honour in its midst; for Israel would never have reassembled so easily unless certain self-sacrificing descendants of the priestly and Davidic families had felt that the voice of history called upon them to make every effort for their people. And if it was a great gain to have such men, exalted by the nobility of their descent, and by personal high-mindedness, who, as the natural representatives of the people, showed themselves completely worthy of the call, it was an advantage of equal importance to find, if not in the ancient royal house, at least in the hereditary high-priest and his universally known and honoured family, a firm nucleus round which the remaining members of the people might rally.

Those who were merely Levites took a far less active part; and most of them, being accustomed to a simpler mode of life, appear to have fallen in more readily with foreign usages.[3] This disproportion in the number of the Levites remained essentially the same in later times, and a complete change, therefore, in the general relations between the Levites and the priests was gradually established throughout the new state. In earlier times the priests had really been, as it were, the few princes of a great host of Levites; but the numbers of the latter were now so small that their efforts to put themselves on a footing of equality with the priests were more and more successful, especially as they had been constantly raising their

[1] P. 18.

[2] Cf. the passages quoted in vol. i. p. 171 *note* 4, with 2 Kings xxv. 18.

[3] Both these facts result from Ezr. ii. 36–42. According to these accurate data the number of the Levites was surprisingly small in comparison with that of the priests. The same phenomenon is subsequently repeated in Ezra's expedition; Ezr. viii. 15–19, on which more below.

position since the time of David.[1] Still the authority of the Pentateuch was so clearly opposed to this that centuries elapsed before they saw the claims they now put forward more and more fully recognised, until, towards the close of the whole Hagiocracy, their objects were almost entirely realised.[2]—On the other hand, at the very commencement of the new kingdom, the right of the high-priest Joshua to some of the highest privileges of his office was disputed, as, for example, to the use of the holiest offerings[3] for himself and his companions.[4] The reason alleged was simply that he was without the necessary insignia of his office, especially the venerable adornment of the *Urim and Thummim*.[5] When Jerusalem was conquered, the last high-priest was doubtless stripped by the Chaldean king of the whole of his costly array, and this could not be restored at once, partly on account of the expense, but partly, and indeed chiefly, because the royal permission to wear such a costume of more than princely splendour was not to be obtained immediately.[6] This difficulty was, indeed, arranged afterwards, so that Joshua's house was even acknowledged on the part of the king. But there still remained one deficiency, of which we shall have to speak hereafter; and it is remarkable that even in regard to this highest point, the new kingdom was still unlike the old one, and remained as it were incomplete, waiting for something better.—Of the royal house, however, no member but Zerubbabel seems to have braved the first dangers. Afterwards, no doubt, when the new settlement was consolidated, other descendants of David may have followed him; for instance, we know for certain of one who accompanied Ezra.[7] But in the first instance the success of the whole undertaking depended pre-eminently on the good understanding between these two men, each of whom represented one of the different powers which had formed from ancient times the continuous circle of the outward sovereignty of Israel.

Before the commencement of the expedition, the individual exiles ranged themselves under leaders, as though according to their 'ancestral houses,' each without doubt both claiming and receiving, as far as possible, the national position and the property which he or his ancestors had enjoyed. We also know

[1] Vols. iii., iv.
[2] Vol. vi. p. 556 [German Edition].
[3] See *Alterthümer*, p. 352.
[4] This is the natural inference from the indication in Ezr. ii. 63 of the want at that time of a high-priest qualified to pronounce a final judgment in the affairs of the priests (see more on this matter below); cf. the later narrative in 1 Esdras iv. 54.
[5] *Alterthümer*, p. 337 sqq.
[6] These conclusions may fairly be drawn from 1 Esdras iv. 54.
[7] Ezr. viii. 2.

that Cyrus allowed them to set out with joyous demonstrations and under adequate protection.[1] Great numbers attached themselves to the expedition who were unable to prove their descent from the priestly or from any other Israelite tribe, and who, on this account, could scarcely obtain all the rights to which they laid claim.[2]—Arrived in the ancient fatherland, they closed their ranks firmly, in part round their recognised leaders, in part round the cities in which they had settled; and it was in accordance with this arrangement that the above-mentioned[3] register was drawn up.[4] But as soon as the very first outline of a people of Israel was formed once more, and the first flights of a new and somewhat independent life began to stir within it, it immediately organised itself under the supervision of twelve men, amongst whom Zerubbabel and Joshua were but *primi inter pares*,[5] so loyally did this fragment of the nation cling to its ancient institutions and traditions, even in its later history. Whether this supreme council of twelve elders, chosen from the heads of the people, remained in constant attendance on the governor in the new kingdom of Jahveh,[6] we do not exactly know so far as concerns this period; but it is probable that it was so, since the elders

[1] The passage contained in 1 Esdras v. 1–6, though, no doubt, somewhat altered and expanded in accordance with his object by the last author of this work (vid. infr.), certainly stood originally after Ezr. i., a position with which its contents are completely in harmony. It has only to be considered that the chronological data given in 1 Esdras v. 6 must have stood here to make the words Ezr. i. 1, iii. 1, 8 intelligible; besides, the style has exactly the Chronicler's tone. The only difficulty is raised by the appearance of Jehoiakim as a son of Zorobabel, 1 Esdras v. 5. No such person appears anywhere else, and he would be quite out of place in connection with Joshua; but the fact that *several* priests ought to have been enumerated seems to show that the connection of the words in this passage has not been preserved correctly.

[2] Ezr. ii. 59–63.

[3] P. 83, *note* 1.

[4] Much of the obscurity of the often mentioned passage in Ezr. ii. disappears if we compare it with the similar list in Ezr. viii. 1–20, and again with Neh. iii. 1–32, x. 14–26 [x. 13–25], and other more scattered observations. We then see that the leaders under whose names the people voluntarily collected themselves were for the most part distinguished men who were either still living, or had lived shortly before. Amongst these is the curious name *Pachath-Moab*, i.e. governor of Moab: this may have gradually become the ordinary designation of an Israelite who had been called, by the confidence in him of the Chaldean government, to the governorship of Moab, had filled this office for a long period, and gained thereby great power, but finally returned to the community of Israel. That all who ranged themselves under a popular leader should be called his sons is nothing extraordinary.

[5] This remarkable fact may be deduced with certainty from the words of Ezr. ii. 2, when compared with the other copy, Neh. vii. 7. The fullest and best readings are now found in the latter, but we may conclude that they were once to be found in Ezr. ii. also, from 1 Esdras v. 8, and even from some MSS. of the LXX. That exactly twelve men were intended here is clear from the addition 'after the number of the men (properly the fathers) of the people of Israel.' The number twelve itself will in like manner appear several times again in this period; cf. Ezr. vi. 17, and especially viii. 16, on which vid. infr.

[6] The 'heads of the people' are always mentioned along with Zerubbabel and Joshua, when the leaders of the new kingdom are to be described, Ezr. iv. 2, 3, cf. v. 9, vi. 7 sq.; but their number is not

are henceforth constantly mentioned in connection with him, while the simple heads of the people, with the members of their families, also bear a special name, viz. *nobles* or *free men*.[1] Different from these, again, were the simple superintendents of the separate districts or the smaller cities.[2] For the rest, all these various grades of elders were chosen by the people themselves, under the governor, so that the internal organisation and administration were established on a very independent footing, while the Persians were content with their supremacy. The 'nobles and elders (superintendents)' were the ordinary representatives of the people;[3] but whenever an important change was proposed, requiring the exertion and co-operation of all, the people itself assembled to deliberate and decide.[4]

Zerubbabel, however, as the descendant of David, was considered the recognised head of the new nation of Jerusalem, and was certainly entrusted by Cyrus with the control of his co-religionists, and we know that in this capacity he bore the Persian title of *Tirshatha*, that is *High Sheriff*.[5] We further know that besides the family name of Zerubbabel[6] he also bore the court name of Sheshbazzar, or rather Sasabazzar,[7] by which he was doubtless designated even under the Chaldean

exactly stated in these passages. It is not likely, however, that the number of leaders was fixed at twelve simply for the journey back.

[1] These are the חֹרִים whom Nehemiah so often mentions in conjunction with the סְגָנִים. The name אֲדִירִים, moreover, is interchanged with it as a synonym, Neh. iii. 5, x. 30 [29]. On the other hand, they are called שָׂרִים Ezr. ix. 2, x. 8, 14, Neh. iv. 10, in so far as they were actually in office. That the priests did not belong to this body follows from Neh. v. 12; cf 7.

[2] The סְגָנִים, with which זְקֵנִים is interchangeable, Ezr. x. 8, 14, ix. 2; but they also, as office-bearers, are known by the general term שָׂרִים, Neh. iii. 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. According to this passage a district is called פֶּלֶךְ, and Jerusalem had two such; a circuit is called כִּכָּר, Neh. iii. 22, xii. 28.

[3] Cf. the remarks on Neh. x. 2–28 below.

[4] This rests on such clear evidence as Ezr. x. 7–9, 12, Neh. ii. 16–18.

[5] In Ezr. ii. 63 it is in itself doubtful, it is true, whether Zerubbabel is intended under this official title; but it becomes certain on the comparison of Neh. vii. 65, 70; for it is only through an oversight that the words of Neh. vii. 70 are absent from Ezr. ii., and therefore from 1 Esdras v. 44, while it is quite a mistake of 1 Esdras v. 40 (where one MS. reads Νεεμίας ὁ καὶ Ἀτθαρίας) to take the Tirshatha to be Nehemiah. For the rest, Zerubbabel is also known by his contemporaries under the name *Pacha*, which was introduced with the Assyrian supremacy, Hag. i. 1, 14, ii. 2, 21, cf. Ezr. vi. 7. The title Tirshatha, which reappears afterwards with Nehemiah, is, on the other hand, genuine Persian.

[6] It is clear that the parents of this child, who was born in Babylon, made some reference to that city in the name; but it can scarcely be a contraction of זְרוּי בָּ, 'scattered to Babylon,' for this signification would not be appropriate to the new-born child; perhaps it is rather from זְרוּעַ בָּ, 'child of Babylon.'

[7] It is certainly never said in the Book of Ezra that this Sasabazzar was identical with Zerubbabel; but since in i. 8, 11 he is called *Nasi*, i.e. royal prince of *Judah*, and in v. 14, 16, is designated by the Assyrian official title *Pacha*, as an equivalent, it is impossible not to consider him and Zerubbabel to be the same. This is only a fresh proof that the Book of Ezra is compiled from very different sources.

supremacy.[1] But his privileges were circumscribed. Close to him, and in important matters certainly superior to him, was one of the Persian governors of the whole of Syria, or the country west of the Euphrates.[2] This was probably the officer resident in Samaria, who also went to Jerusalem for a few days every year to pass sentence in the most important cases, and there, at a north-eastern point of the wall, established his dreaded tribunal.[3]

II. The Return of the Ten Tribes, and the State of the several Districts of the Ancient Land of Israel.

1. We may regard it, then, as certain that the original permission of the Persian government for the restoration of a community in the ancient fatherland referred only to Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity, and by no means embraced the whole extent even of the former kingdom of Judah. And yet, at any rate about a hundred years later, in Nehemiah's time, we see nearly the whole of this larger district once more inhabited by Israelites, and firmly consolidating itself round Jerusalem.[4] We must suppose, therefore, that the original permission of the Persian government was gradually extended, and that the first expedition under Zerubbabel was followed by an increasing number of stragglers, until the southern and western portions of Judea were peopled more and more by the descendants of its ancient inhabitants, and the Idumeans, though not indeed compelled to retire within their ancient boundaries, were nevertheless obliged to tolerate Judean settlers on their territory. We can no longer recognise the particulars of all these subsequent expeditions. They must at any rate have attached themselves closely to the new ground now granted; but the expeditions of Ezra and Nehemiah, of which more below, may serve as instructive examples of them.

This phenomenon, moreover, receives additional significance in connection with two other more important questions, which lie so close at our feet that we cannot pass them over. In the first place, we see at a subsequent period, in the great field of

[1] The LXX give the name Σασαβασάρ, 1 Esdras Σαναβασσάρ (in some MSS. less correctly Σαμανσσάρ and Σαβανσσάρ). These pronunciations, at any rate, have more of the ring of Assyrian than the Masoretic has. In Jos. *Ant.* xi. 1, 3, he is even called Ἀβασσάρ.

[2] It follows from Neh. ii. 7–9 that there were at least two governors in Syria (perhaps at Damascus and at Tyre), on both of whom Jerusalem was dependent; but it was specially dependent on one, Ezr. v. 3, Neh. iii. 34 [iv. 2], cf. Esth. i. 3.

[3] This follows from the very important incidental remark in Neh. iii. 7.

[4] P. 82.

universal history lying open to our view, the non-heathen inhabitants of the extreme north of Palestine keeping up a connection with the temple at Jerusalem, and regarded as Israelites in the full sense. By descent, too, they were traced back to the ancient people, and even if individuals of heathen blood at length became just like Israelites among them, as we may admit without hesitation, yet the mass of them were always supposed to have sprung from the blood of Israel. Now, when did these men connect themselves with the new Jerusalem? and what was their character? had they always occupied that part of the country, or did descendants from the former kingdom of Judah gradually emigrate thither? or where else did they come from? We could form a safer judgment on these inquiries if we had documentary evidence of the character of the Chaldean division and administration of the whole country, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but no record of this has been preserved. So far as we can now judge, from a number of indications, the position of affairs was as follows. The Idumeans demanded possession of all Israelite lands,[1] partly on account of their recent services, and partly in virtue of ancient hereditary claims; but Nabuchodrozzor only handed over to their jurisdiction the portions of the country already specified.[2] The districts which did not pass into the possession of the Idumean vassal-king, viz. Jerusalem itself, the small territory round it, which was still, in the first instance, placed under a Judean governor,[3] and now, together with Jerusalem, formed the basis of the new community, and, in addition, Galilee in particular, were subject directly to the Chaldeans. Samaria, and a small district belonging to it, were, as we have seen, occupied by aliens;[4] and elsewhere, too, numbers of foreigners had certainly by this time penetrated here and there into the land; for instance, the great city of Scythopolis, south-west of the Lake of Galilee, had acquired a territory even earlier,[5] and remained an almost entirely free city far into the Greek period,[6] at the time in question inclining rather to the Samaritans than the Judeans. But certainly the central part of the country, as well as the district beyond the Jordan, and Galilee in particular more than the rest, were still inhabited by many

[1] Cf. Ezekiel's very distinct utterances on this subject, especially xxxv. 10.

[2] P. 81.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 275 sq.

[4] Ibid. p. 215 sqq.

[5] Ibid. p. 231.

[6] According to such indications as Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4, and elsewhere. Further evidence of an advance southwards of more Aramean-speaking peoples is found in the frequent occurrence in later times of כְּפַר־, *village*, instead of בֵּית־, *house* in the composition of the names of places.

descendants of Israel who remained true to their religion as far as the pressure of the times allowed. And so the country continued thus straitened, until the time of the new Persian dynasty; and even this made no change designedly, except in putting Israel again in possession of Jerusalem, with the small district belonging to it. What further consequences, however, lay all concealed in this seemingly small alteration!

2. But here we are at once met by the second question, what became of the descendants of the Ten Tribes formerly carried away by the Assyrians? If they, too, were ever to come back again, the present circumstances and opportunity were the most suitable for doing so; and if the mass of them were eager for a return to their ancient home, it was now high time to accomplish it, for even where settlers have in the first instance been transported by force, their ancient fatherland tends more and more to become a foreign country to them. We do not, however, possess any such simple and explicit evidence as would enable us to settle this question easily, and we cannot be surprised that all kinds of conjectures were formed on the subject at a tolerably early period, or that in modern times they have multiplied still further, and in some cases assumed perfectly monstrous proportions.

From an early period the great prophets had foretold the certainty of a final return of the captive exiles of the Ten Tribes as well as of the others; and later ages always found a specially prominent example of this in the bold image which Isaiah had adopted of Israel returning across the Euphrates as safely and as mightily as it had once come home from Egypt across the sea.[1] This prediction was fulfilled during these decades as completely as was at all possible in its immediate sense. But since it was more and more strongly felt in the following centuries how far the whole of the new kingdom lagged behind the expectations formed about it, this prediction, as then read in the holy scriptures, like the similar one of the seventy years,[2] and, indeed, nearly all the ancient prophecies, came to be interpreted, by the narrow views which then began to prevail, in too rigid a sense. It was considered as good as unfulfilled in the letter; and its accomplishment was, therefore, relegated altogether to the future which still remained. Fl. Josephus,[3] accordingly, mentions on one occasion, though quite incidentally and without giving any further details, that the Ten Tribes still remained in his time beyond the Euphrates

[1] Is. sq. xi. 15; cf. ver. 11 sq.; Zech. x. 8–11; Micah vii. 14; Jer. iii. 12–19, xxxi. 8 sq. 20 sq.; Ezek. iv., xxxvii. 15–28.
[2] P. 72 sqq.
[3] *Ant.* xi. 5, 2.

in countless hosts, and almost at the same date a later imitator of the prophets introduces a picture of their return across the Euphrates into the great design which he is sketching of the Messianic future.[1] The calmer language of the earlier Talmudists never rises above general anticipations and hopes on behalf of the Ten Tribes;[2] but during the centuries which followed the final destruction of Jerusalem, the belief took firmer and firmer root in the nation that somewhere in the far north-east a better people of Israel was to be found, living in happy union and hoping for the Messiah; and inasmuch as certain writers bound up this belief very closely with the stories of the Middle Ages concerning Alexander's expedition to the extreme north of Asia as to the end of the known world, there arose the strangest representations of these Judeans 'beyond,' belonging as it were to another world.[3] Thus, in the ninth century after Christ, the learned Jew Eldad, himself descended from the tribe of Dan, undertook a fruitless journey, we are told, in search of the ten Tribes,[4] and other Jewish travellers, also, of the later Middle Ages were fond of discoursing of them.[5] A zeal of a very different kind, however, has been roused among the Christians of the last centuries of our era for the discovery of these lost tribes; and since they despaired of finding them again on the Euphrates, at least in the countless numbers of which Josephus speaks, many learned men have sought for them through the whole world. Wherever anyone fancied he had detected a certain resemblance to Jewish

[1] 4 [2] Esdras xiii. This remarkable representation shows that in the first century of the Christian era a great host of Israelites was believed to be living in peace in some remote country situated to the north-east, and that their origin was traced to the Ten Tribes; but it also proves that even at this early date nothing but misty notions of this kind were preserved about the history of the dispersion of these Ten Tribes.

[2] In the Mishnah, *Sanhedrîn* x. 3, at the end (cf. the *Gemara* thereon, fol. 110b), we find for the first time the general statement 'The Ten Tribes will never return,' which was the opinion of R. Akîba especially; but R. Eliezer thought he might promise them a certain restoration. In this as in other respects R. Akîba was too exclusively Judaic.

[3] This is seen most clearly in the work of Josippon (mentioned on p. 71 sq.), ii. 16, compared with the conclusion of the whole work, vi. 56. This is the source of the greater part of the later Oriental accounts of the expedition of Alexander against the barriers of the north. If, however, we refer back to the original works of Josephus, we see clearly how the *Sabbatical stream* which Josephus describes (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 5, 1) incidentally and quite intelligibly (though he goes beyond Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 18, *ad. fin.*), might be ingeniously brought into connection with those boundaries of the world, and at last substituted, with reference to the Ten Tribes, in the place of the Euphrates of the ancient prophets, as was already done by Josippon, vi. 1, p. 546.

[4] The little book which passes under Eldad's name is printed in various Hebrew collections, the latest of which is Jellinek's *Bet haMidrash*, iii. pp. 6–11, ii. pp. 102–113; but we must first settle with more precision how much of it, after all, is true, for in those times the whole Islamite world was full of half fictitious stories of travel.

[5] *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. cit., pp. 104, 107, 110; Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 326–29, 336 sqq., 359 sq.

customs or cast of features in any distant people, there he would make out descendants of the Ten Tribes; and it often happened that scattered legends, whether obscure or boastful, among such a nation came to aid the quest, for many a Christian or Islamite tribe was ready to pride itself on such a descent on account of its sacred writings. Thus, attempts have been made to rediscover them in the Afghans,[1] in the Chinese Jews,[2] in the Parthians and Buddhists,[3] nay, even in the wandering tribes of North America.[4] But even the best attempt of this kind, namely, that made in 1840 by Dr. Asahel Grant,[5] to rediscover them in the Nestorian Jews and Jezids of the mountains north of the ancient Nineveh, is by no means successful.—This might seem to warrant the exactly opposite conjecture, that every one belonging to the Ten Tribes had in the early times of their deportation and settlement in a foreign land been so completely lost among the heathen, and so thoroughly adopted their character, that even at the time of the liberation under Cyrus not a single trace of them any longer remained.

But to this idea a number of objections suggest themselves. It is true that the captives of the Ten Tribes were on an average hardly so faithful to the true religion as were those of Judah. This is, in fact, only what we should expect from the general position and civilisation of the former king-

[1] The Anglican clergyman Joseph Wolff, of Jewish extraction, who went in quest of the Afghans with a special view to this object, relinquished the error. For the rest, cf. *Zeitschr. für das Morgenland*, II. p. 286 sq., *Gött. I. Gel. Anz.*, 1857, p. 1590.

[2] As yet no sufficiently clear and comprehensive researches have been made into the history of the first arrival in China of the Jews, who are scattered very thinly in the interior. Even in the most modern times English missionaries profess to have discovered there an ancient Jewish stock, with peculiar sacred books; see *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. ii. p. 341 sq., and *Revue de l'Orient*, March, 1851. Since then, up to 1864, the Judeo-Chinese researches have been pushed much further, and it is believed that very ancient remains of the people are to be found there; but this is not proved for certain as yet. Cf. Al. Wylie in J. Summers's *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, Lond. 1863, July, Aug. Accounts which go still further have come to hand more recently. John Wilson tries to establish a descent from the Ten Tribes for the present Jews of Bombay and Cochin-China, *The Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 667 sqq., 678 sqq. On the Sinites of the Old Test. see above, p. 3, *note* 1.

[3] In George Moore's work, which suffers from so many wild dreams, *The Lost Tribes and the Saxons of the East and of the West*, London, 1861, in which even the ancient great Buddhist rock-inscriptions are made out to be Hebrew and read and translated accordingly.

[4] In quite recent times Isr. Worthley and others have even thought that they have rediscovered the Ten Tribes in North American savages; on what grounds may be seen in the ספר האסיף, or *Annual Hebrew Mag.*, London, 1850, pp. 65–78.

[5] See *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes.* This the best attempt of its kind, for it would show us the descendants of the Ten Tribes still dwelling in a spot where many of their ancestors had really been settled, according to vol. iv. p. 165 sq.; moreover, these Nestorians boast of being descended from Jews. But this oral tradition has not been traced by Grant to its ultimate source with sufficient rigour, nor does he show that even if they really were once Jews, as they say, they were all descended from the Ten Tribes. The proofs from the similarity of customs are all of them delusive.

dom. Besides this, they were torn away into foreign countries at a much earlier period, without having gained the further experience and blessings which prepared Judah still more effectually for a faithful constancy to Jahveism; and the longer their exile lasted, the severer must their trial have become. But many indications combine to show that in some places, at any rate, they were very zealous in patiently preserving the loftier faith, and very eager in their hope for deliverance. We will not now call attention to Tobit, his house, and his connections. The book which perpetuates this north-eastern legend will have to be discussed below, but very valuable evidence to this effect is furnished by Nahum, the Prophet of Elkosh, as we have already seen;[1] for the fact that he, as well as Tobit, according to the legend just mentioned, thinks of Zion, not of Samaria, as the holy city, finds its explanation in the circumstance that no other place could then be considered the centre of union for all true worshippers of Jahveh. And if in the times of Jeremiah and Ezekiel no favourable tidings whatever of the earlier exiles had reached the Judeans, and if the hope that many of them, purified by suffering, would return to Canaan some time, as worthy servants of Jahveh, had already become quite empty, these prophets could not have spoken as they do of Israel or Joseph in parallelism with Judah,[2] while Jeremiah has almost better hopes of the former than of the latter. Moreover, writers at the end of the exile, and soon after it, place Israel by the side of Judah not only in the alternate members of a verse, or to secure a proper fulness of expression, but in a way that shows how carefully they still distinguished the two great sections of the exiles, and hoped for fresh salvation for them both.[3] But

[1] Vol. iv. p. 227 sq.

[2] Jer. iii., xxxi. 8 sq., 20–22. Ezek. iv. xxxvii. 15–28.

[3] It is only some special writers of this period who thus contemplate Israel at the same time by the side of Judah and Jerusalem. Jer. l. 4, 33, li. 5, Zech. ii. 2 [i. 19], viii. 13. To all that has been said above fresh evidence has lately been added from a totally different quarter. A modern Karaite, named Firkowitz, discovered a great number of very old Hebrew tomb-inscriptions in the Crimea, and made a large collection of them. For a considerable time our information was somewhat uncertain, but a few years ago nine of these very stones were sent to the Academy of St. Petersburg, and were somewhat more fully described by Dr. Ad. Neubauer in its Bulletin of March 16, 1868. The Israelites must have been regularly naturalised there at an early period, so that they even assumed quite Turkish names, like *Toktamish* and *Sverg'elein* (i.e. Amabilis, a name of a woman). On these tombstones three chronologies appear. 1. The first starts from the Creation. In the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1863, p. 650, I have expressed my conviction, *apropos* of the fourth book of Ezra, that there is no reason for doubting that the chronology by the years of the world was already in use at the beginning of our era, an opinion which this fortunate discovery confirms. 2. The second chronology was reckoned by the years of 'our exile.' The comparison of two of the inscriptions transcribed in the communication above cited, where the date is given according to both computa-

the longer the exile continued, the more completely did the true confessors of Jahveh who still remained from the Ten Tribes and the scattered communities of the Judeans, evidently amalgamate with one another, but under such conditions that the more recent and superior civilisation of the latter maintained the sole ascendant.

Now when once Cyrus had given the Judeans permission to return to Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity at any rate, there seems no reason why numbers of the descendants of the former kingdom of the Ten Tribes should not also have accomplished a similar return to the northern provinces. As a result of the great storms of the last two centuries, many cities and other places in this part of the country no doubt lay in ruins, and since the Chaldean supremacy had stepped into the place of the Assyrian throughout all these regions, all the exiles of Israel lived under essentially similar laws. Thus, when Cyrus had given them liberty to do so, many descendants of the Ten Tribes might gradually, and with no great display, come back; but if many of the tribe of Judah, even after the liberation, preferred to remain in the East, no doubt still more of the descendants of the Ten Tribes made the same choice. We have no longer any certain clue by which to trace this movement, but neither have we any reason to deny that after the great change in the political situation, individual descendants of the northern kingdom, formerly so extensive, may have assembled once more in the ancient fatherland. The Chronicler, the only historian of this period whose work has been preserved entire, passes over all this; but for him Jerusalem had already become the central point of all history so exclusively that his silence concerning these contemporary but remote events and changes must not surprise us. The expeditions of these returning exiles,

tions, shows that this exile began in the year of the world 3215, and was therefore that of the Ten Tribes. A calculation appended convinced me that it is not the exile of Ezekiel. 3. The third chronology differs from the first only by 251 years, and probably rests only on another calculation of the years of the world. It was called that of the מטרכיי, which is abbreviated from *Taman-Türk* (the Turkish Taman in the Crimea); cf. التامشي in Fürst's *Qaräern*, vol. ii. p. 97. According to these data the oldest inscriptions would belong to the year 17 B.C. Of course we must wait for further trustworthy information from this newly-opened source. We do not know when these Israelites began to reckon by either of these three chronologies; and it would be premature to endeavour to prove by the mere chronology according to the exile of the Ten Tribes that they were still at that time in all respects what they had formerly been in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. But the importance of the discovery remains; and as these monuments exhibit essentially the square character, our remarks above are confirmed by it.—Cf. Chwolson's *Krimische Grabinschriften* p. 73 sq., 91, with the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1866, p. 1241 sqq. [and see also Davidson on *Ancient Tomb Inscriptions of the Crimean Jews*, in the *Theological Review*, October, 1868.—Trans.]

however, cannot have been of any great importance, as not even the smallest reminiscence of them on which we can rely has been preserved.

It may, indeed, seem sad, at the point which we have now reached, to see quite clearly and indubitably how the last remains of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, that chief section of ancient Israel which even attempted once to constitute itself the whole, vanish entirely from history. It is true that even in later times many of the inhabitants of the holy land continued to boast of their descent from one of the ancient tribes of this kingdom;[1] but no such restoration as was now in store for the kingdom of Judah ever really fell to the lot of the sister kingdom, which had once been so much greater. On the other hand, from this time forward, whatever vitality remained amid its ruins tended to pass entirely into Judah, and in spite of the narrow and prejudicial opposition which proceeded from Judah itself, as we shall presently see, it succeeded in its efforts more and more completely. The name of the Judeans, which had already risen into importance during the last centuries before the destruction of Jerusalem, is the only one after its restoration which maintains a place in the great history of the world; and it supplants the venerable designation of Israel so completely that the latter retains no significance except in connection with the religion of the various fragments of the ancient people and their sacred traditions. From the correct feeling that it was in its religion alone that the ancient Israel, in its deepest life, could survive in anything like completeness, the community of the new Jerusalem clung fast to the ancient sanctity of the kingdom of twelve tribes, at any rate in its loftier thoughts and ultimate efforts, both in its sacred language and also, though only on rare occasions, in certain significant symbols.[2] Even the legends of the lives and exploits of distinguished descendants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, during the first period of the Assyrian captivity, at the court of Nineveh and elsewhere, subsequently tended more and more to pass into stories of the Babylonian exile and become Judaic. The legend of Daniel's wise behaviour at the court of a mighty king was older, according to every indication, than is assumed in the late book of Daniel;[3] and the struggle between Haman and

[1] As from the tribe of Asher, Luke ii. 36.

[2] As in the case of the twelve sin-offerings 'for all Israel,' at the consecration of the new Temple, Ezr. vi. 17.; cf. also remarks on Rev. vii. 5–8.

[3] Later usages of language, which will be noticed below, forbid us to lay any stress, in this connection, on the fact that the three friends of Daniel are called *Assyrians* in 4 Macc. xiii. 9, cf. xvi. 3,

Achiachar at the court of Nineveh[1] was finally transformed into one between Haman and Mordecai at that of the Persians; and the Book of Tobit is the only work left to us which attempts to perpetuate the renown earned during the exile by the holy men of old among the Ten Tribes also. But yet this extinction of all genuine remains of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes did but accomplish the fate to which this kingdom had been destined from the first,[2] though we have been unable to mark its fulfilment under the clear light of events till now. Afterwards, indeed, as we shall see, when a new community was gradually formed in Samaria, partly through the fault of the new Jerusalem, which was driven by the spirit of rivalry between the two to greater and greater extremes, and ended by claiming to be the true continuation of the ancient Israel and the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, its very late historians invented an actual return of three hundred thousand men from the Assyrian captivity, and a fresh foundation of the ancient Israel by this great host of thoroughly genuine Israelites, in the centre of the country so sacred in their early history, and especially on Mount Gerîzîm. It is easy to see, however, that this is not only pure invention, but very late invention too.[3]

21, xviii. 12 sq.; but the reasons which I have already briefly indicated in the *Propheten des A. Bs.*, vol. iii., leave no doubt that Daniel lived as early as the Assyrian captivity, and that an older book of Daniel preceded the one we now have; just as it was followed in its turn by still later books of a similar description, in which the ancient history is further obscured.—A splendid sepulchral monument to Daniel at Susa was highly reverenced in the Middle Ages (see *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. cit., p. 105, and long before him Ibn Haukal; the legends in Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 335, 458, are much less precise), and is revered even now on the spot, cf. Loftus' *Travels in Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 317 sqq., 338, 415, where illustrations will also be found. But the case of this sanctuary is similar to that of Ezekiel's, already mentioned, p. 14. These magnificent edifices were really raised by Jews in the first instance as synagogues, and were afterwards assigned to their great saints. Josephus gives a different account altogether, *Ant.* x. 11, 7, of a magnificent *Baris* built by Daniel at *Ecbatana*, as the burial-place of the Persian and Parthian kings, where a Judean priest still kept watch. From what source Josephus got this story about Ecbatana, we cannot tell; in his commentary on Dan. viii. 2 Jerome, quoting him, simply reads Susa instead of Ecbatana, without further remark, but this is in opposition not only to all our MSS., but to all probability as well, although, amongst other modern authorities, Quatremère too (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. xix. pp. 423, 445) would read *Susa* in Josephus on the strength of this. The question is rather whether the whole story about Ecbatana and the Judean watchman is anything more than a result of the importance of Ecbatana mentioned above, p. 49, *note* 1, coming from the hand perhaps of the narrator already mentioned on p. 48.

[1] On this subject, see the account of the *Book of Tobit* further on.

[2] Vol. iv.

[3] The detailed account of a return of the Samaritans may be found in Paulus's *Memorabilien*, vol. ii. pp 54–100, extracted from Abulfatch's *Arabian Chronicle* (but very inaccurately and incorrectly translated by Schnurrer). A kind of abstract of this, which wanders still further from history, appears in the Samaritan *Liber Josuæ*, c. xlv., published at Leyden in 1848. The careful study of such passages clearly proves that the Samaritans, in essential matters, used none but Judean authorities for their own ancient history, but if they found anything prejudicial to their own fame in them, they entirely

3. But here we must recollect that[1] the northern districts of Canaan had already learned to look to Jerusalem as their capital more and more during the centuries immediately preceding its destruction. The fall of the kingdom of Samaria had at any rate produced one immediate good result, viz. the removal of an obstacle which had stood in the way of uniting the severed members of the Davidic kingdom to the greatest extent possible. The rulers in Jerusalem were again at liberty to attempt to extend their authority over the northern districts; and all the inhabitants of those parts who desired to worship the true God, were still more ready once more to cling exclusively to the sanctuary at Jerusalem. This had even then to a great extent taken place; the clearest proof of it is furnished by the strong attraction thither of residents in Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria. These were the very cities which had always before been rivals of Jerusalem; but immediately after the destruction of the Temple numbers of persons made a pilgrimage from them, in heart-felt mourning, to the ruins of Jerusalem, in order at least to offer their sacrifices of sorrow on the site of the fallen sanctuary.[2] When, therefore, this sanctuary of Jerusalem now

reversed it, and, assuming nothing but untruth among the Judeans, they invented their own ancient history from that of the Judeans, but made it the exact opposite. Abulfatch, it is true, calls the 'king of Haran,' i.e. of Mesopotamia, who gave the permission to return and granted many immunities, Saverdi, no doubt the Sacherdon of the Book of Tobit, and in this, according to vol. iv. p. 214, *note* 5, we still have a relic of an ancient tradition; but he makes his successor Anushirvan, thus confusing the New-Persian Khosrev with Cyrus; and his successor the Magian Zerâdest, confounding Zarathustra with Smerdis; and finally his successor Achashverosh, a name which he only knows from the Book of Esther, while he transfers the history of this book to the Samaritans. For the rest, Abulfatch's book deserved to be published in a complete and accurate form far more than the *Liber Josuæ*, for the author has made use, though only here and there, of more ancient records of genuine Samaritan origin. More especially, a valuable list of the places inhabited by the Samaritans as they were about the time of the later Persian kings, is to be found on p. 88. Besides Nâbolos (i.e. Shechem) the following names occur:—(1) *Daphna* (not to be derived from the ancient Gophna); (2) *'Atârah Tarafain*, no doubt the 'Atâra [Ataroth] of Jos. xvi. 7, north of Bethel and Gophna; (3) *Bâdân*, no doubt the Beth-shean, or Scythopolis, p. 89, often mentioned in this connexion; (4) *Beth Fâghûr*, perhaps an ancient פְּעוֹר; (5) مغورة, probably a corruption of معبورة, i.e. Μαβορθά, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 1 (unless it is ناغورة of Robinson's *Pal.* iii. p. 653); Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 15; cf. vol. vii. p. 107 [Ed. Germ.]; (6) *Rafidia* (as must be read here for Dafidia), west of Shechem, see Seetzen's *Reisen*, vol. ii. p. 169; (7) *Beth-Fûrîk*, east of the same; (8) البنيئة; (9) *Kafar*, عورتا, for which it is certainly better to read 'Avertâ, south of the last, עוּרְתָא in Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 186, 212, 386, 445, where, however, it is always incorrectly spelt, as it is also in Seetzen's *Reisen*. vol. ii. p. 191; cf. also *Gemara* to Avoda Sara, 2, 4, p. 224; (10) *Sâlim*, see Robinson's *Pal.* iii. 661; (11) *Phînôn*; (12) فاحمة, for which it might be better to read *Fahmeh*, north of Pentecomias: (13) عاقر, i.e. the ancient Philistine Ekron. On *Daphna* see also Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 72. To these may be added many other Samaritan localities indicated in Abulfatch's *Ann.* p. 132, 13 sq., p. 133, 7 sqq.

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 227, 241.

[2] Jer. xli. 5–8; a piece of evidence accidentally preserved, but very important.

rose again, and the beams of this new victorious glory streamed round its august and ancient splendour, it spontaneously stept once more into the position of a holy metropolis for the northern districts of Canaan also; and if henceforth all the worshippers of Jahveh who lived in even the most distant countries of heathendom looked to this consecrated centre with joy and pride, made pilgrimages thither, and found there a firmly established gathering-place, how much more, in the northern half of Canaan, must they all have clung to this sacred rock, how much more must all the descendants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes also, who had perhaps assembled there in somewhat greater numbers now, have regarded Jerusalem alone as their holy city! There are, in fact, many signs which enable us to recognise this state of things clearly enough;[1] but the jealousy of the Persian government would not permit any closer connection between the southern and northern portions of the country. And so, all the worshippers of the true God dwelling north of Jerusalem were obliged to content themselves for the present with recognising Jerusalem simply as the spiritual capital of their country. They could not be prevented from voluntarily offering sacrifices there; but no more intimate union of any other description could be thought of under the Persians. The sequel of the history will show, however, the infinite importance which the closer connection of Galilee and Judea assumed when the pressure of the times allowed it to put out its strength more boldly.

In this direction, then, everything might henceforth take a form very favourable to Jerusalem as the renovated centre of true religion, although the material advantages of the new situation could only disclose themselves fully in the course of the following centuries. If a religion be true, it is good for its own activity that it should have a local centre as widely and generally recognised as possible. At that time no old unexpiated guilt clung to the ancient sanctity of Jerusalem, and it was just arising from its ruins in fresh and marvellous life; so that it soon looked for a grand new future favoured by its own fitness for its task and the charm peculiar to it, as well as by the circumstances of the age, and it might even hope once more to regain its ancient greatness and power, even though in a very different way. But this great advantage was counter-

[1] From Ps. lxviii. 28 [27] we may conclude that at the consecration of the second Temple envoys at least from the most northern district, or Galilee, were present. Moreover, the use of the name *Joseph* for Israel in certain songs of the second Temple, lxxvii. 16 [15], lxxx. 2 sq. [1 sq.], lxxxi. 6 [5], cannot have been simply accidental.

balanced by a disadvantage almost as great. The ancient holy land had been so cruelly and so frequently conquered and desolated by powerful heathens, owing even its restoration, as far as it went, to them, that the strongest and most permanent traces of their action necessarily still remained; and although the Idumeans of the south[1] were gradually pushed back again somewhat further, and the ancient kingdom of Judah was enabled to collect itself round Jerusalem more and more completely, yet many heathen inhabitants had long ago found their way into the northern and central districts, and maintained their footing there far more stubbornly. In the remoter northern district, as its very name of Galilee, i.e. *march* (shortened for *heathen-march*), shows, as well as in the eastern district beyond the Jordan,[2] a more powerful heathen element had always lived in the midst of Israel. This separation of the districts inhabited by Israel in this quarter had increased since the Assyrian period, and became more and more marked in each succeeding age, as we shall see more clearly hereafter. Ever since the inroad of the Scythians,[3] indeed, a city, occupied in the first instance by those who remained behind as settlers, had held its ground in this neighbourhood, and it always jealously strove to preserve its independence. But in the centre of the country, in Samaria, the colonists of heathen extraction, who had been settled there by the Assyrians, continued to dwell in much the same condition as that which we have already observed[4] towards the end of the kingdom of Judah. No change of any importance is as yet to be noticed in them, and these foreign settlers, drawn together from very different countries, having now dwelt long on the fruitful soil, had evidently amalgamated more and more, partly by the very lapse of time, into one uniform whole. In this way elements of various heathen nationalities had long been scattered right through the ancient holy land when Jerusalem, and with it a people at once old and new, and a sanctuary of ancient renown and of a character peculiar to itself, endeavoured to rise from its ruins. When this movement had once begun, the violent collision of elements so radically at variance with one another, and yet in such close local contiguity, was inevitable; and its necessary consequence was to reveal more clearly and to shape more firmly the very peculiar genius of the new Jerusalem, as it began with difficulty to rise again.

[1] P. 80 sq.
[2] Vol. ii.
[3] Vol. iv. p. 231.
[4] Ibid. p. 215 sq.

III. The Building of the Temple in Jerusalem and the Samaritans.

1. The general circumstances of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel supplied them with no object to push forward more earnestly than the building of the Temple: the restoration of the sanctuary was the first task of their holy zeal. It was in vain that the great Unnamed, in reference perhaps to a somewhat too glowing ardour, pointed out incidentally at this time that no temple, however splendid, could really correspond to the full sublimity of the true God.[1] His words did but prove that at the right moment that truth of all higher religion would break forth again which had already displayed itself on the same field, when first the idea was conceived of building the former magnificent temple.[2] It was in vain that anything like the previous temple, with its offerings, had already been shown to be far more superfluous now than in David's time;[3] the impulse to restore what had been was too strong.[4] Moreover, the strong buildings of the holy place of refuge might serve to increase in no small degree the security of the capital, which was still very weak at first. Considerable treasure was at once collected through the voluntary contributions of all who could afford anything from their private means. Zerubbabel led the way, and his example was followed by the other chiefs of the nation and the common people. The sums thus obtained were employed partly for the building itself, and partly for the most necessary vestments of the priests, who entered again upon the duties of their office for the most part in great poverty. As no great number of new sacrificial utensils was required,[5] no one but Zerubbabel made any considerable gift for this purpose. From the extant statements derived from the original sources,[6] we may well suppose that Zerubbabel, as the grandson of King Jeconiah who had been restored to the position of a prince,[7] was the foremost man of the community in worldly possessions as well as rank.

But the difficulty of even removing the ruins from the site

[1] Is. lxvi. 1, which, however, must be taken in connexion with such very different expressions as xliv. 28, lx. 7.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 120 sqq.

[3] P. 20.

[4] P. 32 sqq.

[5] P. 78.

[6] They have been preserved complete in Neh. vii. 70–72; they appear in Ezr. ii. 68 sq., on the other hand, worked up by the Chronicler and much shortened. The comparison of the two passages is here easy and very instructive; we see, for instance, how the Chronicler handles the scattered numbers, drawing them together not without some exaggeration, and again reducing them. This same passage, Ezr. ii., is reproduced in his own fashion by the writer of 1 Esdras, v. 44 sq.

[7] P. 18.

of the ancient sanctuary, and clearing the space for the foundations of the Temple, was so great that on the approach of the seventh month, or the month of harvest, which they desired to celebrate on account of its pristine sanctity[1] with full Mosaic ceremonial on the sacred spot, they erected a simple altar provisionally, in order to offer the sacrifices upon it according to ancient usage. From the first day of this month onward the daily sacrifices were again continued, and many individuals who had long had vows to perform were now enabled to redeem them in all solemnity.[2] Many a fresh and glorious hymn might now ring forth, as for example Ps. cxviii.[3]—that song of joy and sacrifice which expresses the feeling of the age with such wonderful depth. Even on the part of many heathens, whether near or at a distance, the liveliest sympathy for the new community was at this time displayed.[4] It glowed as yet with the first charm of growth, and the favour of the great king still shone upon it fresh and unclouded. In the many songs, such as Psalms cxv., cxvi., animated with an inspiration so marvellously fresh and a devotion so deep, which rang forth from the community and from individuals about this time or at any rate not much later, 'those that fear Jahveh' are readily brought forward by the side of Israel and Aaron, so that all who fear Jahveh even outside Israel are included.[5]

Meanwhile, the preparations for the building of the Temple were being constantly pushed on with energy. Cedar-wood was ordered from Lebanon, as had been done before for the Temple of Solomon. Workers in wood and other materials were

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 393 sqq. It seems doubtful even at the first glance whether the seventh month mentioned in Ezr. iii. 1 is meant for the one which came in the first year of Cyrus, according to i. 1, for in iii. 8 the arrival of the returning captives at Jerusalem is taken as the point of chronological departure; but besides this Berosus (in Theoph. Ant. *ad Autol.* iii. 29, *ad fin.*, comp. 25, and Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 20) has preserved the tradition that the temple was founded in the second year of Cyrus; and the same thing follows from 1 Esdras v. 6, cf. supra p. 86 *note* 1.

[2] Ezr. ii. 70, iii. 6. In iii. 1, according to 1 Esdras v. 47, the position of the altar was originally stated more precisely: it was erected on the spot where the entrance to the forecourt on the east had formerly been.

[3] See the *Psalmen*, p. 287 sqq., 2nd edition [p. 398 sqq. 3rd ed.].

[4] The words בִּי בְאֵימָה וגו׳, Ez. iii. 3, as they were already understood by the LXX, would point to something very different, viz. that they had reason to be in great fear of the heathen; but the context itself prevents this interpretation from having any meaning. We may conclude, however, from 1 Esdras v. 50, that the words of this passage were originally much fuller and clearer. They certainly did not lie quite clearly before even the author of 1 Esdras, and the various readings of the passage show what a great difficulty it presented to the old Greek readers; originally, however, ver. 3 probably read thus:—

וַיֹּאסְפוּ לָהֶם מִשְׁמֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת כִּי בְאֵימָה
עֲלֵיהֶם וַיְחַזְּקוּ אֹתָם כֹּל עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת
וַיָּכִינוּ וגו׳

In this case the expression is derived from Ex. xv. 16, and must be understood accordingly.

[5] P. 27 sq.

hired for money wages; and Tyrian and Sidonian sailors were employed for the transport of the costly timber to the harbour of Joppa, and received payment in corn, wine, and oil, the produce of the land. Accordingly, in the second month of the following year they were in a position to lay the foundations of the Temple-house, and to appoint the priests and Levites who were to take the work under their special superintendence, and, as far as necessary, give their own personal assistance. These appointments were probably made with special ceremonies.[1] The foundation itself was laid with the utmost solemnity, amid the trumpet blasts of the priests, the music of the stringed instruments and cymbals of the Levitical singers, and the loud songs of thanksgiving of the whole people.[2] It is true that many of the older priests, Levites, and chiefs, who had themselves beheld the first Temple,[3] when they saw the meagre foundations of this second Temple calculated, in accordance with the necessities of the time, on a scale of far inferior richness, splendour, and solidity, broke out involuntarily into violent lamentations. But the historian remarks emphatically that the common people shouted so loud for joy that it was impossible to distinguish between the discordant sound of woe and the tones of joy;[4] as though this had averted the evil omen which might naturally be found in the circumstance that among the honoured elders of the community many were weeping loudly on a day like that.

Many prophets now reassembled round the sanctuary as it rose from its ruins; and many a word of decision (when asked for),[5] as well as of lofty anticipation of more glorious times in future,[6] issued once more from their lips, as though in this direction also the ancient state and grandeur of Israel were to reappear. While the ancient seat of the true religion and the Davidic empire became again the object of pilgrimage from

[1] The words in Ezr. iii. 9 also cannot have been preserved quite correctly; at any rate we must read something like יְהוֹדָוְיָה instead of יְהוּדָה, as the name of a Levite, according to other passages of the Chronicler: cf. also the various readings of 1 Esdras, from which, perhaps, the original may still be recovered.

[2] Cf. Ezr. v. 16 and iii. 10 sq., Hag. ii. 18.

[3] This is a further proof, therefore, from a new side, of the real length of the captivity, as explained p. 73 sq. Cf. Hag. ii. 3, Zech. iv. 10, and Ezr. iii. 12.

[4] For this must be the meaning of the words of Ezr. iii. 13; the whole ver. 13 forms a contrast to ver. 12; and perhaps it is unnecessary to suppose that בֵּין has fallen out before קוֹל, according to my *Lehrb.* § 217 g.

[5] As appears from Zech. vii. 2 sq.

[6] Zechariah clearly alludes in viii. 9 to a number of prophets who uttered lofty anticipations of this kind after the foundation of the Temple, in a strain not unlike his own, viii. 1–8. If Zechariah speaks in such general terms (viii. 9) of these prophets, to whom he himself belonged only as a junior, we may leave הֵהֵם, in ver. 10, with the meaning of 'those,' as well as the accents in ver. 9.

every quarter, there were heard, both in the sanctuary itself,[1] and among the joyous bands upon their way, new hymns in rich variety, of a concentrated power and captivating earnestness, such as had hardly arisen in so full a stream of creative and living power since the time of David. At this time, no doubt, the nucleus was formed of the collection of 'Pilgrim songs,' which may first have been generally sung upon the journey, and which, as still preserved in the present Psalter, are almost all entirely of the same form and style, and stand apart as a small collection by themselves.[2]

2. The joy of those days, and the dawning trust in the protection and sanctity of the newly rising Temple, were indeed so great and widespread that the mixed settlers in Samaria and its territory sent a solemn embassy to express their desire to take part in it; 'they worshipped the same God, and had sacrificed to him ever since Asarhaddon had settled them there.'[3] Thus the very centre of the country of the Ten Tribes, which had formerly been so hostile in its disposition towards Judah, now lay at the feet of Jerusalem, almost before it began to rise again from its ruins; and we have no reason to suppose that the proposal of the Samaritans was not meant quite seriously, or that they would have refused to make a proportionate contribution to the expenses of the Temple and the priests. And yet the superintendents of the new work declared that they would have no fellowship with them in the concerns of the Temple, but intended to make use of the permission given by Cyrus for themselves alone. The real ground of this refusal,[4] therefore, must be looked for solely in the peculiar nature of the religion of these Samaritans. In that ancient fatherland of the free intermingling of religions,[5] the worship of Jahveh had been reintroduced among its prevailingly heathen descendants about a century and a half before, but only after the half-heathen fashion of the former kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and, moreover, by the side of a number of deities of a purely heathen descrip-

[1] E.g. Ps. lxxxvii.

[2] Pss. cxx.–cxxxiv. I have long ago shown that the superscription of these psalms is most correctly understood as above. Further, we must remember that such songs as Pss. xiv. (liii.), lxxxvii., cxxxvii., might just as well stand in this collection, and that Ps. cxxxii., on the other hand, is of a different character, and may have been incorporated in this series at a later period.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 215 sq.

[4] In Ezr. iv. 1–3 the Samaritans, without even being designated by that name, are spoken of simply as 'the enemies of Judah and Benjamin;' but it is impossible to help seeing that this severe designation only belongs to the later period in which the mutual hostility of the neighbours on either side had quite broken out. The idea that the whole proceeding was from the first a mere artifice on the part of the Samaritans cannot be entertained.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 215 sq.

tion, multiplied at discretion, and pertaining to individual houses according to their national origin. The better minds had probably long since become wearied of this great confusion of different religions, which prevented the worship of Jahveh, though it stood above the others as the public religion of the land, from ever rising to a more effectual power and to a greater sanctity. From these comparatively better minds we may suppose that the present overtures for a union with the Temple in Jerusalem proceeded. Only in Judah and among the Judeans had the ancient religion been preserved and developed in knowledge, science, and the practice of the arts; and this fact was recognised even in Samaria. But the danger was that in spite of this many Samaritans would be unwilling radically to reform their half-heathen character, and their completely heathen family religions, so that it was to be feared that a baneful influence might be exerted by them on the pure religion, especially through intermarriages. Had there been enough wisdom and power in Jerusalem gradually to check the dangers and evils which undoubtedly lay in such a union, it might have been accomplished at once. But the spirit of scrupulousness which[1] lay in the very germ of all this period, concerned with the restoration of antiquity, was roused for the first time at this attempt in all its freshness, and stepped at once into full view. The authorities at Jerusalem shrank from the very thought of such a union with neighbours whose religion had not hitherto been pure enough; and by this scrupulousness the memory of the ancient reproaches against Samaria would easily be revived in Jerusalem, and their proud contempt for neighbours of mixed or solely heathen blood excited again in greater strength. This rejection of the Samaritans exercised a very favourable influence at the time on the holy zeal of the new settlers in Jerusalem, which was essentially national; and so far the authorities no doubt acted in accordance with the feelings of the great majority of the Judeans of the time.

But the further consequences of this rigid conduct could not be escaped. Even now in its very first movements, the new community simply showed thereby that it still felt too weak actually to give that universal validity to its religion to which in theory it was bound. Henceforth, it never got rid of this internal contradiction, which continued to assume larger dimensions. Moreover, this rejection of the Samaritans necessarily caused the consuming fire of those national jealousies and hostilities, which had burned so stubbornly and destructively in earlier times, to begin to glimmer once more. As soon as Israel

[1] P. 63.

appeared again upon the soil of its ancient fatherland, as a people even partially independent, it had to expect that the ground beneath its feet would be kindled again into a fiercer glow by the flame of the old enmities, and that all its various neighbours would soon bestir themselves to prevent its gathering strength again. In fact, it cannot be said that the apprehensions of the adjacent peoples were altogether groundless. Even in this remnant of the ancient Israel, feeble as it was, much of its old spirit, with all its traditions of its former glory and all its hopes for the future, was still alive; and in the person of Zerubbabel there stood at the head of Jerusalem a son of David round whom the Messianic hopes involuntarily moved with increased vitality, as we see from the prophetic utterances of the time.[1] Thus these petty national jealousies began even now to develop themselves, to the very sensible detriment of the new settlement. The Samaritans, indignant at their rejection, put everything in motion at the Persian court to throw suspicion upon the Judeans as a restless and quarrelsome set of men; and they succeeded in obtaining orders from the king forbidding the continuation of the building of the Temple. The records pass rapidly over these events.[2] The result is only too plain, inasmuch as no further progress could be made in the work during all the remainder of the reign of Cyrus in Babylon, which lasted about nine, or rather seven, years.[3] The Persian empire, however, was constituted on such a basis that any change depended for the most part on the favour or disfavour of the sovereign individually, so that the accession of each new king might witness the introduction of a new method of regarding and conducting the most important concerns of the administration. The neighbours of Jerusalem, accordingly, as soon as ever Cambyses ascended the throne, further contrived to excite his jealousy of the building of the Temple and of every other sign of vigour displayed by the new settlement, which was still so weak.

Throughout the seven and a half years of the reign of this king we have hardly any further information about Jerusalem; and this is not surprising in the long duration of these gloomy times. According to the solitary historical work which has been preserved on this period, he was called Ahashverosh (in Greek, Xerxes), and the Pseudo-Magian Smerdis, Artashashta (Artaxerxes).[4] On account of its proximity to Egypt, the

[1] Hag. ii. 20–23; Zech. iii. 8, iv., and vi. 9–15; compared with the lofty hopes of the overthrow of all heathen kingdoms, cap. ii.

[2] Ezr. iv. 4 sq.

[3] P. 75.

[4] Ezr. iv. 6 sq.; the name of Artashashta is often repeated, iv. 7–23. We

country must certainly have suffered much during the Egyptian campaigns of Cambyses;[1] and the hopes which at first had been raised so high of the speedy glory of Jerusalem sank lower and lower on every side. But even in an age so overcast as the last years of Cyrus and those of Cambyses, the eternal hope always revived afresh upon its native soil: and the feeble community, which seemed about to perish as soon as it was born, as though it was in vain that it had surmounted the pangs of its birth,[2] nevertheless did not despair of its everlasting destiny. All this we may gather with certainty from several prophetic fragments, which by all indications must have been written at this very time, and which place its spiritual condition before us in the liveliest colours.[3]

In spite of these heavy trials, the spirit of many of the new settlers was not quite broken, and whenever time brought about a change which might prove favourable, they endeavoured to improve their position at the Persian Court, as we see in the

also know from other sources that Smerdis (Bardia in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions) might be designated under other names—Tanyoxares (cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 7), or rather in the full original orthography Tanyoxarces, according to Ctesias, *Pers.* fr. viii.–xiii., Oropastes (properly Ortopastes or Ortosastes?) according to Just. *Hist.* i. 9; but since he bore the first two of these names only as the pretended brother of Cambyses (besides that the name of *Artaphernes*, by the side of *Maraphis*, i.e. Merdis in Æsch. *Pers.* 748–753 [774–778] evidently belongs to the same class), the name in Ezra, which obviously springs from an ancient source, is not without foundation, although in pronunciation it was perhaps somewhat confused with the name better known in later times. The Persian cuneiform inscriptions, however, give him the name Gaumâta (cf. *Cometes* in Just. *Hist.* i. 9), evidently confusing him with his warlike brother. For Cambyses we know as yet no other name from the remaining authorities; but since Ahasherosh, according to p. 72 *note* 3, is identical with Oxares, or rather Oxarces, and his younger brother was called Tany-Oxares, i.e. Little-Oxares, it is not improbable that he originally bore the name of Oxares or Cyaxares, *loc. cit.* not as king, but from his maternal grandfather. The idea that the two names signify the well-known later kings Xerxes I. and Artaxerxes I., and that the Chronicler has inserted the narratives of Ezra iv. 6–23 in their present place quite wrongly, since they belong to the time subsequent to Darius I., does such a monstrous wrong to the history itself, as well as to the Chronicler, that I could not bring myself to mention it in this connection before, and only do so now because I see, from the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, p. 105 sqq., the endeavours now being made to force it upon us. Indeed, no one would have hit upon it but for the occurrence of these two royal names, apparently quite perverted. In support of it, it is now alleged that in the complaint lodged against the Judeans and the royal answer, iv. 8–23, the only subject mentioned is the building of the city walls, and that this points to the time of Nehemiah, whereas in reality the building of the whole city, including the Temple therefore, is spoken of in a manner which no one in his senses could have adopted seventy or eighty years after the restoration of Jerusalem.

[1] According, indeed, to Herodotus i. 153, Cyrus himself contemplated an Egyptian campaign, but in spite of the various stories of the *Cyropædia* he never carried it out, so that such words as those of Is. xliii. 3 are still pure predictions.

[2] According to the striking images of Is. xxvi. 17 sq.

[3] The concluding address of the great Unknown, Is. lxiii. 7–lxvi., may belong to the later days of Cyrus, and the passage Is. xxiv.–xxvii., from the hand of another prophet who lived in the holy land itself, to those of Cambyses. See *Die Propheten des A. Bs.* iii. p. 164 sqq. 2nd ed.

case of the short reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis, where the Chronicler has presented his materials somewhat more fully. At that time several distinguished members of the young community sent a petition to the new king,[1] signed with their own names, and without the subscription of Zerubbabel, who had fallen into disgrace. The document was in the Aramaic character and language, as it may be assumed that even under the Persians this was still the official language of the old Assyrian, as well as of all the other countries west of the Tigris.[2] But two Persian officials in Samaria, the royal councillor Rehum, and the royal secretary, Shimshai,[3] immediately sent a counter-petition to the Persian court in the name of all the settlers of mixed nationality in Samaria, not forgetting to mention, for very excellent reasons, the Persians amongst them. The document set forth that 'simply because they were the king's friends,[4] and did not wish to see his interests publicly injured, they were compelled to warn him seriously against encouraging at the commencement the audacity of the new inhabitants of Jerusalem, the descendants of the ancient kings, once so bold, so mighty, and of such lofty pretensions; and against permitting them to rebuild their extensive city, and surround it with strong walls. If they were not checked at first, it might be foreseen with certainty that they would afterwards renew the constant disturbances and rebellions of their former powerful kings, and soon they would refuse

[1] In themselves, indeed, the words of Ezra iv. 7 are obscure enough, and it is easy to see that they are followed by a wide gap, which the Chronicler himself may very likely have left unfilled in copying his authorities; but it is clear from the disconnected contrast that follows, vv. 8–24, that Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and their companions must have been inhabitants of Jerusalem, as is also indicated by the observation that the letter was written in the Aramaic character (see below), and translated into Aramaic. It was, therefore, originally written in the Hebrew character and language, in accordance with the preference for Hebrew now newly revived in Jerusalem, whereas in Samaria the Aramaic had always been retained among the new settlers (see below). We need not be surprised to meet the Persian name Mithredath after what has been said on p. 33. The passage was misunderstood even by the LXX, but still more by 1 Esdras ii. 16, where all the names of Ezr. iv. 7, 8 are thrown together (in contradiction even to 1 Esdras itself, ii. 17, 25, 30).

[2] Not that this follows exactly from the mention of the 'Assyrian' or 'Syrian character' of the Persian royal edicts (Herod. iv. 87; Thucydides iv. 50, and often in Xenophon), but rather from the use of the Aramaic cuneiform character in the royal inscriptions of the Persians. In like manner the Persian empire was still called, at least in ordinary language, the Assyrian, because it had taken the place of the latter, and was a continuation of it, e.g. Ezr. vi. 22, Ps. lxxxiii. 9 [8]; by a reversing of the same process, Persia is made to stand for Assyria, 2 Macc. i. 19. So in 3 Bar. (Dillman's *Chrest. Æth.* pp. 6, 12) Persia is put for Babylonia.

[3] This is the most probable interpretation of these two offices. 1 Esdras and the LXX take סָפַר as *γραμματεύς*, which we must not understand as simply a learned man. This Greek word is often used in MSS., on coins, and elsewhere, to signify a high public office (cf. vol. iii. p. 267).

[4] The words 'eat the salt of the palace' do not mean anything but this.

every kind of tribute or toll to the Persian king.' This letter, which though not preserved exactly in the words of the original, is evidently chronicled by a contemporary who was well acquainted with it, produced the desired effect. The Persian officials in Samaria received orders to act according to their own suggestions, and hastened to proceed against Jerusalem with an armed force, and especially to put a stop to the building of the Temple.[1]

In this way more than twelve years passed by[2] without the blessing of God seeming really to rest on the new settlement; and how far were the hopes—so highly strung at first—of the great and speedy glory of the new kingdom from being fulfilled! In these same years, too, failure of crops and great unfruitfulness of the land, which had hardly begun to be cultivated again with anything like diligence, were repeatedly added to their other difficulties.[3] Thus, from every quarter, the gravity of the trials of the new community increased in the midst of its first joy in existence. The seeds of gloomy discontent and mean fear for life kept ever shooting up in ranker luxuriance, and the anxious timidity and self-seeking which so easily lay hold of individuals under such circumstances threatened to become more and more predominant. Whilst this community had still to establish on a firmer basis the most necessary means of enjoying and protecting life collectively, there were numbers who considered that they had only to take care of themselves before all things, and they excused their growing disinclination for more generous cares and toils by the pretext that it was now no time for leaving their own houses and with united strength pushing on the work of the Temple.[4] Darius had already taken the place of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and truly he found the Persian empire, in the first period of his reign, in a state of the greatest excitement and commotion, so that he was compelled to pass with heavy fighting from one country to another;[5] but the settlers in Jerusalem, frightened perhaps by the events of the three former Persian reigns, hesitated even to attempt to secure a restoration of the original permission of Cyrus from the court.

3. But the very spread of sloth and selfishness did but serve

[1] Ezr. iv. 7–24.

[2] According to 1 Esdras v. 73, the building of the Temple was only delayed two years altogether; but we shall see below how this contraction of the chronology of the period arose in this book.

[3] Hag. i, 5–11, ii. 15–19. Reference is made to this also in Ps. lxvii. 7 [6], Zech. viii. 12 sq.; and more remotely, Ps. cxxvi. 4–6.

[4] Hag. i. 2–4: comp. with ii. 11–14.

[5] As we can now see far more distinctly than formerly; from the great cuneiform inscription of Behistun made known by Rawlinson.

as a more powerful incitement to certain prophets, who glowed with a pure and higher zeal for the divine duties of their day, to toil for their correction with all the strength of their oracles, and to reanimate the flagging zeal for an undertaking which might not be left unfinished through any human hesitation or timidity. The erection of the Temple must not be abandoned half way, nor the most necessary arrangements for the new community allowed to remain incomplete. These requirements were among the most immediate divine duties and most pressing necessities of the time, unless the new settlement was to fail completely, a result which the Persian government itself did not and could not desire. Indeed, the petty jealousies of the surrounding peoples had only succeeded in preventing the permission to build the Temple granted by Cyrus from being carried into effect: it was not wholly withdrawn. When even a new dynasty, therefore, came into power, there was no real necessity to consult the court afresh as to whether the works should proceed or not. Fortunately, there were two prophets in Jerusalem at this very time who took this view of the matter: by their words of reproof and encouragement they roused the flagging spirit of all classes of the new people, and, as it might seem doubtful whether the people were authorised to go on with the building, dissipated every scruple by the supreme decision of their utterance. First of all, on the first day of the sixth month in the second year of the reign of Darius, arose Haggai. He was to all appearance a prophet already far advanced in years, and one of the very few still surviving who had themselves seen the Temple of Solomon.[1] He regarded the very disasters which the people had experienced for many years in the cultivation of the soil as a proof of the divine displeasure already incurred by the growth and spread of selfishness. He therefore exhorted them all, but especially the two leaders, Zerubbabel and Joshua, to take up the building of the Temple once more with greater zeal; and when the simple words of his admonition took effect he promised the immediate advent of better times.[2] In the beginning of the eighth month of the same year appeared Zechariah,[3] with similar exhortations. He was certainly a much younger man than Haggai, not born before the Babylonian period, and of priestly family. He is the first in whom we can distinctly trace any powerful influence of the civilisation of eastern Asia, in the representations and

[1] P. 102.
[2] Hag. i. 1–ii. 9.
[3] Zech. i. 1–6. According to Neh. xii. 4, 16, his grandfather Iddo had returned with Zerubbabel as the head of one of the twenty-four priestly families.

figures in which he has no hesitation in allowing his imagination to clothe itself on suitable occasions.[1] Started again by the mighty voice of prophets such as these, the grand work of the period was taken up afresh with the most vigorous and indefatigable zeal; and, amid great exertions, it soon went prosperously forward.[2]

But, for the actual success which attended their efforts, so far as the limited means at their command admitted of success at all, the community was ultimately indebted to the justice and moderation of the new king, Darius, which soon won the praise of all his various subjects. Darius appears to have appointed a new governor about this time over the district known at the court of the great king as the land *beyond the river* (i.e. the Euphrates),[3] that is to say, Western Syria. At any rate, we hear no more of the Persian officers in Samaria who had thrown everything into confusion two years before. This governor, Tatnai, and his colleagues in office (of whom Shethar-Boznai[4] alone is mentioned by name) were no doubt appealed to by the Samaritans for help to oppose the new undertaking in Jerusalem; and they could not do otherwise than officially demand an explanation from the inhabitants of the city. But this time the elders of the city, 'as though God's eye protected them,' remained true to their resolution of allowing nothing to interfere with the zealous and speedy prosecution of the work, and confidently appealed to the original permission of Cyrus. The governor, therefore, contented himself with asking the names of those who superintended the building, and reporting them, as those on whom the chief responsibility rested, in his detailed memorial to the great king. Meanwhile, the works were to be proceeded with until the decision of the Persian court should arrive and be publicly communicated to the accused.[5] We are not further informed by the Chronicler

[1] See more below.

[2] Ezra v. 1 sq.; cf. vi. 14. The expression here used is 'they prophesied in the name of the God of Israel over them,' i.e. impelled by the will of God over them, of that long acknowledged God, namely, who is here often called 'the God of Heaven' also. In such a connection 'the *name*' is in itself equivalent to constraining authority, higher will; just like *ἐν ὀνόματι* and *εἰς ὄνομα* of the New Test.

[3] It is in this way that we must understand the designation עֵבֶר נַהֲרָא in the negotiations with the court, Ezr. iv.–vi. With regard to the language of these negotiations, that of the original documents is preserved as faithfully as possible in the ancient record used by the Chronicler. Cf. Ezr. vii. 21, 25.

[4] The spelling Σαθραβουζάνης in 1 Esdras has a more Persian sound; but his Σισίννης for תַּתְּנַי, LXX Θανθαναί, is remarkable.

[5] Ezr. v. 3–5. In ver. 4 we should read אֲמַרְנָא for אַמְרִין; the whole sense and context require this, and the wrong reading may have risen from ver. 9 sq. In 1 Esdras vi. 4, the whole of this little sentence is omitted, no doubt for the simple reason that the translator could make nothing of this corrupt word which had already found its way into the text; but

who were the individuals whose names were indicated to the court as those of possible insurgents. We may, however, readily infer that Zerubbabel and Joshua were the most important, and this conclusion is confirmed by prophetic utterances of the day. On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month Haggai again addressed the whole people, reproving the sullen discontent of many, but adding even more expressly than before certain words of lofty promise to Zerubbabel in particular, as though in the world's great course everything would soon change propitiously for him.[1] On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, Zechariah, in the long and highly artistic piece which we still possess,[2] gathered up all the apprehensions, the noble desires, and the hopes, arising out of the loftier and stronger movements which had commenced anew. With peculiar sympathy, however, he depicts the high-priest Joshua as suffering under heavy accusations, and, promising him a glorious acquittal, he represents him and Zerubbabel as the two branches of fairest verdure and bloom under God's special care, and destined to grow greener and more blooming yet.[3] These pure and ardent hopes were, in fact, soon justified by the event. On receipt of the governor's report, presenting an impartial statement, an inquiry into the history of the case was instituted at the Persian court, and a royal mandate confirmed once more the original charter of Cyrus.[4] The two leaders of the community, who would have had much to fear personally had the supreme court come to the opposite decision, must have been raised high in the general estimation by this issue, and the building of the Temple could be vigorously carried on.

It was probably before this favourable solution of the great question of the day that an embassy of Babylonian Judeans arrived at Jerusalem with rich presents for the sanctuary. Amidst the many depressing circumstances of the new settlement—the poverty of most of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the extraordinary expenditure required by the erection of the Temple—the longing for more active help from without, especially on the part of the numerous wealthy Judeans who still lived in the north-east, was just now very keen. Even the prophets had given expression to the justifiable hopes entertained on this subject.[5] The joy created by the actual arrival of this embassy

the LXX translate as the sense at any rate clearly demands. Cf. vol. i. p. 190.

[1] Hag. ii. 10–23.

[2] Zech. i. 7–vi. 8.

[3] Zech. iii. and iv.

[4] Ezr. v. 5–vi. 13. Only here and there do we detect an Israelitish tone in the words of the documents sent to and from the court. In general, the tradition reproduced in these documents may be entirely relied on.

[5] Hag. ii. 1–9; Zech. ii. 10 sq. [6 sq.]

was, therefore, all the more intense; and to the soul of the prophet Zechariah it even seemed like a blessed confirmation of the prophetic anticipations thus far announced, as well as a pledge of the further development of all the lofty hopes of Israel which were as yet unfulfilled.[1]

Thus was the erection of the Temple completed in the last month of the sixth year of the reign of Darius, 516 B.C., and the consecration of the sanctuary performed with all solemnity.[2] The ceremony bore clear traces of the firmness with which the idea was maintained that this Temple, in its essential nature, was the great general sanctuary of the whole of Israel, including all the twelve tribes.[3] This was the noble spirit in which the festival was celebrated; and thereby at least the true hope for the future, and the elevating point of view from which it should be regarded, were vindicated. Some of the songs which were sung on this occasion, in some cases composed expressly, in others adopted, and to some extent modified, from earlier times, have certainly been preserved in the Psalter.[4] The Temple music, also, must have received a fresh impulse along with the complete restoration of the ancient service; and now, for the first time, was the true place found for the many songs composed at this period, full of pure courage, born of cheerful trust and of swelling hopes, in which the declaration, 'Jahveh reigns,' resounds again and again with loudest joy.[5]

Besides the main edifice of the sanctuary, moreover, it will be readily understood that other buildings necessary to the new capital were erected at the same time in these early days. Of the city walls we shall have more to say hereafter, when speaking of Nehemiah; but we may mention specially that it must have been at this time that a castle was either built or repaired, which appears in history henceforth under the name (which is not ancient Hebrew) of *Bira*, or in its Greek form

vi. 8. It might be supposed that the word חֶמְדַּת, Hag. ii. 7, standing as it does in conjunction with the words *of all the nations*, must mean *the most wished for of the nations*, i.e. the best of them, and this would be the easiest explanation of the *plural* בָּאוּ. But the whole context leads us to expect *treasures* here; and since חֶמְדָּה, *costliness*, was more generally employed to denote *treasures* in the prevailing usage of the day, its conjunction with the plural may be explained in accordance with my *Lehrb.* § 317 *b*.

[1] This is the real meaning of Zech. vi. 9–15.

[2] Ezr. vi. 15–18. It is not clear how Josephus can call it the ninth year, *Ant.* xi. 4, 7. On the other hand, 1 Esdras is probably right in giving the 23rd for the 3rd of the month.

[3] As is clearly indicated in Ezr. vi. 17; cf. supr. p. 86.

[4] Ps. lxviii., to all appearance, was put together from several old songs of victory for this occasion. Pss. xxx., according to the superscription at least, was used on this occasion as a song of thanksgiving; Pss. xlvii., lxvii., lxvi. 1–12, and several from xciii., xcv. onwards, are entirely new songs which fit exactly into this period.

[5] Ps. xciii. and those related to it; see *Die Psalmen*, pp. 335–342 [404–414, 3rd ed.].

Baris.[1] This was the building which was subsequently enlarged by the Asmonean princes, and still more by Herod, under the name Antonia, occupying a site on the hill north-west of the Temple. A residence for the governor[2] was also erected, though probably not in the same position south of the Temple which Solomon's palace had occupied. The Baris was held by the Persian garrison, which appears, however, to have been but small in Jerusalem itself.

But the exultation of those days could not long endure in the face of the poverty and oppression of the present, nor could their bright joy hold its ground before the deep consciousness that the fulfilment of the grand old hopes was still deferred. It is true that the Temple was now restored, if not so richly, yet, in accordance with the taste of the age, with ampler and loftier dimensions than before.[3] The sacrifices, with all the rest of the service, could be performed in it again exactly as they had been performed of old;[4] and in order that the daily offerings of the priests might go on without interruption, the great king had granted the necessary funds from the public treasury,[5] probably only as a small compensation for the former immunity from taxes enjoyed by all the land and other property of the priests. Thus, down even to certain details, which will be more minutely described hereafter, the whole constitution of the ancient true religion was fully organised. The priests and Levites, too, were now re-established, as far as possible, according to their ancient regulations. We have distinct information, for example, of the re-institution henceforth of the twenty-four divisions of the priests who undertook the special duties of the Temple service in rotation

[1] According to Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2; cf. specially Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2, xv. 11, 4, and more below on the subject. As this castle was almost contiguous with the Temple, which it protected on the northern side, the castle seems to have been henceforth taken to include the Temple itself, and in 1 Chron. xxix. 1–19 this usage is even transferred to the time of David.

[2] Neh. ii. 8.

[3] It is true that we have not any sufficient description of this Temple anywhere, for the words of Ezr. vi. 3 sq. are evidently too much abridged to pass as satisfactory; but it seems that the proportions of its interior were identical with those of Solomon's, but the external three-storied buildings were enlarged to a breadth of fifteen cubits each, and on these three stories of masonry, thirty cubits in height, a structure of cedar wood, of thirty cubits more, was raised; so that the whole was sixty cubits in height and breadth. The advisability of increasing the dimensions of the external buildings may have been shown by experience. Ezekiel, xli. 13 sq., had desired a still greater enlargement.

[4] This may be gathered from Ezr. vi. 18–22.

[5] The mention in Ezr. vi. 4, 8 sq. of grants from the royal treasury probably refers only to a yearly subsidy for the building of the Temple which was to be applied for the sacrifices when it was finished. We have no more detailed information on the subject. The twenty talents a year for the building of the Temple, and the ten for the sacrifices, which appear later on in 1 Esdras iv. 51 sq., were simply obtained by general taxation.

week by week.[1] Once more, just as of old, the God of Israel, like a mighty king, had a great stronghold in the consecrated centre of his people, and a sacred service furnished at every moment by many hundreds of superior and inferior priests, with fire, sacrifice, and vigil; and its uniform and unbroken continuance, with the utmost readiness and devotion, night and day, appeared to ensure the continuance of the grace of God himself and of the life of the whole people.[2] But in spite of all this the Temple of Zerubbabel stood far below that of Solomon in point of splendour, and the rich contributions for which they had hoped from foreign countries were far from corresponding eventually to their expectations. And the priests, in the prayers which accompanied the daily sacrifices in the Temple, were bound expressly to include the great king,[3] although in every respect he simply tolerated this religion, without in any way promoting it or even himself professing it. It is quite true that now, if times were at all tolerable, individuals might once more live in Jerusalem and other parts of the holy land quite comfortably and happily, and in the quiet life of the people during those days personal devoutness ripened into that wonderful depth which is the fairest fruit of the age, and of which we still possess monuments of a significance that can never die.[4] Yet it was not easy to infuse a genuine cheerfulness and unclouded hopefulness into the general national life and all its public manifestations. To this the following circumstance bears evidence. Some two years before the completion of the Temple, an embassy came from Bethel to the priests and prophets at the Temple, to ask whether the annual days of mourning already mentioned[5] ought still to

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 315. This important fact results from a careful consideration of the statements in Neh. x. 3–9 [2–8], xii. 1–7, 12–20. The names of the priests here given are certainly very corrupt in some instances, and differ from each other where they ought to agree, no doubt because the Chronicler collected them from very different sources; but in these passages, when closely examined, we always find the names of exactly twenty-two priestly elders from the three census rolls under the High-Priests Joshua, Joiakim, and Eliashib. It is therefore a distinctive feature that in all three cases just twenty-two names appear. We expect in these lists to find the twenty-four divisions of the priests; probably the other two besides these twenty-two were made up by the house of the high-priest.

[2] Cf. Ps. cxxxiv. The scrupulousness displayed in the most exact performance of the Temple-service increased in a most extraordinary manner in the following centuries, as Josephus likes to take every opportunity of pointing out, by way of exalting the profound conscientiousness of the Judeans; *Bell. Jud.* i. 7, 4 sq.; *Ant.* xiv. 4, 3; 16, 2, xv. 7, 8; and what an impression was made upon heathens and residents abroad by the performance of this service perpetually in the same form and with the utmost conscientiousness, appears from Hecatæus apud Jos. *contr. Ap.* i. 22 (p. 457), and from the *Book of Aristeas*, p. 112 (ad fin. Haverkamp's Josephus); cf. also the description in Jos. *contr. Ap.* ii. 8 sq.

[3] Ezr. vi. 10.

[4] Especially Pss. xci. and cxxxix.; then of later date, Ps. ciii., civ., and other similar ones.

[5] P. 22.

be observed or not? On this occasion the prophet Zechariah pronounced the striking decision that no one ought to imagine that by compulsory fasts and mourning they could compel God; and that since the great misery of the people was now over, it would be better to change the days of annual mourning into days of thanksgiving.[1] This advice may even have been followed during the first years in which the Temple was rising again to completeness from its ruins; but we know with certainty that the oppressed and sullen spirit of the age soon ceased to pay much attention to those great truths proclaimed by Zechariah, that excessive fasting and mourning came more and more into favour with the people, and that at least one annual day of mourning continued to be observed in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem, as though to keep the fact constantly in mind that the new Jerusalem was still conscious how far it stood below its proud recollections of the past and its hopes of a better future.

One thing, however, of the utmost consequence for all future ages was absolutely settled by the time that the foundations of the new kingdom of Jahveh were completed. This kingdom, which aspired to become anew the local centre of all the worshippers of Jahveh, and which never relinquished, at least in the most secret recesses of its heart, any of the lofty claims of its antiquity, was nevertheless to remain closely limited, both in territory and population. It is true that at the end of these twenty years it had surmounted satisfactorily enough the first period of growth and self-formation, which is always the most full of danger. For this at least it still retained enough of the pure divine strength which descended as a legacy from the heroic period of its antiquity and also resulted from that profound change and improvement produced by the Captivity, the fire of which was still fanned so effectually by genuine prophets. Even the first hardships of the commencement—that bitter sowing of tears[2]—had enriched the soil with heavenly seed, and even the unexpected hindrances from without had been most wonderfully converted into helps. We cannot fail to note that one of the reasons why the new Jerusalem remained so quiet at the beginning of the reign of Darius was that it had suffered so much from both its previous rulers; or to perceive how easy it was for it to secure the good-will of its new master, while at the very moment it lived to see, not without a thrill of joy, the heavy twofold penalty inflicted in the first years of the reign of

[1] Zech. vii. sq.

[2] To use the imagery of a song belonging to these first years, Ps. cxxvi. 5 sq.

Darius on its mortal adversary Babylon, which seemed always to have been treated by Cyrus with an excess of leniency,[1] for twice repeated violent and stubborn insurrection against the Persian supremacy. But although the new community might rejoice in the only way still open to it, viz. in a purely spiritual sense, over the fall of Babylon, which at length became an accomplished fact, as the last of the great victories of the age, yet its position was not in any respect altered by it. The decree of Cyrus had indeed permitted Jerusalem to have a great sanctuary once more, and its inhabitants, in accordance with the custom of antiquity, claimed inviolability for their whole territory.[2] Yet in spite of this, the wild campaigns of Cambyses against Egypt probably did not respect it, and may thus have called forth the bitter lamentations already mentioned;[3] and even Darius, from all that we know, did not concede this privilege to the district now adorned by the splendour of the Temple, which continued, even in the holy land itself, to be simply one of many sanctuaries. But if once the past glory were restored, the feelings and, under favourable circumstances, the courage and activity also of the members of the new kingdom of Jahveh would be once more roused irresistibly by the strong desire to obtain the public acknowledgment of the inviolability of all the district appertaining to Jerusalem. From this sanctuary and its sacred territory they would at any rate seek to extend their sway over the whole of the ancient holy land. They would attempt to restrain the partially or wholly heathen religions which had long been allowed to spread and take root in it unchecked, and would endeavour to draw more and more closely together into the bond of the unity of the true religion and its kingdom the highly diversified populations which now covered the land in more motley variety than ever before.[4] The history of the succeeding centuries will teach us how these efforts could never be repressed until the very end of the whole history of the nation, and what great results they attained. But we are already in a position to understand that they were nevertheless unable to reach their full measure of achievement. We have seen what far more powerful impulses were counteracting them from the first.

[1] As we now know from the great Behistun inscription far more exactly than from Herod. iii. 150 sqq. This interval explains such expressions as Ps. cxxxvii. 8 sq., Is. xxvi. 5 sqq.

[2] As an *Asylum*, according to the Greek, or حرام *'haram,'* according to the Arabic language; on this point see more below.

[3] P. 106.

[4] P. 89 sqq.

IV.—The Descendants and Successors of Zerubbabel and Joshua. The High-Priests.

Of Zerubbabel's death, or of how long he lived after the consecration of the Temple, we have no trustworthy record. But much as this omission is to be regretted, we have far more reason to lament that the single historical work of antiquity on these centuries of the Persian supremacy which has been preserved, passes in absolute silence over the whole of the period between this sixth year of Darius, 516 B.C., and the seventh of Artaxerxes Macrocheir, 459 B.C., in which Ezra's history begins. It is impossible that a period of fifty-seven years can originally have been so entirely empty of important events, especially in the case of a kingdom which, though without any high degree of independence, and still very weak and small, was nevertheless placed in a position so entirely novel and peculiar, and was besides animated by a spirit so unique as that of the new Jerusalem at the time of which we speak. The most necessary foundations of further growth and progress on the part of the new settlement were indeed secured already, and the first wants of the new kingdom of Jahveh were satisfied. In other respects, however, hardly a single point in the grand and mighty scheme for which the inmost soul of the new kingdom was struggling, could be said as yet to be firmly established. All the earlier efforts and pretensions of the ancient kingdom of Jahveh were revivified by its resurrection in a new form; and, though the difficulties which surrounded the beginning of the undertaking and the unexpected troubles of the past quarter of a century had hitherto prevented them from rising up with sufficient freedom, yet now that on the completion of the building of the Temple quieter and more settled times had come, they would be tempted to put themselves forth with greater force. We have already seen the Messianic hopes gathering strength round Zerubbabel.[1] We have therefore every reason to suppose that these fifty-seven years of the new kingdom of Jahveh did not go by in such perfect calm, and so entirely free from movement within or without; but we are unable now to fill in the gap left by the Chronicler, even from other historical works. The history of Esther does indeed fall into the time of Xerxes; but it hinges on a perfectly isolated question concerning the general fate of the Judeans who were subject to heathen masters, and has no special reference to the new Jerusalem; and for that reason we shall not discuss it

[1] P. 105.

until further on, at the point at which the general fortunes of the scattered Judeans rise into importance once more. Fl. Josephus, again, found nothing in the authorities at his command to enable him in any way to make good this deficiency.[1] He does indeed quote a passage in his latest work,[2] as if to make up for the omission, in which the old Greek poet Chœrilus, describing the nationalities marching against the Greeks in the great army of Xerxes, sketches 'a wondrous race, the Phœnician-speaking Solymi, dwelling upon the mountains and by the broad sea, with sun-burned crowns, hair clipped all round,[3] and wearing visors on them of smoke-cured horse-hide.' These Solymi Josephus tacitly assumes to be the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Now it is conceivable enough that Xerxes, who made such claims upon the assistance of the sea-going Phœnicians in this campaign, had also included Judeans among his levies, for we know from other sources,[4] that they were not exempt from liability to serve under the Persians, and indeed we might take this for granted. But, beyond this we know nothing of this levy under Xerxes, and Josephus evidently allowed himself to be misled simply by the name. Up to the age immediately preceding Christ, the Greeks knew of no Solymi, except those of Lycia, famous even in Homer's time.[5] These may very well have spoken a Phœnician, i.e. a Semitic language. But it is equally certain that the abbreviation of Jerusalem into Solyma does not occur before the period of the Ptolemies, as will be shown below.[6]

It is no less surprising, however, that we know of no single descendant of Zerubbabel who in after times filled his office of Persian *Tirshatha*.[7] The Chronicler does indeed give an exact list of his posterity up to the close of the Persian period,[8] so

[1] It is true that he makes the Artashasht a of Ezra into Xerxes and the Ahashverosh of the book of Esther into Artaxerxes I., by which means the great gap is to some extent concealed; but without ground, as will appear hereafter.

[2] *Contr. Ap.* i. 22.

[3] As it was worn, according to Herod. vii. 20, in this same army of Xerxes, by the Asiatic Ethiopians, evidently another name for the same people. But the round clipped crown would point more to Arabian peoples (see the *Alterthümer*, p. 101); the Judeans of that time could not possibly be confused with them as regards their dress and the trimming of their hair. Moreover, the dwelling by the sea fits in exactly with the mountaineers of Solyma in Asia Minor, known to Chœrilus from Homer, see Strabo's *Geogr.* i. 2, xiii. 4, xiv. 3.

[4] From Ecclesiastes viii. 8. Whether during the Grecian and Roman supremacies (see below) the Judeans could escape by payment the hateful military service under the heathen we do not know, but it is not probable.

[5] *Il.* vi. 184; *Od.* v. 283. Cf. Herod. i. 173.

[6] Cf. also vol. i. pp. 307, 328.

[7] P. 87.

[8] See vol. i. p. 171. The *Sêder Olam Zutta* indeed endeavours to bring down the list of princely descendants to the Asmoneans, but evidently by pure conjecture. The *Philonis Breviarium de*

that they must still have been known and respected in Jerusalem up to that date; and this is only what we should naturally expect in the case of this scion of the house of David and the descendants of such a man as Zerubbabel; but he nowhere hints that anyone of them was ever invested with Zerubbabel's office.[1] Yet it seems so obvious an arrangement that the honour should devolve upon his sons. Nor would this have been a solitary example in the extensive dominions of the great king of a former royal family receiving the hereditary dignity of vassal king and sovereign of a special territory, and even maintaining itself in that office through the whole duration of the Persian empire.[2] If, moreover, any family at that time had a right to expect this hereditary prerogative, it was surely the family of David, which numbered a long line of most illustrious ancestors, and had under Cyrus and Darius been at once restored, so far as circumstances admitted, in the person of Zerubbabel from transient obscurity to honour and glory.

Now, although there are no historical works which enable us to solve this riddle, further research does bring to light certain other remains of this period, which prove on close inspection quite sufficient to supply the key to it, as far as can be expected in the absence of any more explicit narrative. In Pss. cxxxii. and lxxxix. we possess two great songs of a highly remarkable character. Full of the most touching sighs for fresh salvation and deliverance for Jerusalem, they are distinguished from other psalms which they closely resemble in other respects, by this peculiarity, that each must have been com-

Temporibus, edited by Annius of Viterbo, presents us with another and apparently better founded attempt to restore a list of princes of Judah descended from Zerubbabel; in this Resa Meshullam appears as next in succession to him; the former of these names appear again in Luke iii. 27, and the latter in 1 Chron. iii. 19 as that of a son of Zerubbabel. But no ancient authority informs us that any such descendant of Zerubbabel exercised his power; and had the Joseph mentioned in the *Breviarium* as the friend of Ptolemy been identical with the one described in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, 2, Josephus would certainly have noticed his descent from Zerubbabel. It is remarkable that the *Sêder Olam Zutta* makes Zerubbabel return to Babylon at last; but we find a similar representation in the later book of legends of his life, which we shall discuss below.

[1] On the contrary it is certainly intentional in the Chronicler, according to vol. i. p. 171 sq., to bring forward the high-priestly family of his time at the point at which it had to be mentioned as then in power, and, on the other hand, merely to insert that of Zerubbabel quite simply, 1 Chron. iii. 17–24, in the primitive history where it could not be in the least conspicuous.

[2] As in Cilicia, according to Xenophon's *Anab.* i. 2, 12; *Cyrop.* vii. 4, 2; in Sinope and the neighbourhood, according to Corn. Nep. *Dat.* c. 2, 3, comp. with Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 8; in Caria, according to the great inscriptions of the Mausoli recently discovered in Phœnicia and in Cyprus. This was, moreover, in entire harmony with the fundamental principles of the Persian rule. See p. 75.

posed by a descendant of David himself. The indications are very clear that they neither of them belong to an earlier period than that of the new Jerusalem; and it is equally plain that Ps. cxxxii. is somewhat the older of the two. It is, moreover, an exceedingly tender and refined poem, and prays in such general terms for the higher welfare of Jerusalem, her priests and the poet himself, who gives himself to be understood as the rightful heir of David, that there is nothing to prevent us from supposing it to have been composed by Zerubbabel towards the close of his life. What great misfortune had then fallen upon him and the city we cannot clearly gather; but we see that though the Temple was rebuilt, yet all the priestly order and the rest of the population which gathered around it were in a state of unusual depression. On the other hand, the descendant of David who composed Ps. lxxxix., a poem of greater length, seems already plunged deep in the heaviest sufferings; he himself and his people have become the scorn of their neighbours, they have been defeated by them in war, and Jerusalem itself has been conquered. By the side of this poem appears a series of others from other hands. They depict Jerusalem as suffering the bitterest insults and injuries at the hands of the neighbouring peoples, the Temple itself violated, the whole land laid waste, and in particular, all its houses of prayer destroyed; and in an agony of supplication in every variety of form they either seek to draw forth the Divine sympathy or already anticipate and promise it.[1] There can be no doubt that the country sustained at that time some such great and continuous calamity; and from the relations subsisting during the twenty years preceding, which have been explained above, we can easily understand that they could only proceed from the neighbouring peoples, and would affect most deeply the contemporary representative of the house of David. Now,

[1] Pss. xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lx. (as worked up in its present form), lxxxv., all together form the eight poems of which it is equally interesting and difficult correctly to assign the historical bearings. Since they still show a comparatively powerful poetic vein, we might be tempted to place them somewhere about the time of King Jeconiah and the Chaldean war of his reign (vol. iv. p. 262 sqq.); but even the words of Ps. lxxxv. 2–4 [1–3], with many other indications, show with certainty that they cannot have been composed till after the great era of the liberation. I now assign their true date somewhat more exactly than in 1835 in the *Dichter des A. Bs.* (vol. ii. p. 353 sqq.) [p. 437 sq. 3d. ed.] The period to which I here ascribe them did indeed float distinctly before my mind even then, and it was only because it seemed to me too bold to assign so many poems to an occasion which has the testimony of no historical work that I preferred the time of the destruction under Bagoses mentioned by Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, 1 (see below). But if the poems have the origin which I no longer hesitate openly to assign them, their position in the Psalter also is more appropriate, as I shall show more fully elsewhere. Cf. also the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix., p. 94 sqq.

whether Zerubbabel himself lived long enough to witness this misery in his last years, or whether it was only his son who composed Ps. lxxxix., we may at any rate assign this crisis to some part of the long reign of Darius, or, at the latest, of his son Xerxes;[1] and we certainly have not the smallest ground for denying that a bitter crisis of this kind ever ensued within that period. The efforts which shot up afresh in the new kingdom of Jahveh to reassert ancient pretensions and ancient supremacy themselves constantly tended more and more powerfully to bring it on; and we cannot be surprised that the Persian court allowed the neighbouring peoples to quench these pretensions in blood, and henceforth suffered the house of David to fall into neglect.[2] We cannot now trace the course of events in detail, but we know for certain that the walls and gates of Jerusalem lay in ruins until the arrival of Nehemiah, so that no one can have had permission to rebuild them until his time.[3] All the surrounding nations, moreover, were now watching most eagerly for opportunities of plunging Jerusalem still deeper in weakness and dishonour, as we clearly see from Nehemiah's history, which will soon be elucidated. Of the continuous tension of the relations with the Samaritans, Idumeans, and other neighbours, there is abundant evidence.[4]

It was these circumstances that determined more exactly the entire position which the new Jerusalem and its Temple were to assume. Jerusalem and its territory no doubt still

[1] The Chronicler also, in enumerating the names of the Persian kings who had rendered services to Jerusalem, only mentions Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes I., Ezr. vi. 14, though certainly not in an appropriate place. If, indeed, the name of Artaxerxes in this passage come from the Chronicler at all, we must explain it on the hypothesis that it was imported into it by a sort of anticipation from cap. vii. sqq., as the sense will not admit the supposition that he is referring back to the Artashasht mentioned in Ezr. iv. 7–23, whose disposition was unfriendly. The Chronicler's arrangement of his words is never of the best (cf. vol. i. p. 178 sqq.); but in no case can this single word invalidate what has already been said, p. 105, *note* 4, about cap. iv.

[2] As for the statement of Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 4, 6, that Darius, in reply to an embassy from Zerubbabel, finally sent him a royal decree to compel the Samaritans to pay regular tribute for the Temple at Jerusalem and its sacrifices, no reliance can be placed on it, in spite of certain proper names which now occur nowhere else; for Josephus had nothing before him but the apocryphal first book of Esdras, which we shall soon discuss.

[3] Neh. i. 3, ii, 3, 5, 13, 17, iii. 34 [iv. 2], iv. 4 [10], 11 [17]. A careful comparison of these passages will show that the ruin of the walls and gates which they describe can neither have been accidental, as it were, and quite recent in Nehemiah's day, nor yet dating back from the old Chaldean times. We also know from Ezr. iv. 12 sq. that when the Temple was built, thoughts were entertained of reconstructing the city walls also; and indeed, we might take it for granted that as soon as the city was rebuilt the attempt would be made to fortify it as well. The condition of the walls in Nehemiah's time gives sufficient proof of the correctness of the interpretation of events which I have given.

[4] As, for instance, the great Ps. lxxviii.; Mal. i. 2–5, and other evidence to be adduced below under Nehemiah.

retained a governor of their own, whether of Judean or foreign extraction.[1] He was, as we might expect, subject to the governor-general of Syria in questions of importance; but there was, besides, an official reporter (so to speak) of Judean birth, who resided at the court, and was the great king's immediate adviser in matters relating to this province and its people.[2] The governor was assisted in his administration by the advice of the nobles and elders.[3] But he was liable to be removed at any moment; and, except in purely religious concerns, the community possessed no further independence. This was the end of even that shadow of autonomy under foreign supremacy which had risen again under Zerubbabel; and it was now irrevocably decreed that this community, united on its ancient fatherland, must either prove itself able to secure permanent independence and development on the basis of its peculiar religion alone, or else disappear entirely. Once reduced to this inexorable alternative, its choice could no longer be doubtful. Too healthy as yet were its efforts, and too grand and imperative the future towards which it had an innate tendency, and the pure hope of which upheld it still amid all its difficulties. But instead of a Zerubbabel, far other men were needed to call forth and protect the blessings which were now most indispensable for its well-being.

The office of high-priest remained henceforth hereditary in the house of Joshua, described above, though certainly without the knowledge of the Persians at first, simply because the ancient religion allowed it to be so, and now even sanctioned it by the Pentateuch. Thus a kind of hereditary dignity, at the same time new and of primeval antiquity, rose unperceived in the community once more. In the entire absence of any other continuous authority of national extraction, it could put forth the more strength in support of its unity and permanence, and at the same time it afforded the first fixed centre round which the hagiocracy, which had hardly disclosed itself distinctly until now, could group itself. But every hereditary dignitary, and especially the high-priesthood, gradually loses, from the very fact of its being inherited so quietly, much of the pure strength and activity which characterise it at first; nor was every high-priest equal to the new and difficult problems which the times produced. Moreover, as soon as the office had by degrees acquired considerable importance and power,

[1] Neh. v. 15; the nature and limits of his power may be gathered to some extent from Nehemiah's description, especially Neh. ii. 7–9, vii. 2, his salary from Neh. v. 15.

[2] As we see from the incidental remark in Neh. xi. 24.

[3] See above, p. 86 sq.

and attracted the attention of the supreme authorities, it always remained subject to their dictation. This state of things continued all through the Persian age, and even lasted into the Greek supremacy. Nor was it until the dignities of the high-priest and prince were united in the person of the Asmonean Jonathan that the conditions of the office were essentially altered. Thus the thread of history could not be attached even to the hereditary succession of high-priests in the same way that it had been connected with that of the kings of Judah or Israel. Even in civic life, their government supplied no dates: the Persian and then the Greek eras continued the only chronologies in use. This also explains the fact that when, from the standpoint of the later high-priests who had become princes and kings of the nation, it was thought desirable to review and settle the chronology of their predecessors, the attempt could only be carried out with great difficulty, and was not very successful after all. The Chronicler gives the list of high-priests in due succession up to his own time, but without any dates.[1] Fl. Josephus, in a survey of all the high-priests of Israel from the time of Moses to that of Nero,[2] states that between Cyrus and Antiochus Eupator (that is, from 538 B.C. to 161 B.C. at the outside), there were fifteen high-priests of the same family, beginning from Joshua, who ruled for 414 years;[3] but although in the course of his history he mentions some of these fifteen by name and attempts to assign them to their proper dates, yet he never defines accurately the time during which each of them held office individually, and, in speaking of the earlier ones, he expresses himself in reference to this only in very general terms. In some cases, especially among the later members of the series, whose power increased with the progress of the hagiocracy, it was certainly known with sufficient accuracy how long they had individually been in office; but when at last the attempt was made to continue the thread of

[1] According to Neh. xii. 10 sq., the series of high-priests for some 200 years after the foundation of the new Jerusalem was as follows: Joshua, Joiakim, Eliashib (often mentioned in Nehemiah's history), Joiada (which is made into Judas in Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, 1), Jonathan, Jaddua (this is probably a diminutive of Joiada); for Jonathan, however, we should read Johanan, according to ver. 22 and Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7, 1, for the name Jaunæus, יְנַאי, which later writers often insert here, might just as well be an abbreviation of Johanan as of Jonathan (see below under the Asmoneans). Both names are very frequently confused in later times. A decision of *Joiada's* on a passage of the Pentateuch about sacrifices is referred to in the Mishnah, *Shekâlim*, vi. 6.

[2] *Ant.* xx. 10; comp. with what he says on this subject *Contr. Ap.* i, 7.

[3] This reading seems to be established, *Ant.* xx. 10, 2; but even if we reckon the years of Cyrus from the beginning of his ante-Babylonian reign, the number is still too high.

all the governments of Israel through them, and to fix them all firmly in the great network of universal chronology, the extremely arbitrary and contradictory manner in which the records had to be dealt with, shows how little dependence could be placed on the sources of information available for the purpose.[1]

But the rapidity with which, as we have seen, the descen-

[1] Eusebius does not speak of these high-priests at all in the first part of his Chronicle. He does indeed mention several of them in the Canon, though not with any steadiness till the Ptolemaic period and onwards, but he never introduces them except incidentally and without including them in the chronology of the separate years. Complete chronological catalogues have been preserved by G. Syncellus, *Chronogr.* pp. 456 sq., 472, 484, 512, 525, 544–546, and in his Canon; those in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn (vol. i. pp. 356–58), diverge considerably from these, and are repeated with little alteration at p. 390 sq. of the same. A synopsis of these names and numbers, with the needful correction of some mere clerical errors, down to the times of the Maccabees, is given below:—

Georgius Syncellus.		Chronicon Paschale.	
1. Joshua	60	Joshua	32
2. Joiakim	36	Joiakim	30
3. Eliashib	34	Eliashib	40
4. Joiada	36	Joiada	36
5. Jannæus	32	Johannes	32
6. Jaddua	20	Jaddua	20
7. Onias	21	Onias	21
8. Simon the Great	19	Eleazar	15
9. Eleazar	32	Simon	14
10. Manasses	26	Onias	32
11. Onias	14	Manasses	26
12. Simon	20	Simon	22
13. Onias	13	Onias	24
14. Jason	3	Jesus	16
15. Menelaus	15	(Onias)	7
16. Judas Maccabæus	6	Judas Maccabæus	33
17. Jonathan	19	Jonathan	17
18. Simon	8	Simon	8
19. Jannæus	30	Jonathan	27
20. Jannæus	30	Aristobulus	1
21.		Jannæus	30

The statement of G. Syncellus here given is taken from his Canon; in his chief work he gives many of the names and numbers after No. 13 very differently (see below). But if we compare the statements of the two Chronicles we still find, in the midst of palpable contractions, transpositions, and other arbitrary and erroneous treatment, so much agreement even in the Persian and ante-Maccabean periods as to convince us that they are partly founded on very ancient records; and when the annals of the high-priests took the place of those of the kings (1 Macc. xvi. 24) they would certainly put in the most accurate list possible of all the pre-Asmonean high-priests. The dates supplied by the *Chronicon Paschale* are in many respects superior; for instance, in not assigning his place to the first high-priest until the reign of Cyrus at Babylon. But it is also the *Chronicon Paschale* which shows most clearly how little this fabric as a whole may be trusted; for it distinctly asserts that 'the 21 high priests filled the space of 483 years, i.e. the 69 weeks of years of Daniel,' so that its chronology as given here rests on the ingenuity of an interpreter of Daniel. Moreover from the first to the sixteenth high-priest (selected because he was the first Maccabean high-priest) it reckons just 400 years; and whereas this period of 400 years and the above of 483 years are really much too great, the period of the first six high-priests, when estimated at 190 years, is made too small, for all the older accounts make Jaddua still alive in Alexander's time.

dants of David sank into almost complete obscurity, and the want of success which attended the efforts of the high-priests to restore a real and permanent government, allowed the self-sacrificing activity of individuals who rose up from among the people to exercise a more powerful and beneficent influence than would otherwise have been possible. Soon enough the right men were found to render to the young community, in its continued weakness and disorganisation, the twofold services with which it could no longer permanently dispense. Another subject, however, claims our first consideration.

V.—Later Views of Zerubbabel and his Time.

In all times and places, the character of a man who is prominent in his own day strikes deepest into the national consciousness of posterity under that aspect in which it last appeared as he passed from earth. If, then, Zerubbabel, round whose head Messianic hopes had played [1] in the early days of Jerusalem's rise, met with the gloomy end we have conjectured above, we need not wonder that his memory soon paled and in later times grew more and more obscure. However certain it may be that he ought to be regarded as the most prominent man of the first five-and-twenty years of the new Jerusalem, yet beyond the few broad features of his life and work described above we know nothing of him from trustworthy historical sources. When the Temple was consecrated on its completion, an event which took place almost at the end of the first quarter of a century of this new epoch, he was certainly still living. If, as is probable on many grounds, he was the author of the wonderfully profound Ps. cxxxviii., in which we hear the language of a man of princely family, thoroughly penetrated by the most exalted feelings, excited at the fairest moment of this time, marked as it was by new aspiration and fresh and noble hope, we may then affirm that this descendant of David, as poet, also, must have been worthy of his great ancestor; and we shall understand still more fully how it was that he became one of the firmest supports of the feeble stem of the new Judah, even though fate forbade him to mount the throne of David itself, and finally cast him deeper and deeper down.

But when in the Greek times the recollection of the Persian period in general, and of its opening years in particular, retreated further into the distance, and at the same time the freedom of historical representation degenerated into greater

[1] P. 105.

and greater license, the memory of this hero, as well as others, was distorted and defaced in all kinds of ways. We still possess a tolerably large fragment of a curious historical work of this description,[1] and we must now devote to it at least a passing notice. In this book the whole history of the first Persian kings was brought, in the most extravagant style, into the closest connection with the liberation and restoration of Israel, just as if these kings had been in the habit of thinking of the God of Israel and the fate of his people at every critical moment of their lives, and the history of the whole world had strictly hinged, in consequence, upon the changes of its lot. And since nothing remained so firmly planted in the general mind as the recollection of the fact that Cyrus had granted permission for the building of the Temple, but that it had not been actually accomplished before the reign of Darius, this loose style of narrative concocted on this basis the following story. Cyrus, before his attack on Babylon, vowed to God that if he were victorious he would release Israel and restore the sacred vessels of the Temple; but for some reason or other the latter promise was not redeemed. When Darius, therefore, had (as we know) to attack and conquer Babylon a second time, he, too, vowed to God his willingness to rebuild Jerusalem and its Temple and to send back the sacred vessels; but he also subsequently failed to perform his vow.[2] So once on a time there happened to be three young nobles at the court of Darius, who had agreed, in the exuberance of youthful spirits to contend for a wager before the king and his assembled council, in a discussion on the philosophical question 'what is strongest among men?' and the victor was to receive the highest honours. They sealed up their proposals, together with the outline of the argument which each intended to support, and laid them under the pillow of the sleeping king. Darius, on waking, received the papers, and caused the contest to be held with all solemnity. The first had undertaken to prove that wine was the strongest power among men; the second that it was the king (a trait in full accordance with the very corrupt conceptions of regal despotism current in the last two centuries before Christ); but the third, who was no other than Zerubbabel, had advanced the twofold proposition that woman was incomparably the strongest power among men, but that stronger still, the strongest absolutely was the truth, i.e. according to its proper

[1] 1 Esdras iii. sq. The work out of which this passage has been preserved, seems to have been still read by the oldest Sibylline poet. See my essay, *über die Sibyllenbücher*, p. 36.

[2] 1 Esdras iv. 43–45, 57.

meaning in Israel, divine truth. The king and the three Persian nobles declared the last to be the victor, decreed him the highest honours, and promised to grant him any boon he might ask. Zerubbabel, however, requested nothing more than that Darius would perform his own vows and those of Cyrus with regard to Jerusalem and the Temple. Then, at last, full concessions were obtained from Darius, the new constitution and the immunities of Jerusalem and the Temple, with its priestly and other servants, were established,[1] and Zerubbabel, at the head of a great band of exiles, arrived in the holy land.—The author of this work was tolerably well acquainted with the traditions of Persian history;[2] but he certainly wrote no earlier than in the last century before Christ, and his object probably was to secure to Judea the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power.[3]

Now, inconsistent as were the pictures and stories of this production (which was, no doubt, of considerable dimensions) with the traditions and records of the earlier works, the Greek author of the book commonly known as the Apocryphal or third book of Ezra[4] undertook to put together a new work from both these sources. This Hellenist was either himself a translator of the books of Chronicles, or more probably (for he was only a Greek editor) he found them translated already, but assumed the liberty of working up together two such very different productions as the narrative of the Chronicler and the story-book just mentioned. From the latter he took the long piece descriptive of Zerubbabel as a page at the court of Darius, and then re-arranged the passages of the Chronicler, caring little whether, after all, the result was an adequate and consistent account or not.[5] Since a book which related the rise of

[1] The detailed enumeration of these same grants and immunities, 1 Esdras iv. 49–56, would be of great historical importance if it were known from what source the narrator had taken it; but it is evident that its terms are too general to allow of its passing for historical evidence without further confirmation.

[2] The description of the ridiculous attitude of Darius by the side of his beautiful concubine 'Apamê, daughter of the admirable Bartacus,' in 1 Esdras iv. 29–31, must be derived from some book of Persian court-stories. Josephus had a different reading for the name of her father, *Ant.* xi. 3, 5.

[3] The opening of the passage, 1 Esdras iii. 1 sq., is in imitation of the book of Esther; but the book of Aristeas also must already have been known to the author. That he had in his mind a Greek kingdom in which there was but one royal capital, is proved by the colouring of the words in iv. 49.

[4] In the LXX, since it begins earlier than the Canonical book, it is put first and called 1 Ezra. [In the English version it appears among the Apocrypha as 1 Esdras.]

[5] It is only when we grasp the fact that the author of 1 Esdras thus desired to work up two books into one that the arrangement of his sections becomes clear. He retains Ezr. i. at the beginning, as describing the time of Cyrus, but then he passes over at once to iv. 7–24, as though Artashashta were identical with Cambyses, whom he put in his place throughout (dropping out the short notice

the new Jerusalem might suitably commence with the last glorious days of the former city, our author begins his quotations from the work of the Chronicler with the description of the last great feast in Josiah's time;[1] but the work breaks off abruptly in the middle of Ezra's life, perhaps because the author himself never finished it.[2] Josephus then followed this incongruous cento; but since he also took as a foundation another later work, according to which Zerubbabel came to Jerusalem under Cyrus, he has contrived to tell a great deal twice over, and has only introduced still greater confusion into the whole history of these five-and-twenty years.[3]

Apart, however, from this fictitious narrative, the memory of Zerubbabel, as well as of his priestly colleague Joshua, remained in later times without fruit. Yet, as it was seen that he was glorified in the prophetic book of Zechariah as a distinguished descendant of David, a rabbinical writer of the early Middle Ages thought his name available as a mask for the publication of a short apocalypse on the certainty of the ultimate appearance of the Messiah son of David, on his precursor the Messiah son of Joseph, and on their friends and foes.[4]

in iv. 6 altogether, because he could make no use of it); immediately after this he goes on to Darius, and inserts the passage about Zerubbabel from the other work, and then lets the sections, Ezr. ii, 1–iv. 5 (as though this happened in the time of Darius), and v. sq., follow each other in order. Yet he allows the glaring contradictions, 1 Esdras ii, 30, iii. 1, v. 73 sq., to stand. He found the work of the Chronicler (including under this name our books of Ezra and Nehemiah) tolerably freely translated from the original. This translation was different from that of the LXX, and no doubt much older. On the other hand, the work from which he took the story about Zerubbabel was probably originally composed in Greek.

[1] 1 Esdras i. is from 2 Chron. xxxv. sq., after the same translation; but the author connects in a new way the striking conclusion of 2 Chron. (cf. vol. i. p. 196) and the beginning of Ezra by a slight turn in the language.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, 5, like 1 Esdras, passes on at once from Ezr. x. to Neh. vii. 73. This can only be explained by supposing that he had 1 Esdras before him; but from this very point he curtails the narrative about Ezra and then about Nehemiah so much that it is difficult to understand whether his copy of 1 Esdras was complete; most likely it was not.

[3] *Ant.* xi. 1–4. He gives the number of those who returned under Cyrus (see above, p. 82) at 42,462, and of those who returned under Darius at 462,800, but the latter number is evidently formed from the former by multiplying it by ten, although the register of Ezr. ii. certainly lay before him, and would have been quoted by him *in extenso* except for its length; and in both cases he makes Zerubbabel the leader! According to him Sisines and Sarabazanes (a corrupt form of Sathrabuzanes, according to p. 110, *note* 4) were already Persian officers in Syria under Cyrus as well as under Darius; but probably the Samaritans, Tanganas, Sambabar, Sadraces, and Bobelon, mentioned xi. 4, 9, against whom Zerubbabel had at last to complain to Darius, were originally the same. As to the other Greek work which he used we can only draw inferences; but these seem to me to be trustworthy, and the work to have been the one indicated on p. 48 sq., *note* 1. The confusion of times and persons in all these narratives is carried still further in the work of the so-called Josippon ben Gorion, i. 5–22, which has been already mentioned on p. 71 sq.

[4] Now reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. ii. pp. 54–57. From an

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOMBAY BRANCH

B. EZRA THE SCRIBE AND THE GOVERNOR NEHEMIAH.

I. EZRA.

Ever since its foundation the new Jerusalem had hailed with joy the arrival of reinforcements, whether in the shape of settlers, or treasure, or other assistance, from the worshippers of Jahveh who remained behind in the countries of the east; and the prophet Zechariah, who on one occasion, as we have seen,[1] celebrated the advent of new guests from thence, at the same time summoned 'Zion that dwelt in Babylon' to flee from the growing insecurity of the north into the quiet haven of the new city of Jahveh.[2] But, however great the number of immigrants may gradually have become who removed from the east to the newly-founded city, the arrival of no one of them was so important in its consequences as that of Ezra, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I., B.C. 459. It was his name which became the most famous throughout the whole Persian period, and his activity first gave the new community that firm constitution after which it had long consistently aspired, and which, in its essential features, it could never again abandon at any future time.

Ezra belonged to the family of the high-priest, but not to Joshua's branch of it,[3] in which the dignity had again become hereditary since the rebuilding of Jerusalem. This priestly extraction acted certainly as a powerful lever for directing his vigorous efforts specifically to the promotion of religion and

artistic point of view this little work is altogether insignificant; but it would be well worth while to determine exactly when it was written. It must have been produced somewhere in south-western Europe.

[1] P. 111 sq.

[2] Zech. ii. 10 sq. [6 sq.] We now know more accurately from the Behistun inscriptions how many national enemies Darius had at first to encounter, and are thus able better to understand such a summons.

[3] Otherwise the first step in his genealogy, Ezr. vii. 1–5, would not have been to call him a son of Seraiah, since he lived before Joshua. This genealogy is carried back through seventeen generations to Aaron; but we can see from 1 Chron. v. 29–41 [vi. 3–15], vi. 35–38 [50–53], how very much the series of generations is shortened in this passage. In the *Latin* version of 4 Esdras i. 1 sq. [2 Esdr. i. 1 sq.], indeed, the three names of Achias, Phineas, and Eli are inserted after Achitob, so that the number of links in the chain is rounded off to twenty (in accordance with the round numbers customary in ancient times, vol. i. p. 24), but the introduction of the house of Eli here is altogether inappropriate. — Besides this addition to 4 [2] Esdras i. 1 sq. in the Latin version, at the opening of the original 4 [2] Esdras he is designated by another name, Salathiel in the Arabic, corrupted in the Ethiopic translation to Sûthâêl; on this subject, however, see below. For the rest this genuinely Hebrew name עֶזְרָא (on the orthography see *Lehrb.* 16 *b.* ad fin.) may have been common; and an earlier Ezra of high-priestly family, who returned with Zerubbabel, is mentioned in Neh. xii. 1.

learning among his people; and since he became the type of the kind of priest required by these centuries,[1] he bears in history the unqualified surname of *the Priest*,[2] a surname which has never obtained so high a significance in the case of any other priest by birth. But this importance was due, not so much to the accident of his birth in the priestly order, as to two other attributes, which he combined in himself to a remarkable degree, and which alone placed him, hereditary priest as he was, in a position to exercise such a salutary and abiding influence on his age.

On the one hand, from his early youth he had attained extraordinary perfection in all the branches of knowledge and skill which belonged to the calling of a scribe. His reputation as a scribe was already high when he came from the east to settle in the new Jerusalem, and there he founded a scriptural art and school (so to speak), which have made his name immortal; for the surname of the *Sôpher*, i.e. the *Scribe*, with special reference to the law of Moses, became in his case a still higher distinction than that of priest.[3] This style of learning had always been native both to Palestine and Phœnicia; but the severe devastations which the small kingdoms west of the Euphrates had suffered for centuries scarcely allowed it to flourish in the west again at the time of which we are speaking; whereas, in the east the high standard of ancient learning and literary culture which is generally known to us as the Chaldean or Babylonian was maintained undisturbed. The seat of empire, moreover, in spite of the repeated conquest and destruction of Babylon, was still in the east; Babylonian culture was still held in high esteem under the Persians; and Aramaic[4] continued to be the language of the edicts of the government for all the countries west of the Euphrates. The Aramaic language, accordingly, both for conversational and literary purposes, gained the upper hand in the new Jerusalem, by slow degrees, but all the more irresistibly and lastingly, as will be further described below; and Ezra certainly contributed largely to this result by his emigration from the east, and the deep impression of his whole work.

[1] P. 62.

[2] Ezr. vii. 11 sq., 21, x. 10, 16, Neh. viii. 2, 9, xii. 26. In the Codex Alexandrinus, 1 Esdras (p. 127 *note* 4), otherwise called Esdras Apocryphus or Esdras Græcus, bears the superscription of ὁ Ἱερεύς.

[3] Ezr. vii. 11 sq., 21, Neh. viii. 4, 9, 13, xii. 26, 36. Hence he was originally named *the scribe-priest* with the strictest precision, but the short designation of the Scribe gradually became far more frequent and constant.

[4] P. 107.

In this connection it is impossible not to lament the very slight degree of acquaintance we possess with the culture of those Judeans who remained behind in eastern Asia, on the Euphrates and the Tigris, or who afterwards settled there, up to the time of the destruction of the second Temple.[1] The Macedonian conquest and the supremacy of the Seleucidæ doubtless interfered with it not a little; and the Parthian supremacy completed the alienation between the eastern and western countries. In comparison with the freer movement and the loftier efforts which the genius of Judaism now achieved once more in its ancient fatherland, the life of the Judeans in those eastern countries must certainly have retained a somewhat depressed and restricted character. They were, however, always numerous enough to form compact and respected communities, a privilege possessed since the reigns of Cyrus and Darius; and they included the remnants of those multitudes of the noblest of the people who had formerly been carried away from Jerusalem, and even retained in their midst several members of the high-priestly family.[2] Hence they afforded to the world the first great example of distinguished communities in distant lands attached to the Temple; they often made pilgrimages to it,[3] or gave rich contributions for its maintenance, as a kind of sacrifice, the amount and collection of which subsequently became the object of regular ordinances.[4] Of the glowing religious zeal and the simple fidelity and piety of life which long survived in undiminished strength in these very communities, remote, oppressed, and surrounded by the heathen as they were, we have ample evidence, not only in the history of Ezra and Nehemiah, now to be considered in detail, but also in the books of Tobit and Baruch, which will be described hereafter. The two latter little works are in all probability the only ones which sprang from these communities, but they are sufficient to constitute glorious monuments of the spiritual life to which men there aspired. The special feature, however, of the eastern culture was the preservation of an accurate knowledge, and, when possible, the use of the sacred language of ancient times, on behalf of which a still warmer zeal than in

[1] According to Epiph. *Hær.* xix. 2, Elkesai, mentioned in vol. vii. 156 [Germ. ed.], told a story of a high-priest Phineas, who had worshipped the Susian Artemis (i.e. Nanæa) under Darius, and had run into mortal danger; but we cannot follow this up, and it is only worth noticing inasmuch as Elkesai himself was a Scribe from the remote East.

[2] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2, 2–4. 3, 1.

[3] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2, 2.

[4] In later times every Parthian Judean reckoned his regular yearly contribution to the Temple at two drachmæ (*Alterth.* p. 350 sq.), and these contributions, with other consecrated offerings, were stored up at Nisibis, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, 1.

Jerusalem itself was early kindled among them.[1] The exiles who reassembled in Jerusalem might indeed suppose that the ancient language of the country which had been in common use before would still be easily understood by them as a matter of course; but the communities of the east, on the contrary, could not help dreading the complete disappearance of any accurate knowledge or use of it unless they made a special and zealous effort to preserve the language which was that of their forefathers, and, at the same time, of their law, of their ancient prophets, and of the songs that were ever on their lips. The phenomenon has been often repeated in history, of scattered communities, for fear of losing their ancestral language, being the foremost to embrace it with the greatest resoluteness, and hence developing an unexpected zeal for its learned study and more careful preservation. Now, if we may suppose (and there is no reason why we should not) that the Tigris and Euphrates were already the seats of the Syrian schools of learning which we see flourishing there subsequently down to Christian and Islamite times, and in which language and literature were special objects of study, we can understand how the Judeans also of the same district might early apply a really learned care to their own ancient language, and the writings composed in it, at a time when nothing of the sort was as yet even thought of in Palestine.[2] Even Ezra was assuredly distinguished in this branch of learning, though it is equally certain that as yet it was far from being developed to the point at which we afterwards see it step into the light on the great stage of history.

[1] This may be observed even in the strictness with which Nehemiah kept to the pure Hebrew, Neh. xiii. 23–25.

[2] Special proofs of the truth of this position are found in the following circumstances:—(1) In the gradual introduction of the Aramaic-Semitic, or so-called *square character*, which seems for a long time to have been used in the schools of learning only, until at last it became more and more universal, except in the case of coins (see below), cf. *Hebr. Sprl.* § 10 *b*. We have already seen one of the first occasions on which it was used at Jerusalem, p. 107. The *Revue Archéol.*, 1864, vol. i. p. 200 sq., contains an account of the earliest inscription in this character, which was found in excavations in Jerusalem itself, and must, according to the account given, reach back to the times before its destruction. It is the inscription of certain houses of the priestly family of the *B'nê Hezîr*, 1 Chron. xxiv. 15, Neh. x. 21 [20]. (2) In the ultimate connection between the Hebrew and Syriac *punctuation*, which points back to one common school from which both are derived, and this can only have been Syrian, as I have maintained in my *Hebr. Sprl.* ever since 1826. (3) In the peculiar *pronunciation* which was at last established by the Masôra, but which departs so widely from the Hellenistic pronunciation, i.e. that known to us from the Hellenistic period and Hellenistic writings, that it can only belong to a special dialect, as I have shown in my *Hebr. Sprl.* § 22. This dialect may indeed have been the purest Old Hebrew, which had many analogies with the Phœnician, and had formerly had its seat in Israel, and was then handed down in the Babylonian schools by the exiles; while in Palestine itself a coarser and more Aramaic dialect became prevalent. We cannot explain this difference and the origin of this purer pronunciation on any other hypothesis.

In endeavouring, however, to ascertain more definitely to what subjects his rare learning and skill as a scribe were specially applied, and in what particular direction his efforts and achievements lay, we must be on our guard against ascribing to him without distinction all the labours and services which were afterwards put down to him by those who no longer had any clear notion either of him or of the age in which he lived. In particular it would be an error of no ordinary gravity to ascribe to him the last redaction and editing of the 'law of Moses,'—though this was actually done in later times from ignorance and confusion, and the mistake is repeated even at this day by certain writers, because it is so convenient. It has been shown already[1] that the last editor of the Pentateuch lived while the kingdom of Judah was still standing; and since the written law of Moses had come into general acceptance from the days of Josiah onwards, the 'Law' already presented itself during the exile as the one lofty object which, despised and rejected now, would in the future once more win from all mankind a lofty reverence and unique acknowledgment. The prophets, however, who made these predictions,[2] evidently comprehended under this designation the essential contents of that book from which they themselves, together with all the poets and every lofty mind of their time, drew such inexhaustible consolation, and passages from which they had already acquired the habit of repeating word for word. But, with the general ruin which followed the Chaldean conquests, a grievous blow was inflicted also on the studies of the scribes, which[3] had already been carried to a tolerably advanced stage in the ancient fatherland itself while the kingdom of Judah was still in existence. The whole course of daily life which had to be regulated by the written law had been in too fluctuating a condition from the days of Josiah to the time when it was overthrown and interrupted by the exile. The period immediately succeeding, however, gathered round the new Jerusalem too many pressing necessities and restless movements to leave any hope that the work of completely restoring the law of Moses, so far as altered circumstances would permit, could be immediately taken up with any satisfactory result. In fact, a difficult and twofold task had to be performed. In the first place, the internal organisation of the life of the community had to be wholly re-established, and

[1] Vol. i. p. 130.

[2] Note in particular such oracles about the תּוֹרָה, or the 'law' without further qualification, as Is. xlii. 4, 21, li. 4, 21, Lam. ii. 9 (20), Ez. vii. 26.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 277 sqq.

at the same time a great deal had to be added, which, under the earlier kingdom, had not been regulated in sufficient detail, or generally adopted; and secondly, all this had to be carried out with due allowance for those vast changes in their outward circumstances, which, after the disappearance of even the shadow of external independence, no one could any longer ignore. The basis of this reorganisation was to be laid in the ancient law, as now contained in a great and accepted literary work.[1] To accomplish even this task was sufficiently difficult, and demanded not only a perfect technical knowledge and mastery of the ancient writings, but skill in applying them properly to the present as well. But, in the meantime, the external position of the kingdom had been completely transformed, and no new organisation could be established without the permission of the great king, who was an alien; and, in short, much of the ancient law in its literal acceptation was now inapplicable.

This, and this alone was the problem of the age, and for its solution the learning of the scribe, especially in the law of Moses, was the most indispensable, though by no means the only and sufficient resource. Similar necessities had no doubt to be satisfied, though within narrower limits, and under less perilous circumstances, amongst the Babylonian Judeans; and it would seem that it was only in consequence of his having already distinguished himself there in this direction that Ezra so easily obtained, through the favour of the great king, full powers to arrange everything on a similar basis in Jerusalem, where the want was far more urgent. The high degree of royal confidence which he already enjoyed before he left the east is expressly attested.[2] With equal certainty we know that even after his settlement in Jerusalem he always remained well disposed to Persia, though this was only because he saw that there was nothing better to be gained under the circumstances, and it did not involve the smallest sacrifice of the higher religion and his own manly faith in its truth.[3] The language of the royal edict which designated Ezra clearly proves that accounts had reached the east of the inadmissible nature of the arrangements hitherto made in Judah, rendering it necessary to appoint some one on the spot with full powers to establish the authority of the law in a manner conformable to the religion of Jahveh and the Persian supremacy, and also

[1] See further remarks on this subject, under the history of the formation of the Canon.

[2] Ezr. vii. 6, 11 sq., which agree with the words from his own hand which have been preserved in ver. 27 sq.

[3] Cf. Ezr. ix. 8 sq. with viii. 22; on the other hand, the expressions in Neh. ix. 37 are made too general.

to institute and train, with the same purpose, competent judges and instructors of the people.[1] Under these circumstances Ezra might very well bring with him to Jerusalem the great book of law which was afterwards called in Greek the Pentateuch, with the book of Joshua. If, moreover, this work had already been in existence before the destruction of Jerusalem, and had passed with the exiles into the countries of the east, the wisest amongst them might have come to the settled conviction that it was the best work of its kind, and had great advantages over Deuteronomy by itself. If it was Ezra's authority which now gave it the sole ascendant at Jerusalem (and after him it could hardly have acquired so entirely unique a position), we must admit that he really did render it essentially the great service which later tradition, though it becomes more and more obscure and confused as it advances, ascribes to him.

But what could all his lofty accomplishments as a scribe, his ability in other respects, and the royal favour, have done for Ezra, had he not been possessed in a manner altogether new by the purest and most glowing zeal for the truth of the religion of his fathers, and its recognition among men, marvellously strengthening and inspiring his whole life! We have already observed[2] that before the time of which we are now speaking the exiles of Israel among the heathen had already excited, with a force hitherto unknown, the most living consciousness of the truth of its religion. We can, therefore, understand how that profound conviction, now that Jerusalem had risen again, would unite in the hearts of the descendants of the Judeans who had remained behind, or those who for any other reason were residing among the heathen, with a similar unspeakably deep concern for the sanctity of the ancient holy land, and the honour of their brethren who were living there once more. This little relic of the great holy people of old was all that they could see still dwelling in the holy land to serve as the central mother-community of all the scattered brethren, to sustain the most elevated memories, and the most elevating hopes. This would tend to produce amongst the Judeans born in foreign countries an unutterable yearning to be able to work and to help in this cause, and would result in the rise of men of such extraordinary zeal as Ezra and Nehemiah now, and ultimately that son of Benjamin from Tarsus who towers above them all. Of such a Judean, born outside the fatherland, but exercising

[1] Ezr. vii. 14, 25; on the authenticity of the whole document see below.
[2] P. 19 sqq.

the most powerful influence over the development of the community, Ezra affords us the first brilliant example; but at the same time his career supplies a warning of the danger involved in the introduction of a fiery zeal of this kind from abroad, the possibility, viz., of its becoming in its turn a consuming and destroying agent, if there is no stronger native force to meet and temper it. But the love which Ezra bore to the new community, so pure and self-sacrificing in other respects, revealed itself clearly enough at the very commencement of his undertaking.

1. Armed with the favour of the great king, and with a brief certificate of authority, he might have proceeded to Jerusalem and begun his labours without more ado. Instead of this he was impelled by a heart-felt yearning towards the beloved holy city, which still suffered from such various and pressing wants, to bring with him a rich contribution, or rather a pious offering, of all kinds of aid which would be valuable. Its greatest need was a good supply of capable inhabitants. He accordingly determined to gather together and bring with him, besides rich gifts of all kinds of treasure, the largest possible number of new and picked settlers; and his name must already have been so distinguished in the east, that not only did a great company, consisting in part of men of noble birth, unite around him, but considerable presents of sums of money and of sacred utensils were entrusted to him from all quarters, even from the court, as offerings to 'the God of Heaven in Jerusalem.' Moreover, the powers conferred upon him by the king extended in this direction also. Besides what referred to his own special office, they included permission for all the Judean priests, Levites, and laymen who were willing to accompany him voluntarily, to depart for Judah. He was allowed to take with him all the presents of gold or utensils which might be given him for the Temple from the court or elsewhere, and to apply them for sacrifices or any other requirements of the sanctuary; and further, in order to meet these requirements, a stated contribution of considerable amount, in money and provisions, was to be paid him from the public treasury in Syria, and any assistance he might desire was to be furnished to him by the king's officers in the neighbourhood. In addition to this, Ezra requested and obtained as a special favour from the king the restoration of the ancient immunity from taxes on the part of all the priests and other servants of the Temple.[1] His credentials were also

[1] Ezr. vii. 12–26. We have every reason to consider this Aramaic document, at least in its essential contents (cf. vol. i. p. 191), as genuinely historical. It is

endorsed by the seven leading members of the royal council.[1] As far as power to punish those who resisted the imperial or the sacred law was required by the nature of the office he held from the king, and which may be briefly designated as that of the chief judge, full authority was accorded him;[2] so that the immunities and privileges which Ezra brought with him to his governorship,[3] to enable him to carry out a strict legal organisation, really deserved abundant gratitude.

For those of his countrymen who were intending to proceed with him to Jerusalem, Ezra appointed a rendezvous on the Ahava, a river little known to us now, on the banks of which no doubt large settlements of Judeans had been made by Nabuchodrozzor.[4] The number which assembled was about fifteen hundred, exclusive of women and children, and amongst them were several of high-priestly and Davidic descent.[5] They were

evidently very exact, and gives us the clearest representations of Ezra's whole mission and his duties in Jerusalem, so that without it we should be left to a far greater extent to mere guesses on points of the greatest importance. The mention, too, ver. 14 sq., of the seven counsellors does not occur anywhere else (except in Ezra's own words, vii. 28, viii. 25). No doubt Ezra himself had included it in his Hebrew record, and moreover, in the position it still occupies, i.e. almost at the very beginning. In vii. 1–10, the Chronicler does indeed give the narrative more in his own style, but even here he evidently borrows largely (e.g. vv. 6, 8 sq.), almost word for word, from the original. On the immunity of the servants of the Temple from taxes, cf. above, p. 113.

[1] According to the language of Ezr. vii. 14; cf. Herod. iii. 83 sqq.

[2] In the important sentence which closes the decree, vii. 26.

[3] Or province, מְדִינָה; this was the current name for Judea at the court; Ezr. ii. 1, Neh. vii. 6, i. 3, xi. 3, Eccl. v. 7 [8].

[4] According to the present wording of Ezr. viii. 15, followed even by the LXX, the river which flows into the Ahava was meant; but since this indication of the locality is in itself peculiar, and does not agree with vv. 21, 31, we must, with 1 Esdras, read הַנֶּקְרָא for הַבָּא אֶל. The river itself is called Θερά in 1 Esdras, or more fully in one ancient MS. 'Pothue, with the surname Thera;' some MSS. of the LXX also have Θούε, instead of Ἀούε. By Thera we ought hardly to understand the Durus (of doubtful name), which flows into the Tigris from the east, north of Phalcara; nor can we identify Ahava with the Hyi (or *Hie*). between the Tigris and Euphrates in the far south. A learned Jew of the later Middle Ages seems to have had this idea (cf. the note to the *Itinerary* of Benj. of Tud., Berl. 1841, vol. ii. p. 153), but only because he imagined he had found Ezra's grave there (on which see below). The river known by the Greeks as Pallacopas, somewhat south of Babylon and west of the Euphrates, is more suitable; it would do very well as to situation, and its name may easily have risen from נהר אהוא, 'river Ahava or Oba.' In this case, however, no *Casiphia* could be found, for it is impossible to look for it in the so-called Ktesiphon first built by the Macedonians. On the other hand, according to Plutarch, *Pomp.* xxxv., and Dio, *Hist.* xxxvii. 3, there was a river Ἄβας in the neighbourhood of the Cyrus, and west of it in Iberia lay a *Caspia*, with the district Caspiana in Albania. These places seem to lie too far north, although Ezra's journey thence to Jerusalem lasted about four months; and the very frequent occurrence in later times of the name Hyrkanus shows how many of the immigrants came from the northern countries. Cf. also the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. 145 sq.—In 4 [2] Esdras i. 3, ix. 26, the reference to Ezra's point of departure is too indefinite.

[5] The exact register has certainly been preserved from the hand of Ezra himself, Ezr. viii. 1–14; yet even here the words are in some respects more correctly connected in 1 Esdras.

for the most part relatives of the families which had emigrated with Zerubbabel, but the family of Adonikam is the only one of which it is expressly mentioned that the last of its members now returned to the land of their fathers.[1] Ezra caused them to pitch a temporary camp by the river; and, when he found on inspection that they had not a single Levite among them,[2] thinking it answered but ill the dignity of the priests who accompanied them, and of the great train itself, that no descendants of those who had formerly been the lower priests and public servants of the Temple should be associated with them, he sent a formal embassy[3] to the neighbouring Casiphia, where many of them lived together, and succeeded in inducing thirty-eight Levites and two hundred and twenty servants of the Temple to join their expedition. The valuable offerings to the Temple in money and in costly utensils he placed under the care of twelve of the most distinguished Levites; but he was so far from feeling any petty fear for his own life or that of his companions, and was so full of trust in God and lofty courage, that he expressly refrained from asking for a royal escort for the caravan, although this precaution was quite customary at the time, on account of risks from robbers by the way.[4] After he had endeavoured to inspire all his companions with similar confidence by fasts and other pious exercises, they started on the twelfth day of the first month (in the spring) of the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes I. (i.e. 459 B.C.[5]), and reached Jerusalem without accident at the beginning of the fifth month. They now produced their commission, offered rich sacrifices for their safe arrival, and soon had the pleasure of seeing that the high Persian officers were now more ready to offer their good services both to the people and to the sanctuary.[6]

[1] This is the meaning of the words in viii. 13.

[2] No doubt for the reason conjectured above, p. 84 sq.

[3] The formality of the embassy consisted in the number of its twelve members; for in Ezr. viii. 16 some name has probably dropped out, such as the מְשֻׁלָּם of 1 Esdras, though the latter work likewise has but eleven names. We must further read אִדּוֹ וְאָחִיו וְהַנְּתִינִים in viii. 17; cf. vv. 18–20.

[4] This might be taken for granted, and must be inferred from the examples given 1 Esdras v. 2, Neh. ii. 9.

[5] On the whole chronology of these years see also *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 138. We have seen already, pp. 72, 76, sq., how cautious we must be with the whole chronology and all the royal names up to the appearance of Alexander. Even Quatremère attempted their settlement in vain; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 89 sqq.

[6] The word נִשְׁאוּ, Ezr. viii. 36, is by a strange mistake, understood as ἐδόξασαν, which is quite inappropriate both by 1 Esdras and the LXX. The two works are also in curious agreement in the word אַדְרַע, iv. 23, and in the difficult חִשַּׂכְתָּ לְמַטָּה (ἐκύφισας), ix. 13; perhaps the LXX made use of the translator of 1 Esdras.

2. In accordance with the royal decree, Ezra was now established in Jerusalem as chief judge. The city and its territory were to be the scene of his labours. He was empowered to settle everything relating to the religion of the Judeans and the life which was regulated by it, and to maintain everything quietly as it was established by law. But the manner in which the details were to be carried out could not be traced beforehand by the Persian king: it depended solely on the ancient sacred law and the actual circumstances of the time. After the heavy blow which the Messianic aspirations of the people had sustained immediately on the establishment of the new order of things,[1] everything favoured the tranquil development of the hagiocracy, as has been further shown above.[2] This did not spring from the design or will of any single individual, but it was the only constitution which the community could produce in order to preserve and develope itself in peace as far as its position now allowed. No one, however, was so competent to lay its foundations as Ezra, not only in consequence of the special advantages which we have described him to possess, but also on account of the great disorder which he still found existing in Jerusalem.

Scarcely had the new chief judge, in the course of the first few months, settled down in Jerusalem in tolerable quiet, when his attention was officially directed by the chiefs of his community to a dispute which at once involved him in its profoundest and most vital problems, and led him, in the midst of life-long toils and struggles, to bring about the severest transformation which it underwent. He became aware how deeply the custom of mixed marriages between Judeans and heathens had entered into the new community since its establishment, and how even the nobles and chiefs (or elders) were especially implicated in it. On his first glance, Ezra was seized with the most vehement horror.[3] The intensity of his feelings can only be explained on the supposition that, after having long cherished rigid views on the subject of these mixed marriages, he now suddenly discovered in Jerusalem a deeply-rooted and careless tendency to contract them, which he would have thought wholly impossible, and to which he had seen nothing comparable in the east. The small and scattered communities of the east may have presented a stricter front to the heathen, even in domestic matters; for, wherever co-religionists are

[1] P. 119 sqq.
[2] P. 53 sqq.
[3] Ezr. ix. 1–3; in ver. 1 we must read וּמֵהִתְעַבְּתֵיהֶם instead of כְּתֹעֲבֹתֵיהֶם according to 1 Esdras; unless indeed עֲשׂוֹ has fallen out.

living very much dispersed among foreign nations, and under foreign rulers, they always cling together all the more intimately and firmly. But, in the new Judah, where they had no fear of losing their fatherland or its faith by individual alliances with heathen families, and where the oppression of the times had made them hesitate to reject them when advantageous, they had from the first been far less scrupulous in this respect, and had probably reflected little on the possible consequences which might ensue. Even in the last centuries of the ancient kingdom of Judah, however, the wiser individuals feared that the spread of these heathen connections would lead to a corresponding spread of heathen feeling and belief, and had therefore discouraged these mixed marriages,[1] though at that time they had certainly never been punished as a civil offence, and made quite impossible. Hence it was not surprising that the scrupulousness which was gaining so much hold of the people impelled the more conscientious to still greater strictness. At this period even the smallest fresh infusion of heathen life and belief into the nation, which had now become so reduced and weak, was regarded by the deeper minds with more suspicion and aversion than at any previous time. Never had the fear of swerving, in the most trifling detail, from the will of God, when once it was made known beyond a doubt, and of thereby rousing his wrath afresh against the community which he had already chastised so severely, been so strong. Never had it so readily and completely pervaded the whole people. Seeing, indeed, that they had already shut out the Samaritans from all share in the Temple,[2] it was but consistent to exclude them, and all the heathen with them, from the fellowship of their domestic sanctuaries too; and the men who considered marriage something more than a mere carnal connection were under the strictest obligation to adopt this course. In a mind, therefore, so keen as Ezra's, the prohibition discovered by him in the old sacred books did but unite with the general tendencies of the age, which had set powerfully in the same direction, to make him the most uncompromising opponent of the laxer view. Had he not found the prohibition in the old sacred books he would hardly have acted with such inexorable stringency. As it was, he gladly bowed as a believer and a scribe to the external commandment, and felt that, armed as he was with the powers of chief judge, and further clad in this sacred mail, he could not yield a single

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 221 sqq. [2] P. 103 sqq.

inch of the question in dispute. The prohibition of mixed marriages and the complete extermination of their issue had never yet been strictly carried out, either in the new or the ancient Israel, and consequently Ezra's undertaking was really one of extraordinary difficulty, and ran off into the deepest ramifications. Nothing but the most glowing zeal and untiring labour could secure success. Ezra was after all a member of this community himself, and, in addition to its critical nature, his task was to be attempted now for the first time. He could only, therefore, gain his object by means of the free consent of all. Should he succeed, however, without departing from the most rigid consistency, he would at the same time lay a firm foundation for a complete remodelling of the community. Moreover, Ezra was exactly the man to carry a labour so prodigious right through to the end, so far at least as its very nature allowed of its being brought to a satisfactory close at all.

Overwhelmed with the horror we have described, he sank involuntarily on the ground, and all the men of more tender conscience gradually assembled round their leader, who was still utterly unstrung and wailing deeply; but not till about the time for evening sacrifice could he recover from the profound shock he had sustained sufficiently to pour forth his feelings in prayer.[1] In an agony of supplication he implored God to have pity on his people, who, long sunk so low by their ancient sins, had, by this violation of his express command, again imperilled even the feeble commencement of a somewhat improved condition, but now vouchsafed them by the grace of God.[2] He continued without pause his deeply moving prayers and lamentations, which gradually collected more and more of the people around him. At length, a distinguished layman, named Shechaniah, as though involuntarily overcome with sympathy for the chief judge, thus mourning in his holy zeal, and powerfully moved by the truth of his complaint, could no longer refrain from declaring in the name of the whole community the guilt of the people, and their true desire to act

[1] Before עַל, in Ezr. ix. 4, כִּי מִתְאַבֵּל אֲנִי must be restored, according to x. 3, 6, and 1 Esdras.

[2] This prayer, Ezr. ix. 6–15, cf. x. 10, very clearly discloses the genuine deep reasons which guided Ezra in the affair, and has therefore great significance for us. A more external and easily intelligible ground for the same proceeding was brought forward by a man like Nehemiah, viz. the warning given in the history even of such a king as Solomon, Neh. xiii. 26 sq. The passage in Ezr. vii.–x. gives us a picture of the events of the time of unsurpassable clearness and even beauty; so that we have nothing to lament except that Ezra's original record has not been preserved in its entirety.

in full compliance with the law, even in this respect.[1] Then, at last, Ezra arose somewhat more tranquil, and withdrew into the Temple chambers, after having obtained from the people, who had gathered in great numbers, a promise under oath that within three days a general assembly should be summoned at Jerusalem, to decide what course should be pursued.[2]

Thus, under the fiery zeal of Ezra, this single day proved the crisis of the whole affair. Although it was winter and the weather was rainy, the general assembly, which alone was competent to pass a decree that would be universally binding, met in full numbers on the appointed day, the twentieth of the ninth month, as if under the common impulse of sudden terror. There Ezra proposed that in recognition of the guilt hitherto incurred by the community, and in order to show their reverence for God and his commandment, they should not only in future abstain from contracting any mixed marriages, but should even dismiss at once their foreign wives and the children they had borne them.[3] The second part of this requisition was indeed the new duty, to which Ezra was the first to give such rigorous utterance. In support of it he could not, strictly speaking, appeal to any express command of what would be called in the narrower sense the law of Moses, but only to the typical history of Abraham and Hagar, though the rigid application of the principle might lead to great hardships and manifold tribulations. The assembly, however, consented, and only requested that in consideration of the inclemency of the season, and the extent to which they were involved, a little respite might be allowed before the decree was actually put into execution. Under the supervision of the chiefs of the whole community, assisted by the superintendents of each of its divisions, all the guilty individuals were to be ascertained, and brought to account on appointed days.[4] To this Ezra assented, and he was empowered to select a committee of elders to carry on the investigation. This body entered upon its labours at once, at the beginning of the tenth month, and had

[1] Ezr. x. 1–4; in ver. 3 we should read אֲדֹנָי for אֲדֹנָי, according to 1 Esdras, and the requirements of the passage itself; the LXX in this passage blunder strangely.

[2] Ezr. x. 5–8.

[3] Short expressions, such as Ezr. x. 11, 19, in which the women alone are spoken of, must be supplemented from the more definite language of passages in which the children also are mentioned with them, x. 3, 44; Neh. xiii. 23 sq.

[4] The four men who spoke in the assembly on this occasion are expressly mentioned by name in a supplementary statement, x. 15; the אַךְ at the beginning of the passage inserted means *indeed*, and simply indicates a supplementary insertion. In ver. 16, instead of וַיִּבָּדְלוּ, we must read וַיִּבָּדֵל לוֹ, according to 1 Esdras and the context itself.

already completed its scrutiny when the new year commenced. An accurate list was drawn up of all the men who had one, or, in some cases, several foreign wives;[1] and it appeared that mixed marriages had already become tolerably frequent amongst all ranks and families, without much distinction. Even in the high-priestly house of Joshua four men were found to be involved in the guilt, but they took the lead before all the rest in promising under oath to purify their houses and to acknowledge their offence by a public sacrifice.[2]

3. Thus much is known to us of Ezra's activity in the first eight months after his settlement in Jerusalem; and what abundant fruit it must have subsequently produced we may infer with equal certainty from the perfectly trustworthy description of his life during that single year. He lived and laboured many years longer in Jerusalem;[3] and he did not draw up the record of his life until after the end of the reign of Artaxerxes I., which lasted forty years.[4] But the only portion of this memoir which the Chronicler has handed down to us in full is the section which refers to that one year, and no doubt this was of the most decisive importance. Of his subsequent labours, all that we can state with confidence on the authority of older sources may be summed up in the following account.

In the first place, we may take for granted that the work, so energetically and successfully begun, of leading back the whole national life, as far as possible, to the letter of the written law, was not allowed to rest. By the vigorous dealing already described, the community was once for all accustomed to the piercing insight, the stringent logic, and the severe discipline of its remarkable chief judge. Its ambition to rise into a region of new clearness and purity was excited powerfully enough, and it had firmly grasped the only thing by which it could reasonably expect permanently to survive, with its most characteristic pretensions and hopes. The expulsion of the foreign wives and their children led, without loss of time, to that of foreigners generally, so far as they had not been or

[1] This is the document preserved in Ezr. x. 18–44, which is very important in other respects also, according to p. 87, and of which we shall have more to say below.

[2] Ezr. x. 18 sq.

[3] It is everywhere a fundamental assumption of the Chronicler that Ezra continued his labours in conjunction with Nehemiah; and it is difficult to see how he could have been mistaken, for the period in question lay at most only about a century before his own.

[4] In Ezr. viii. 1 he speaks of the whole reign of this Artaxerxes as of one already ended; for he does not specify any particular year of it, but speaks of it quite generally; and this passage, from the connection in which it stands, is certainly from his hand.

could not be circumcised, or at least their rigorous exclusion from the feasts and all other privileges of the community.[1] From this time, therefore, they could only remain on sufferance, as had been the case in the ancient community, and even under these circumstances the chief judge and the governor now exercised the right of banishing them whenever it seemed expedient.[2] In the same spirit the yearly feasts were now celebrated with the utmost precision, in exact accordance with the descriptions of them found in the old sacred books; so that it might be said with justice that since the days of the ancient Joshua the Feast of Tabernacles had never been kept as it was now,[3] for they were never weary of rearranging the details of their solemnities on the pattern of the past.

But if Ezra desired to establish his laborious work upon a lasting basis, it was necessary that he should attract towards it a number of younger scribes and judges, to preserve and develope still further in the community his own special kind of ability, both as a scholar and a judge. These were still times in which a man, even in the lofty position which he occupied, had to become the public teacher of his knowledge and his skill, particularly in a country so shattered and impoverished as Judea still continued; and we can recognise many indications of Ezra's unwearying perseverance in educating an active band of scribes and judges. It is only from his time forward that we find in the new Judah the 'intelligent' or 'learned,' who easily passed into 'teachers,' distinguished as a fresh and special class of men, and often mentioned as an order of the community receiving great respect, although it was then composed almost entirely of Levites;[4] and the lineage of all the later and better known schools of scribes may certainly be traced to Ezra's great labours. This learning, from the very nature of its origin and object, must have turned especially on the law of Moses and the ancient books immediately connected with it. These writings included so much that was already,

[1] The occasion of this is narrated in somewhat greater detail in Neh. xiii. 1–3; cf. the short parenthesis in Neh. ix. 2, and from Nehemiah's own hand, in xiii. 30. See also the *Alterth.* p. 272 sqq.

[2] According to Ezr. vii. 26, Neh. xiii. 28. In this as in other cases we see how loose was the bond of union in the Persian Empire, and what liberties the separate communities might possess.

[3] This is the Chronicler's own statement, and with his usual fondness for depicting festivals he describes it in some detail, Neh. viii. 14–18. The same was said of the Passover, at least, as early as the time of vol. iv. p. 239.

[4] The new names for them are מְבִינִים or יוֹדְעִים, in as far as their activity referred directly to the community; while סוֹפֵר, *Scribe*, rather expresses mere skill of speech and pen. The whole is made clear by Ezr. vii. 25 and the incidental remarks in Neh. viii. 2, 3, 7–9, 12 sq., x. 29 [28].

from many causes, very unintelligible and far removed from the present age, that they needed something to bring them once more nearer to the life of the people, to explain their obscure expressions, and to make their whole contents living and fruitful for the present. This task the new learning undertook with unwearied zeal. 'They read the law of God distinctly, explaining the sense, so that the whole multitude of the people properly understood the writing that was read.' Such is the description of the service rendered by the scribes whom Ezra educated, given by the Chronicler himself, who rightly lays great stress on the special fact that the people thoroughly comprehended and joyfully appropriated all that they heard.[1]

With all his duties, however, as chief judge, Ezra maintained at the same time his high standing as a priest, and he never relinquished his right to the exercise of a constant activity in this position also. He was thus enabled to direct public worship in addition to his other labours, and he so organised it that in this department also the traces of his creative power were borne by all coming time. It is certainly to him that the arrangement is due by which on every day devoted to this purpose the reading and exposition of the holy scripture was united with the usual prayers, hymns, and sacrifices; and, indeed, in accordance with the deep significance henceforth acquired by the scripture, its explanation and application necessarily became the chief part of the employment of the community on holy days. From early morning to midday was occupied with a service. Song and prayer constituted the first part, and reading of the holy scripture the second, the whole being concluded by the transaction of business connected with any question of the day which had to be brought to a decision.[2] Such were the main features of divine service as it took shape under Ezra's hand.

It must have been a source of real gratification and joy, and of no little pride as well, for the faithful in Israel, that they were permitted to share the spectacle of Ezra's administration, especially in later years, when it was already fully developed and moved in its regular organisation. The people in general, men and women, learned and unlearned, were now in the

[1] This is the real meaning of the words of Neh. viii. 8, 12; and ver. 12 must thus be taken in close connection with ver. 8. In 1 Esdras ix. 48, 55, with its free style of translation, we find the strong and not inappropriate word ἐμφυσιοῦν in rendering vv. 8 and 12, as if we were to speak of 'making the scripture clear' and 'making the people clear,' and were to use the same word in both cases.

[2] This follows from Neh. viii. 3, ix. 2–6, x. 1–10 [ix. 38–x. 9], as may be seen by anyone who takes the trouble to understand these descriptions more clearly

highest degree willing and eager to take every opportunity of listening to passages of the holy scripture, with their explanation and practical application.[1] It became necessary to fix upon some large open space in the neighbourhood of the Temple as the place for the solemnities,[2] so great was the press of anxious hearers. Here a lofty wooden tribune was raised, which Ezra ascended, surrounded by the sacred number of thirteen priests as his immediate assistants, six of them standing at his right hand and seven at his left.[3] The same number of Levites stood on another platform to lead the singing,[4] while other Levites stood in readiness before each of the separate groups of the great assembly, to hold forth in exposition and instruction from the holy scripture.[5] The solemnities began with holy song.[6] As soon as Ezra opened the sacred book to address the whole assembly, they rose up in reverence; and when he pronounced the blessing, they prostrated themselves in joyous accord before the one true Lord of the community.[7] When he had concluded his discourse, which was often very minute and extensive,[8] the Levitical scribes began separately to edify the people in smaller sections, by exposition of the scripture.[9] This instruction often touched the people so deeply that they were almost ready to burst into tears, and seemed to fall into a most serious and even mournful frame of mind. This was, no doubt, especially the case when they heard from the scripture the details of the former grandeur of their forefathers, and the wonders which a living, true religion had worked among them; but on these occasions they were exhorted by the most distinguished members of the community to master this gloomy feeling on the holy day, and rather to enjoy, both in the public assembly and in their private homes, these happy

[1] According to Neh. viii. 1–3, x. 1–29 [ix. 38–x. 28].

[2] 'The square in front of the watergate,' Neh. viii. 1; cf. ver. 16.

[3] The men who are mentioned in Neh. viii. 4 sq. are evidently entirely different from those mentioned in ver. 7, and more briefly in ix. 4, 5; they formed the order of priests proper in contrast to the Levites and the common people. The number 13 in these solemnities would signify Israel in its completeness, with its twelve or (including its original stock) its thirteen tribes.

[4] According to Neh. viii. 7; comp. with ix. 4, 5.

[5] In Neh. viii. 7 not only have the LXX contracted and confused the language very much, but 1 Esdras ix. 48 also quite wrongly omits the little *kal* of וְהַלְוִיִּם; the necessity of this conjunction, on the other hand, is so clearly seen from Neh. ix. 4, 5, that its omission quite obscures the meaning of the description.

[6] Neh. ix. 4 sqq., viii. 5.

[7] Neh. viii. 6; cf. the *Alterth.* p. 150 sq.

[8] Of this the long discourse in Neh. ix. 6–37 may serve as an example, for the words וַיֹּאמֶר עֶזְרָא, which were still read by the LXX, must be inserted before ver. 6. The discourse itself is quite in the spirit of Ezra; cf. especially ix. 36 sq. with Ezr. ix. 9.

[9] According to Neh. viii. 7 sq. 12.

hours, and by gifts of love to the poor, to enable them to do the same.[1] At other suitable seasons, the day following one of these festivals being especially preferred, Ezra held equally zealous meetings in the smaller circle of the spiritual and temporal leaders of the community, in which he explained the law to them in accordance with the holy scripture, and concerted further measures for bringing the general organisation of the community into accordance with this canon of all pious life.[2] Moreover, the practices which were thus developed in the great central community at Jerusalem must gradually have repeated themselves on a smaller scale in the communities scattered up and down the rest of the holy land or elsewhere; though it cannot be said that any specific statements about this process have come down to us from that epoch.

Such was the form assumed by Ezra's long and fruitful labours in the recollections which, current at the time of the Chronicler,[3] had not yet lost their freshness. In him the seat of Moses was set up in the community once more,[4] so far as these later and far altered times, and the supremacy of foreigners, allowed its restoration, and through him the community gained all the inner consciousness of its best ancient blessings, and especially the fullest degree of internal cohesion, order, and self-completeness, which it could well realise at this stage of its long history. The effects of Ezra's activity are consequently to be traced through every later age, and their results undergo a continuous development.—But the most striking witness to his power of transforming and reorganising appears during his own life-time in the person of his fellow-worker, Nehemiah.

II. Nehemiah.

1. Nehemiah resembled Ezra in his fiery zeal, in his active spirit of enterprise, and in the piety of his life; but he differed widely from him in position and calling. A younger con-

[1] This is the meaning of Neh. viii. 9–12; we have already seen that the Chronicler thought weeping on such occasions a bad habit and an evil omen. See p. 102.

[2] See an example of this in the narrative in Neh. viii. 13–18.

[3] In the section Neh. viii.–x. the Chronicler, when describing the manifold solemnities of a seventh month in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, avails himself of the opportunity to subjoin a detailed account of the subject which was always nearest and dearest to him, viz. the share in them performed by the priests and Levites; and this also afforded him a suitable occasion for further depicting, with still more special sympathy, all that he knew of Ezra's peculiar mode of conducting such solemnities.

[4] According to the metaphor, exactly applicable here, of Matt. xxiii. 2.

temporary of Ezra, he was almost unconsciously seized by the better impulses of the time so strongly stirred by him; and in spite of the very different and purely secular nature of his labours, he yet co-operated most effectually with him, and completed all which was still wanting, and which could hardly be supplied except by a strong secular arm. His relation to Ezra was much like that of Joshua to his older contemporary, Moses, by whom he had been first aroused, so far as the vast changes which had taken place since then admit of such a parallel.

We are not informed from what family Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, was descended. Had he been able to boast of any ancestral honours, some opportunity would, no doubt, have been found for mentioning the fact. His personal beauty and youthful attractions alone seem to have secured for him, early in life, the good fortune to be brought, by the important and lucrative office of a royal cup-bearer, into the notice of Artaxerxes I. and his first queen, and, before long, into their closest confidence.[1] This position, had he shared the tastes and opinions of the world, would have enabled him to push his fortune at court for the rest of his life. But, young as he was, he remained, like a second Joseph in Egypt, of a very serious disposition, in spite of all the show of light-heartedness which his court-life might require, a pattern to the youths of Hebrew blood growing up among the heathen.[2] He never forgot the condition, the history, the glory, and the loftier calling of his people, and was sufficiently educated to form his own independent judgment with regard to them.

It happened, then, in the distant city of Susa, where the court was at that time residing, in the month of Chisleu (December), in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes I., 445 B.C., that one of Nehemiah's relatives, who, with several others, had made a pilgrimage to the holy city, gave him a very minute description of the melancholy ruin in which the walls and gates of Jerusalem were still lying.[3] The young

[1] Neh. i. 11, ii. 1–6. The most graphic picture of a Persian cup-bearer is sketched by Xenophon in the *Cyrop.* i. 3, 8; a passage in which the court name of this officer, borrowed from that of Nineveh by the Medo-Persian court, has been preserved in *Saca* (Heb. מַשְׁקֶה), for it is not likely that it means *Scythian*, i.e. *servant*.

[2] The description is something like that which is given of Daniel and his three friends in Dan. i. 8 sqq.

[3] See above p. 121 sq. This 'brother' Hanani was afterwards taken with him and helped him in Jerusalem, Neh. vii. 2. The question might be asked whether the walls had not been destroyed some time during the interval of thirteen years between the arrival of Ezra and that of Nehemiah, that is to say, later than has been assumed above, p. 120 sqq. (cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl Wiss.* v. p. 201). But in the

courtier had never received such precise information before. As he listened, his heart smote him heavily, and he felt most profoundly that in this condition of the holy city of his forefathers, not only so unprotected and so full of danger in time of war, but so ignominious also, the distant consequences might be traced of the great sins of all the people, the burden of which he, too, must bear.[1] He must have seen that nothing but extraordinary devotion could heal such grievous wounds. No one but a man of sufficiently high standing, and provided with every kind of resource, could be of any real use at this juncture, and it was indispensable that he should possess in a special degree the favour of the great king. Moreover, it was no priest and chief judge such as Ezra that the circumstances demanded, but rather some one who would take his position in the world at the head of a civil and military power; and in this direction he could neither begin nor finish anything unless he wielded the authority of a governor. But if the king's favour could be secured for this cause, the right moment for re-fortifying Jerusalem had now come. The neighbouring peoples were certainly still disposed to obstruct any fortifications of this sort, as well as anything else which could conduce to the honour of the holy city; but the intense hostility which they had formerly entertained had already lost its first bitterness, and another king, who would not be bound by his predecessor's prohibition of the fortification, had long sat on the throne. Moreover, since the commencement of Ezra's labours, Jerusalem had been penetrated by an aspiration towards fresh order and cohesion, which would certainly also tend to promote such undertakings.

As a man of wealth and position, enjoying the favour of the great king in a higher degree than any of his brethren in the faith, Nehemiah felt himself under an obligation of a quite special nature to lend assistance in this work. But though he was deeply conscious of this high duty from the first moment, and spent many days of prayer in vehement mourning and fasting, as if some heavy guilt lay on him, it was long before

whole record of Nehemiah we cannot find the most distant indication that they had only been destroyed shortly before his time; on the contrary, the period of their destruction was already so remote that nothing is any longer said in any way of its causes and authors. Nor can the faintest trace be found of a destruction of the walls at any period of the Egypto-Persian wars under Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. Besides this there are the reasons adduced on pp. 119 sqq; and we must further take into account the great difference in spirit and circumstances which is evident between the Psalms grouped together on p. 120, *note* 1, and others like Pss. lxxxiii., cxlvii., cxlix. (see below.)

[1] In the prayer in Neh. i. 5-11 the key-note is struck in the words '*I and my father's house* have sinned,' v. 6.

he could find an opportunity of disclosing his sorrow to the king. At last, in the month of Nisan (April), the king one day asked him the cause of his grief. With tremulous anxiety and silent prayer to God he explained it. He found a more gracious hearing than he had expected, received leave of absence for a certain time, safe conduct by the king's command, with a strongly armed escort, and was appointed governor,[1] with special powers to fortify the Temple mountain,[2] the city walls, and the governor's palace, and also to take timber for the city gates at the public cost.[3] He asked for nothing more, well knowing that the actual labour of building the walls could only be undertaken by the inhabitants themselves, for whose benefit it was to be performed. He seems, however, to have retained his appointment as cup-bearer, since he had only got leave of absence. At any rate, this is the easiest explanation of the fact that when he was established at Jerusalem, although he departed from the example of his predecessors in declining to accept even the smallest salary for his official labours, he was still able to display so much external power, to keep open house every day for residents and foreigners, like a prince, and, in addition, to bestow such an unusual number of benefactions.[4] He must also have possessed considerable means from other sources, for he brought with him to Jerusalem a number of 'brethren,' i.e. Judeans, whom he had redeemed with his own money, as well as a strong band of private servants,[5] and carried royal letters of recommendation, in the heartiest terms, addressed to the Persian magistrates in Syria.[6]

Meanwhile, he had made himself carefully acquainted with the complicated relations of Jerusalem to the neighbouring nations;[7] nor was he ignorant of the prejudices and scruples by which an undertaking is liable to be opposed on the part of the

[1] It is surprising that this is not mentioned in Neh. ii. 3–9; but it follows as a matter of course from the sequel of the history, and it seems as if Nehemiah had not thought it worth while to mention it. The words in ver. 8, however, 'the house into which I shall come,' refer to it, for this evidently means the governor's house, and therefore the site of an ancient palace in Jerusalem, vol. iii. p. 248 sqq.

[2] P. 112.

[3] The 'king's park,' ver. 8, over which a certain Asaph was appointed, is evidently the ancient royal park mentioned in vol. iii. p. 251, which must now have been reckoned among the Persian crown lands (demesnes).

[4] According to Neh. v. 14–18.

[5] The אַחִים and נְעָרִים, iv. 10, 17 [16, 23], v. 10, 14–16, xiii. 19; cf. iv. 16 [22], v. 15, vi. 5. That the 'brothers' are to be so understood, at any rate in general, follows from v. 8.

[6] Thus generally designated in Neh. ii. 7–9. According to Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, 6 sq., the Syrian Satrap of the time was called *Adæus*, and it is quite possible that this statement was originally contained in Nehemiah's record. In the same way the indication of the day on which the building works were begun, corresponding to vi. 15, has disappeared.

[7] It is not without cause that he mentions the displeasure of Sanballat so soon, ii. 10.

very individuals whose advantage it is intended to serve. With the same perfect tact, foresight, and even craft, which he throughout displayed, he had not breathed a word to anyone, even after he had been three days in Jerusalem, about his important design; but on the following night he rode out almost alone, himself the only one mounted (and even his solitary steed could not always find passage), and closely examined the walls and satisfied himself of their thoroughly lamentable condition. The day after he came forward for the first time with a public declaration of his intentions, and, by putting the situation in its true light and pointing to the history of his own past life and the favour of the king, he contrived to satisfy the assembly so soon and so completely of the necessity of building the walls that everybody present gladly promised his assistance.

But cares and toils of the heaviest kind were only now beginning. The former walls, indeed, had only been so far destroyed by fire as to enable breaches to be effected in many places;[1] but though they had only to be restored where they had been burned down, though the old stones could still be to a great extent employed again, and the walls in general required no special reconstruction except a completely new covering,[2] yet the heaps of ruins and rubbish which buried them on every side were very heavy to remove, and the workmen repeatedly complained of the enormous labour involved in this operation.[3] The gates, on the other hand, had to be restored altogether. Thus a variety of preliminary labours had to be undertaken before the actual building could be begun, and they must all be performed as quietly as possible for fear of disturbing the neighbouring peoples too soon; and when the time came, the construction itself must be finished with all possible speed, so as to take them by surprise. Moreover, as there was no money forthcoming with which to hire special workmen, all these tasks had to be performed by the people themselves; and further difficulty arose from the fact that no actual compulsion could be applied to the indolent or to those who withdrew altogether when the local overseers were disinclined to the work. It was also resolved that the restored walls should take in the complete circuit of the ancient city.[4] The common people dis-

[1] According to Nehemiah's own expression, ii. 13, 15.

[2] According to iii. 34 [iv. 2], iv. 4 [10]; this 'covering' is assumed in the expression 'restoring up to the half,' iii. 38 [iv. 6], to be the last part and indeed all the second half of the work.

[3] According to iv. 4 [10].

[4] See iv. 13 [19], vii. 4, and the whole of the very circumstantial and clear description, iii. 1–32.'

played the best spirit; but the patience of many was worn out before they had completed the tedious business of clearing away obstructions and filling up the gaps. It soon appeared that the poorer people, torn away from their customary occupations, could only provide for the necessaries of life and the royal tribute by pledging their possessions and even giving their sons and daughters as slaves to their richer fellow-citizens, and perhaps suffering their daughters to be abused by them. In addition to all this, famine would set in, as a natural consequence of the suspension of ordinary employments.[1] From these causes bitter complaints arose, and internal dissensions threatened to break out and frustrate the whole undertaking. Nothing but Nehemiah's strenuous exertions and holy zeal, together with the lofty example of noble unselfishness with which he always led the way himself, succeeded in averting these dangers in time. He called a general assembly of all the faithful, and persuaded them, 'for fear of God, lest they should become a reproach among the heathen,' to imitate his own example of remitting all debts unconditionally until the walls should be finished.[2] Only when he had accomplished this in the case of the rich laymen did he exact the same promise from the wealthy priests.[3]

2. While he was thus taking the greatest pains to remove all possible internal obstructions from the work, he was no less embarrassed by the neighbouring peoples, and indeed the guilt of certain of his own countrymen rendered the opposition from this quarter much more trying. In spite of the long established jealousy which the neighbouring nations still cherished against Jerusalem, and the neglect and contempt which they had always shown to the new city under the misfortunes already mentioned,[4] many of their nobles nevertheless desired the closer friendship and matrimonial alliance of the noble Jewish houses, and many of these latter also found these connections advantageous. The intercourse of common life among all these small kingdoms continued to be on a peaceful footing under ordinary circumstances, for the simple reason that they all shared alike the fate of subjection to the Persians; and the endeavour to isolate Israel and cut it off more completely

[1] At any rate no reason is given why we should attribute the famine mentioned in v. 3 to any other cause.

[2] See v. 1–13; cf. the *Alterth.* p. 207 sqq. No idea could have been entertained even in the old kingdom of compelling the cancelling of debts; how much less now under the Persian supremacy. The whole proceeding was one of free persuasion and free remission; and it is this which makes the narrative so instructive.

[3] This very instructive fact is specially noticed in v. 12.

[4] P. 120 sqq.

from other nations, which now broke out so powerfully in Jerusalem, was checked in every direction by the indestructible impulses which perpetually urge men to union. Amongst these high personages belonging to the neighbouring peoples two were especially prominent at this time. The foremost and most powerful of them all was Sanballat[1] of Horon, once a city of Ephraim.[2] He was governor of the Samaritans, and on that account was particularly jealous of Jerusalem. Although at the time of which we are speaking he had not become connected with any of the noble houses of Jerusalem, yet afterwards, apparently during Nehemiah's absence, he obtained as his son-in-law a young grandson of the high-priest Eliashib.[3] He had also great influence with the Persian force which was permanently encamped in Samaria, no doubt under a Persian captain, and which was charged with the supervision of all the ancient Palestine.[4] Next to him came Tobiah, the governor of the little nation of Ammon, beyond the Jordan, Israel's ancient foe, from which he was also descended. He had formerly been a servant of honour (or page) at the Persian court, and, as so often happened, had been entrusted with his present office in consequence of the personal favour he enjoyed with the king.[5] Long before this time he had formed very intimate relations with several noble families of Judah. By his own marriage and that of his son he was doubly allied with them, and had thus become distantly connected with the high priest; and he was moreover highly valued and renowned amongst many of them for the benefits which he had conferred upon them.[6] As a third and similar case, we may add that of Geshem, or, with the full pronunciation, Gashmu,[7] prince of the Arabs living to the south of Palestine, who had probably overthrown Edom already and laid the foundations of the *Nabatean* power, which after-

[1] More correctly, however, according to the Masôra *Saneballat*; the LXX have Σαναβαλλάτ, of which Jos. makes Σαναβαλλέτης.

[2] In its full form Beth-Horon; it belonged to Samaria, no doubt, at this time, as formerly to Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 3, 5, xviii. 13, and particularly xxi. 22.

[3] According to Neh. xiii. 28; see more on this below.

[4] This follows from the brief incidental remark of Neh. iii. 34 [iv. 2]; cf. also Ps. lxxxiii. 9 [8], according to the view of the origin of this poem given below [p. 155].

[5] He is called 'the servant,' Neh. ii. 10, 19, in the same sense as that in which a complaint is made in Eccles. x. 6 sq. that 'servants' were made Satraps. This elevation of slaves who were court favourites to the highest offices must, according to Lam. v. 8, have been a Chaldean custom also, and it is in full vigour in the Islamite courts to-day.

[6] Neh. vi. 17–19, xiii. 4 sq.

[7] Neh. ii. 19, vi. 1, 2; cf. iv. 1 [7]. The pronunciation Gashmu is only found in vi. 6, but in the dialect then used by these Arabs it is certainly the original form; see Tuch in the *Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.*, 1849, p. 139. The termination *u* in this dialect distinguished the noun, and especially the substantive, from the verb, a usage of which traces are still preserved in Ethiopic; see *Lehrb.* § 202 *a*.

wards rose to considerable importance.[1] At any rate, this last individual was on very friendly terms with the other two, and, as an Arab prince, he would hardly be absent where war and plunder were to be had.

Sanballat and Tobiah, on receiving intelligence (through their connections at the Persian court) of Nehemiah's impending arrival, were greatly exasperated, for they knew perfectly well that he could have no other motive in undertaking the post but his great love for his co-religionists;[2] but they felt that they could not take any immediate steps against him. When they heard of the project of rebuilding the walls they were unable at first, remembering the events already mentioned,[3] to treat the intention as serious. Meanwhile they endeavoured to terrify the new governor and others by secret written negotiations, the purport of which was to ask whether they intended to rebel against the court;[4] but Nehemiah intimated to them that they had no authority of any kind in Jerusalem, and did not allow himself to be intimidated. At length came the tidings of the actual commencement of the building. This threw Sanballat into a fit of mingled rage and scorn. He could not even then bring himself to believe in the success of the work, and he thought that if the worst came to the worst he would tear it down by force: 'What then were these feeble Jews doing? they could not really fortify their city, they could neither seriously begin such an undertaking nor finish it at once; nay, they could not so much as set up again the burned stones from the heaps of rubbish.' Tobiah, in unmingled scorn, declared that though they might build, even a fox would be able to break through their stone walls.[5] But when they heard that the walls were already carried up more than half way, they were no longer able to ignore the

[1] See below [p. 351].
[2] Neh. ii. 10.
[3] P. 120 sqq.
[4] Neh. ii. 19 sq.
[5] This is the meaning of the difficult passage iii. 33–35 [iv. 1–3], for עזב here must be a technical builder's word, and it appears that it had some such meaning as 'fortify' from iii. 8 (where it was certainly quite misunderstood even by the early translators). It seems to be related to عذب and عصب (cf. also the Talmudic מעזיבה in the Mishna, and עוּצָבָה), and to have signified originally the same as to cover, to hold together. The usual meaning 'to leave' is in any case inapplicable in iii. 8, and barely gives any sense in this passage (iii. 34 [iv. 2]) either. (*Tanchum* on Judg. xiv. 9, I now see, has already got hold of the right meaning for iii. 8.) Again, the act of 'sacrificing,' זבח, must in this connection be simply equivalent to 'beginning,' and must form the contrast to the following כָּלָה; but still we must suppose that after the completion of the necessary preparations, such as the clearing away of the rubbish and so on, a solemn sacrifice was really made at the beginning of the work itself, as was done when the foundations of a city were laid, and as the priests, iii. 1, first of all consecrated the site of the gates nearest the sanctuary, the building of which they undertook.

seriousness of the crisis, and turned their thoughts to war and a sudden assault. Accordingly, they entered into a league against Judah with all the surrounding peoples, and especially with the Philistines of the adjacent Ashdod, so that Nehemiah was obliged to post guards both day and night as a precautionary measure.[1] At this moment the danger rose to its highest point, and Psalm lxxxiii.—that deep cry for help from the community to its God—seems to belong to these days.[2] At the same time the internal discontent and dissensions of Jerusalem, already described, broke out more and more openly, while many of the nobles kept up their secret communications with the national enemies, and even wished success to their plans, scarcely concealing their ill-will to Nehemiah. But the common people within and without Jerusalem remained well disposed towards him, and this feeling deepened with the success which attended the progress of the work. One good result of this was soon apparent. While the enemies outside were concerting the sudden assault in which they were to burst into Jerusalem with their united forces in a single day, and bring the whole work to ruin at one blow, the Judeans, who came by turns to Jerusalem from the country towns to help in the building, brought faithful accounts of all that they had heard in the border districts of the movements and plans of their various foes, and always pointed out the direction from which the enemy intended to fall upon the city. Nehemiah, accordingly, regularly drew up the whole people fully armed and in battle array over against the point from which the enemy was expected. He stationed them behind the lofty walls, but yet in some sunny open space, so that they could be seen from a great distance, and inspired them with suitable language to fight in the holy cause for all the blessings they possessed, divine and human. Thus, when the enemy approached, they saw from a distance the whole people awaiting them in perfect equipment, order, and spirit, and accordingly turned back. After having made as many as ten of these futile attempts, they became tired of this sort of attack, for the time being at any rate, and the people were thus once more at liberty to continue their labours at the walls.[3]

[1] iv. 1–3 [7–9].

[2] It is true that in Ps. lxxxiii. 7–9 [6–8] several of the small neighbouring peoples are mentioned which Nehemiah omits, but none which would be out of place here; while the term Assyrians, ver. 9 [8] may very properly denote the Persian garrison of Samaria, which constituted the chief strength of that city, itself founded by Assyrians.

[3] I have no doubt that this is the meaning of the passage Neh. iv. 5–9 [11–15], in which the words of vv. 6 [12] sq. were already misunderstood by all the old translators, most strangely of all by the Peshito. Only in ver. 6 יָשׁוּבוּ must be

Nehemiah, however, did not relax his precautionary measures in any particular. By his arrangement the whole people divided itself into two halves until the work was completed. One half was always engaged in building and carrying, but each person still kept his sword girt to his side, and placed his spear at no great distance. The other half, completely armed, kept constant watch, while Nehemiah himself always had a trumpeter at his side, by means of whose call he could assemble the entire force round him at a moment's notice, however widely they might be scattered at their tasks. All the people, master and man, except the few who were keeping their turn on guard, were allowed to sleep quietly every night in the city, that they might be able to work the better by day; but he himself, with all his household and the governor's body-guard, never took off his clothes.[1]

This laborious undertaking was thus drawing to a close, and nothing remained to be done but to set up the folding gates, when Sanballat and Tobiah made their last attempt to frustrate the whole affair. They invited the governor to a conference in the country district west of Jerusalem at Ono, as if he would have more security there on account of the open nature of the country far and wide; but Nehemiah, suspecting treachery, alleged in excuse the continued pressure of his labours. Four times they repeated this artifice in vain. On the fifth occasion Sanballat alone sent him the same invitation, together with a letter, in which he represented to him that a report was spreading everywhere among high and low that he intended to revolt against the king and have himself proclaimed as king of Judah, and that he had instigated certain prophets to do this. This would come to the ears of the king; but as he himself wished

read for תשובו, 'they told us ten times, out of all the places, the one where (on אֲשֶׁר as *where*, see *Lehrb.* § 333 *a*) they were going to turn upon us, (i.e. to fall upon us suddenly);' hence, in a special instance, ver. 7 [13], mention is made of *the place* In that case the meaning of the curious word צָחֲחַיִם, ver. 7 [13], is quite clear; and the fact that in vv. 6 [12] sq. an expression is not chosen to represent a proceeding frequently repeated, is not due so much to a desire to shorten the substance of the narrative as much as possible as to the gradual disuse of the *imperf.* for this purpose, *Lehrb.* § 332 *c*. The sense of the whole passage, however, cannot be anything else; and if we are not to consider שׁוּב in that meaning a peculiarity of Nehemiah's language, we may substitute for it יָשִׁיחוּ or יָשִׂיחוּ, 'where they intended to *set themselves* against us,' in the military sense of Ps. iii. 7 [6], Is. xxii. 7; compared with the very similar significance of שִׂים, even in ordinary style, 1 Kings xx. 12.

[1] To this last statement Nehemiah appends at the close of iv. 17 [23], quite in his rough and open style, 'The taking off of each man's clothes was for water,' i.e. to satisfy his necessities, not to lie down to rest. These words cannot well be understood in any other way. The ancients generally pass them over as unintelligible, or alter them arbitrarily.

him well, he hoped he would come to a conference with him. Nehemiah, however, declared all that was said against him to be simple calumny on the part of his enemies to enable them to attain their well-known object.[1]—Even prophets, and a certain prophetess, Noadiah, were found base enough to allow themselves to be bribed against him by the national enemy. He had once occasion to go to a certain Shemaiah, hitherto an eminent prophet, but at that time prohibited from entering the Temple, though a priest by birth, on account of some bodily uncleanness.[2] This man confided to him, in the profoundest secrecy, that it had been revealed to him by God that someone was going to murder him on the following night, and even in spite of his sickness, he would himself go into the sanctuary with him, and shut himself in there with him. Nehemiah, however, replied that he did not think it would be seemly in him to shrink from even a manifest danger, and further that as a layman he must not break the divine command by entering the sanctuary itself, and so rouse the anger of the Holy One. Not till afterwards did he see the real motive of this prophet too![3] Even at the last, when the walls were quite finished, and the heathen had already lost almost all heart for making any kind of attack, the baseness of some of the nobles showed itself in full colours; for they still kept up their secret correspondence with Tobiah, and informed him that Nehemiah had boasted in their presence of having received threatening letters from him.[4]

3. The building was completed in September, probably in the twenty-fifth year of Artaxerxes I. (B.C. 440), about five years after Nehemiah's arrival as governor.[5] All the inhabitants of

[1] Neh. vi. 1–9.

[2] As had been once the case with Jeremiah, Jer. xxxvi. 5.

[3] Neh. vi. 10–14; that this Shemaiah was really a prophet of this sort may be gathered with certainty from the real meaning of the words of ver. 12.

[4] vi. 16–19.

[5] According to vi. 15 the building only lasted fifty-two days. This must be understood of the work of construction in the narrowest sense, when all the preliminary labours had been completed; but this space of time is, in fact, even then extremely short, and, when we consider all the manifold circumstances explained above, seems hardly credible. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5, 7 sq., certainly does not supply us with any more trustworthy chronology when he makes Nehemiah come to Jerusalem in the 25th year (of Xerxes), and has the walls completed in the 28th. But he spreads the hottest part of Nehemiah's labours (the description of which in Neh. iv. 17 [23] must not be taken too literally) over two years and four months; and the question therefore suggests itself whether we may not still discover in this some hidden trace of a true reading, and whether the word וְשָׁנָתַיִם has not dropped out by an ancient clerical error from the end of Neh. vi. 15. In the 25th year mentioned by Josephus a correct tradition of the termination of the building may have been preserved; but Josephus certainly framed the whole of his chronology of this period either from the continuation of 1 Esdras, which we no longer possess, or from some similar work, and we may take it for granted that it cannot have been invented in all its details.

Jerusalem, and many from the country, priests and Levites as well as laymen, had shared in the labour. It is especially noticed that the nobles of Tekoah refused to work by the side of the common people of that place,[1] but all the others who took a part have received a noble memorial from Nehemiah himself, in the careful mention inserted in his narrative of the special portion of the great task in which they gave proof of their devotion.[2] The whole work was divided into forty-two parts,[3] some of which consisted of gates, some of sections of wall, and some of both together. Each division was undertaken by some person of position, with the aid of his dependants; if he lived in Jerusalem, he built by preference the portion over against his own house.[4] When the list of these was exhausted, the remaining portions were executed by some wealthy guilds [5] and provincials. Nehemiah, also, with all his dependants, took a most active share in the work,[6] without, however, devoting himself specially to any one of the forty-two divisions. The consecration of the walls was at last performed in full solemnity, with intense joy and rich sacrifices. Nehemiah arranged two festal processions, one of which marched round the southern and the other the northern side of the city, by the outer walls, until they met together at the Temple, each one headed by priests with trumpets, and accompanied by Levites singing praise. Ezra led the first, and Nehemiah closed the second.[7]—But even after this Nehemiah had strict watch kept constantly at the gates of Jerusalem, by his brother and by Hananiah, the captain of the fortifications.[8]

This description of the festive procession after the successful completion of the building of the walls was perhaps the only passage in Nehemiah's record in which he expressly mentioned

[1] Neh. iii. 5.

[2] This is the passage, viz. Neh. iii. 1–32, in many respects of the utmost importance, of which much has been said already in vol. iii. p. 254, *note* 5.

[3] This is the meaning of the word מִדָּה. properly measure, length, then of lengths of wall, iii. 11, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, 30.

[4] See iii. 10, 23, 28, 29, 30.

[5] For example, the money-changers and the spice-dealers, iii. 8, 32; from a certain point of view the various communities of priests and Levites would fall under this category, iii. 1, 22; 17, 18, 24. Some of these seem to have undertaken a double portion (comp. vv. 8 and 32, 18 and 24, 5 and 27), which need not surprise us. A special division is certainly described in ver. 26, so that instead of הַיְ we ought to read הַ simply before יֹשְׁבִים.

[6] According to Neh v. 16, compared with the accurate list in ch. iii., for the Nehemiah mentioned in iii. 16 is evidently quite a different person.

[7] According to xii. 27–43; cf. vol. iii. p. 254, *note* 5. The description is certainly based upon Nehemiah's record; but the Chronicler takes the opportunity, as usual, of depicting the solemnity of a consecration of this sort, and in particular inserts the names of priests and Levites as far as required for his purpose.

[8] Neh. vii. 1–3.

the great scribe of his age.[1] The two men were totally different in position and calling; and since Nehemiah strictly confines himself in his memorial to the mention of his own duties and services at Jerusalem, it is by no means surprising that he says but little of his great contemporary. But he sprang, like Ezra, from the dispersion (*Diaspora*), and shared with him that spirit of rigour which was not unnaturally characteristic of those who came thence to settle at Jerusalem, and he arrived there at a time when the tendency to greater strictness of national and priestly life, excited and powerfully sustained by Ezra, was at its height. Hence, in after years as well, he remained faithful to this tendency, and furthered it with all the power which his office and his reputation gave him. Continuing to take the most zealous care of the well-being of Jerusalem, he observed with great dissatisfaction the paucity of the inhabitants within its extensive walls, and was led by this to make closer investigations into the primitive relations of the new colony. On taking a census of the people he discovered that, contrary to the documentary regulations established under Zerubbabel, not so much as one-tenth of the whole population of Judea was residing at Jerusalem, and accordingly he transferred as many individuals thither as that fundamental law permitted.[2] He showed equal zeal, moreover, in contending constantly against everything which seemed, when viewed in the light of the stricter notions, irreconcilable with the sanctuary and the law; and he took special interest in enforcing the rights granted by the written law to the priests and Levites, although, when the sanctuary itself appeared to suffer wrong, he did not spare the very highest priests. Thus, for example, at a time when he was away at the court, the high-priest Eliashib assigned a very large building among those in the fore-courts of the Temple, formerly used for keeping all kinds of priestly and Levitical stores, to his relative[3] the Ammonite Tobiah mentioned above, as a residence during

[1] More than this we cannot say, for a great deal of the record must have been omitted by the Chronicler before xiii. 4 or xiii. 1.

[2] This is the result of a careful comparison of the words of vii. 4 sq. with those of xi. 1 sq. and xi. 3–xii. 26. For however much the Chronicler in this passage, beginning at ch. xi., may have thrown together miscellaneous matter, in much abbreviated form and with later interpolations, it is nevertheless unmistakable that he really found the basis, at any rate of the census lists given in xi. 3–36, at the place in the record indicated at vii. 4 sq. The settlement of a tenth of all the inhabitants in the capital, mentioned in xi. 1, certainly took place under Zerubbabel, according to the opening words of xi. 1, which sound like a continuation of the words of the ancient document of Ezr. ii. 70, Neh. vii. 73; their appearance in xi. 1 indicates that the design announced in vii. 4 was carried out by a renewal of Zerubbabel's decree.

[3] P. 153.

his frequent visits to Jerusalem; but no sooner had Nehemiah returned than he compelled the high-priest to consecrate the building to its original object again.[1] He maintained the strict observance of the day of rest with all his might, in spite of the great indifference of the nobles, and he even endeavoured, by enlisting the Levites, to guard it with far greater rigour than before;[2] while he contended against mixed marriages and all their consequences amongst high and low with inexorable severity.[3]

From the first moment that he set his foot in Jerusalem he was absolutely untiring in all that concerned this effort, and as his life went on he only became more and more zealous in it. After labouring in Judea for twelve years (till 433 B.C.), he was obliged to present himself before the Persian king, as his leave of absence had expired; but at last, before the death of his royal patron (in 424 B.C.), he received leave of absence a second time, and returned as governor with the same powers as before.[4] After the death of the king he seems to have lost his post, for he never indicates in his memorials that he still occupied it; but in this very record of his services to Jerusalem the same spirit of lofty zeal for God and his Temple and for the welfare of his people is everywhere displayed. He desires no recompense or thanks from any single man, but he appeals again and again all the more urgently to his God to think of his zeal for holiness and for Israel.[5] It seems almost as though the bitter hostility and persistent misunderstanding which had pursued him clouded the peace of this man of many deeds and many services even in extreme old age, so that he could only find the higher peace in the recollection of his undeniable services and an appeal to his God.

But even if the serenity of Nehemiah's old age was again obscured by the envy and quarrelsomeness of many of the contemporary nobles of Jerusalem[6] of whom he so often complained, yet the services he rendered to his time are unmistakably

[1] This is the meaning of the words of xiii. 4–9; only in ver. 4, instead of the *sing.* לִשְׁכַּת, we must read the *pl.* לִשְׁכֹּת, so that the high-priest is here described as 'appointed over the buildings,' i.e. as their chief resident and manager in virtue of his office; cf. ver. 9. It is certainly surprising that a high-priest could so far forget himself at this period; but we only see from this how capriciously the spiritual authority easily learned to behave in times like these, when not rigidly controlled by the ruling arm; Ezra, as Chief Judge, however, had no special power in the matter.

[2] xiii. 15–22.

[3] xiii. 23–27, 28.

[4] According to v. 14 and xiii. 6 sq.; the נִשְׁאַל, xiii. 6, signifies *to get leave of absence*, hence *to go away*, just like שָׁלַח.

[5] v. 19, xiii. 14, 22, 29, 31; cf. also iii. 36–38 [iv. 4–6], vi. 14, and further remarks below.

[6] See more below.

great. In general terms, he supplemented and completed the work of Ezra, and owed his greatness to the very fact of having accomplished that which Ezra was precluded by his position and occupation from achieving, but without which his work could not have gained nearly so much internal cohesion and permanence. The unwearied valour of Nehemiah's arm and his unshaken loyalty to conviction brought vigorous assistance to Ezra's strict principles and genius for organisation, and, indeed, the example of such a layman must have produced a more powerful effect than all the mere precepts of the priests. By his means Jerusalem had not only renewed her fortifications, in which all might alike rejoice as in their own laboriously accomplished task, but had also attained to greater order in herself and a prouder consciousness towards her neighbours. The people of Israel could now gradually raise its head among the nations, crowned once more with honour and with pride, and step by step it ripened to a new and mightier race. This consciousness of renewed strength makes itself heard once more in many ways in the songs of the age, the last which have found their way into the Psalter.[1] It was only by his instrumentality, therefore, and by his cheerful co-operation with Ezra, that this whole period reached a distinctive development and a fuller measure of tranquillity, so that his name also was soon indissolubly linked with that of Ezra.

III. The Later Representations of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Chronicler himself unites these two men very closely in his representations,[2] and depicts their period as the golden age of the priests and Levites, so far as such an age was possible in the later centuries.[3] In after times, when the ancient history was more briefly touched upon, and its details became gradually confused, one of the two was sometimes named without the other. Thus, the son of Sirach mentions Nehemiah alone, but passes over Ezra in silence.[4] In other cases, what belonged to one was ascribed to the other. In the account preserved in the second book of Maccabees, for example, Nehemiah is credited

[1] The Psalms collected together in the second edition of the *Psalmen*, p. 380 sqq. [p. 513 sqq. 3rd ed.], belong to this period; cf. especially Pss. cxlvii. 2, 13, cxlix. 6–8.

[2] Neh. viii. 9, xii. 26; cf. x. 2 [1], xii. 47. 1 Esdras ix. 49 omits the name of Nehemiah from the words of Neh. viii. 9, but perhaps only by accident. At any rate there appears no reason to think that any other governor was meant.

[3] Neh. viii.–x., xii. 44–47.

[4] Ecclus. xlix. 11–13.

with an activity in collecting the holy books,[1] which should rather have been attributed to Ezra. Nehemiah's memoir shows, it is true, that for a layman he used his pen with skill; but any proper literary activity was quite foreign to his character as known to us, though no doubt he may have sanctioned, as governor, the ordinances recommended by Ezra and the other scholars.

The succeeding centuries, as we shall presently see, proved less and less faithful to historical fact, and their spirit was such that as the reverence paid to the two leaders of the people rose higher and higher, all kinds of loose representations connected themselves with their names, even at a tolerably early period, and they frequently became the subjects of half poetical narrative and purely literary art. Thus they were often regarded as the first founders of the new Jerusalem, and events and actions were ascribed to them which stricter history at best only admits as possible in the time of Zerubbabel and Joshua. As early as in the book of Enoch[2] the *three* who return from the exile together to rebuild Jerusalem are Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah, for though they are not designated by name there is no doubt that they are meant. The author of the second book of Maccabees[3] accepted a very free account of Nehemiah as the founder of the new sanctuary, which was doubtless to be read already in works current in his time. This story centres in the conception of the holy fire of the Temple,[4] and, not content with its higher signification, and its indestructible endurance in that sense, desires to establish a literal belief in its external preservation during the interval subsequent to the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees. At the time of that disaster Jeremiah and certain other priests had taken the holy fire from the altar and secretly conveyed it in safety to the bottom of the shaft of a dry well. Many years after Nehemiah sent the descendants of these same men, who knew the secret, to bring it up again. As we can easily understand, they could find no fire there; and he accordingly bade them sprinkle the sacrificial wood and the offering itself with water drawn from that same well. When this was done, at the prayers and songs of the priests, the sun, scattering the clouds on a sudden, kindled the wood and the offering into a great

[1] 2 Macc. ii. 13.

[2] lxxxix., 72, ed. Dillmann.

[3] 2 Macc. i. 18–36, cf. also ii. 1.

[4] See the *Alterth.* pp. 31 sq., 129 sqq. The great strength with which the ancient belief in these cases clung to the beams of the sun as the specific principle of life and holiness may be perceived not only from this very story, 2 Macc. i. 22, but also from a perfectly different narrative in 2 Macc. x. 3.

blaze of fire. Nehemiah then gave orders for the rest of the water to be poured out upon some large stones. Bright flames gleamed forth from these also, but as they did not shine on the right spot they were at once consumed by the fire of the altar which glowed over against them. It was this occurrence which induced the Persian king to decree that the great sanctuary should be fenced off and built on this very spot. This, it will be seen, is but one of the many stories which sought in later times to enhance the very high sanctity of the Temple with reference even to its origin; but when, in conclusion, the narrator adds that this wonderful fire from the earth has usually been called Naphtha since that time,[1] he betrays clearly enough that the well-known Zarathustrian-Persian notions of the sacred fire of the earth and sun, and the sacred naphtha springs, hovered before him, and that it was only under their influence that he gave his narrative its present form. —In a similar spirit the author of the fourth book of Esdras [2 Esdras] (the further discussion of which belongs to the history of the first century after Christ) makes Ezra live in the middle of the Chaldean exile, and in its thirtieth year see the wonderful history which God was conducting;[2] so that he is here actually confused with Salathiel.[3]

But it was Ezra especially who rose higher and higher in importance as time went on and the mere learning of the scribe grew to be the ruling power among the remnants of the ancient people, until at last he was elevated indefinitely above all the limits of time. He was regarded as the wonderful master of all the learning of the scribes, as the restorer of the

[1] In order to refer this name back if possible to a Hebrew word, the author considers it an abbreviation of Νεφθάρ, i. 36; as if פָּטַר, *to separate*, to *release*, and פָּטִיר, *unleavened*, lead to the idea of *καθαρισμός*. The narrator can hardly have been thinking of the Persian ناب, a rare and poetical word, meaning *pure*.—Further it may be noticed that the high-priest Jonathan of ver. 23 is the later one mentioned in Neh. xii. 11; and, according to p. 123 sq., *note* 1, his name was probably borrowed from this passage.

[2] 4 Esdras [2 Esdras] iii. 1, 29. It best suited the object and artistic requirements of this book to place Ezra's career about this time; but it is evident that the exact number 30 rose out of a confusion for 130, for Ezra really did flourish 130 years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Further, if the author found some older work already in existence in which a similar story was told of Salathiel, we can understand the extraordinary circumstance of his identifying him with Ezra. The author proceeds to ring a number of changes on the number 30, ix. 43 sqq., x. 45 sqq., but its origin can only be that suggested above; see *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1863, p. 648. We may see how easily 100 years might be skipped over by bearing in mind what is to be explained immediately, and remembering that, according to Epiph. *Haer.* viii. 7, there were many, even before the author of 4 [2] Esdras, who, in the priest mentioned in vol. iv. p. 217, discovered Ezra and transferred that event to the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[3] P. 83, note 5.

collection of the holy books and the author of many like them,[1] and at last, as master of a high court, which was empowered to decide on every question concerning the holy scripture,[2] to be placed upon a level with Moses himself, and even as the originator of the Masôra of the Bible, and all the reading marks (*points*, &c.). At the same time, many were disposed to consider him identical with the prophet Malachi.[3] Nay, there were certain bold writers in the century of the birth of Christ whose reverence for him rose so high that they reckoned him, like Elijah,[4] one of the Immortals who retain in Paradise perpetual youth, and reappear on earth, something like the Phœnix, at great crises.[5] But these late rabbinical dreams have no further place in our history, though their reflected light glows clearly enough even upon the Koran,[6] and many of the earlier Christians also gave them only too easy credence. Under every aspect, it is remarkable and significant enough that in Ezra we have the last Old Testament man of God, the undying significance of whose life seemed to posterity to place him on a level with an Enoch, a Moses, a David, an Elijah, and a Jeremiah. No one belonging to a later period than this, not even any of the Maccabees, was thought of as blooming in the unfading and eternal youth of Paradise.

In the same way we are ignorant when and where Ezra and Nehemiah died; though tolerably early in the Middle Ages a tomb was pointed out as Ezra's grave.[7]

[1] The idea of Ezra has not yet reached this extension with Josephus, but in 4 [2] Esdras xiv. it has; and if the author of 4 [2] Esdras in his turn had been acquainted with the representations which became prevalent in the Talmudic periods, he would certainly have noticed them.

[2] The so-called *Great Synagogue*, on which see below.

[3] Targum on Mal. i. 1: Babyl. Talm. *Megillah*, c. i. f. 15*a*, where, however, we also find the opinion that Mordecai was identical with Malachi.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 113.

[5] He belongs to the الأبدال of Paradise, according to the Arabic translation of 4 [2] Esdras viii. 20, x. 57–59, xiv. 9 (and in the subscription which, according to the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 650, is genuine); cf. also Jalâleldîn's *Hist. of Jerusalem*, p. 289, ed. Reyn. This rendered it all the easier to make him appear upon the earth 100 years earlier as well, this time under the name of Salathiel, p. 163.

[6] The Arabs designated this wonderful individual (as they did Solomon also, vol. iii. p. 204, *note* 1) by the diminutive form *Uzair*, and, according to Sur. ix. 31, Mohammed must have heard that the Judeans of his neighbourhood put him on the same level as the Christians did Christ. Whether he is meant in the little story of the man who slept in a deserted city with his ass for 100 years (Sur. ii. 261), could only be settled by finding its earlier sources, for the old expositors are at variance on this point (cf. Baidhâvî); he may be meant.

[7] And indeed just in the place in which it is least likely to be, judging by the facts known to us from other sources, viz. in southern Babylonia, at Bassra (in the ancient *Maisân* or *Mesêne*), see *Lex. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. iii. p. 185; *Travels of Benjamin of Tudela*, Ed. Bohn, p. 93; Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 457 (cf. also p. 41 sq. on the lost sacred books). Peterman's *Reisen*, vol. ii. pp. 151, 153. But here it is, if possible, still clearer than in the cases mentioned pp. 14, 95, *note* 3, that it is only an ancient and splendid synagogue building which was afterwards supposed to be a tomb.

C. THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERSIAN AGE.

I. The Establishment of the Hagiocracy.

Before it reached its final goal, it was, we may say, the destiny of the community of the true God once more to raise itself to the status of a nation, and to establish itself in this position in the ancient fatherland, rigorously shutting itself off from other peoples and communities. This work had been so powerfully initiated and already to so large an extent accomplished by Ezra and Nehemiah, that it could never stand still again until its whole course had been run. The rigidness of the ancient religious discipline which, as the former portions of this work have shown, determined the original form of Israel's development, had under Ezra's influence once more attained sufficient vital energy to restore the people to a more steady life, even from the depths to which, in later times, they had sunk. The ancient kingdom of Israel was now re-established provisionally, within the somewhat contracted limits of the ancient Judah. This was indeed effected only so far as was compatible with foreign supremacy, but, in the hope of better times to come, it strove to supply the place of its outward power by the most faithful adhesion to the ancient consecrated law, and obedience to the written word of God contained in it. Holiness, as it was conceived on the basis of the elevating tradition of its ancient history and the great book of its ancient law, had now become supreme; and though all the host of special commandments which were found in the book of the law was so difficult to comprehend and co-ordinate practically, yet even these were more and more fully worked into the new life of the nation, and, with their remoter consequences, penetrated deeper and deeper. The task was in many respects a hard one, and long periods often elapsed before the efforts which strong and conscientious men devoted to it reaped their reward, yet prosperous moments also appeared from time to time, in which what had been long in preparation suddenly took shape in the decision and resolution of the whole community, and was voluntarily embraced by them.

The Chronicler mentions one such moment, of very critical importance, which occurred in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, and seemed to bring all their long years of toil to an enduring result, such as all desired.[1] On one of the yearly

[1] In the passage already mentioned above, Neh. viii.–x., the conclusion, x. 30–40 [29–39], is certainly derived from a very trustworthy source, not so much because the contents of this Covenant are expressly referred to a written document,

fast-days,[1] after Ezra had delivered a moving exhortation to penitence, the whole assembled people, the common people faithfully following their brethren in authority, vowed with all the solemnities of concluding a covenant carefully to observe all the laws of the holy book of Moses in general, but specially (1) to avoid all mixed marriages;[2] (2) to keep the days of rest and feasts, together with the year of rest;[3] (3) every seventh year, at any rate, to remit all the debts of their co-religionists;[4] (4) to pay a yearly poll-tax to the Temple. Of this last regulation it may be said that the tax was very ancient,[5] but it had, no doubt, been paid but very irregularly hitherto, during the depressed period which followed the destruction of the first Temple, and it was now reduced to a third of the ancient pound (shekel) of silver.[6] They further determined (5) to deliver at Jerusalem every year the wood required for the numerous public burnt-offerings. Moreover, it was to be done in a certain order, probably so that each of the twelve circuits of the country had to provide it in turn. No service of this kind is mentioned in the ancient law, and this new tribute was perhaps an additional reason for reducing the poll-tax. Nehemiah, however, on account of the continued deficiency of the resources of the Temple, carried out this regulation with especial zeal.[7] Finally (6) the firstlings and the tithes, in their full legal extent and definition, were to be conscientiously paid, preserved, and administered, for in this respect great abuses had crept in, and numbers of Levites had been compelled to leave Jerusalem for want of support.[8] In this point also

x. 1 [ix. 38], as specially because they fall in completely with what we know from Ezra's and Nehemiah's own records. Probably the Chronicler found the contents in Ezra's record, or in the Chronicle of a younger contemporary of Ezra, mentioned in Neh. xii. 23, and he contented himself with shortening the list of names of the heads of the nation at that time to the great extent plainly perceptible in x. 2–28 [1–27].

[1] The day of penitence, celebrated one day after the great autumn festival, Neh. ix. 1, was certainly one of those already described, p. 22, and was indeed the most universally observed of them all. Cf. also Ta'anith iv. 5.

[2] P. 139 sq.

[3] Cf. p. 160.

[4] P. 152; see *Alterth.* p. 411 sqq.

[5] See *Alterth.* p. 350 sqq.

[6] Neh. x. 33 [32] sq.; in later times two drachmæ is the sum always mentioned, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, 1; Matt. xvii. 24–27, &c.; cf. Eckhel, *Doctr. numm.* vol. iii. p. 464.

[7] Neh. xiii. 31, x. 35 [34]. It appears from Jos. *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 17, 6 sq., that the day of the year on which this gift of wood for the sacrifices was made (the separate heads of houses approaching the sanctuary with it almost as if bringing an offering) became a feast day henceforth (ἡ τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτή); and we may conclude from the same passage that it was celebrated on the 14th Ab (August). On the other hand, the vow of עֲצִים for the Temple is legally defined as a free service, Mishnah, *Shekalim*, vi. 5, 6, vii. 1. On the similar *Feast of Baskets*, see below.

[8] We see this not only from Neh. xiii. 10 sq., but also from the reproving words of Malachi, who had still to complain of the same sort of thing in his time, iii. 8 sq. It is further shown in the *Alterth.* p. 343 sqq. that the arrangements mentioned in Neh, x. 36–40 [35–39], xiii.

Nehemiah rendered valuable aid. Indeed, all these newly established legal regulations remained in force from this time forward essentially unchanged. We may mention in particular the year of Jubilee. This was never introduced again, because it seemed impossible to observe it under the completely altered monetary and imperial relations; yet the simple year of rest, reduced to letting the corn-land lie fallow, was observed in all the following centuries, wherever possible. But since the people in these times must have desired immunity from taxation every seventh year, in order to be able to observe it as sabbatical, we may well imagine what great difficulties were connected with its introduction.[1]

Many institutions, which only rose to importance in later times under totally different circumstances, and are rarely or never mentioned in the histories till then, may have arisen in the period of which we are speaking, without our finding any allusion to them in the accounts, in general so scanty, which have come down to us from the Persian times. This remark is especially applicable to the supreme Council of the Seventy. It was certainly not till the rise of the outward freedom and power of the nation in the Greek period that this body gained a higher position, and extended its functions over a wider sphere, and, in the last centuries before the second destruction of Jerusalem, became so generally celebrated under the Greek name of Synedrion that it is known by no other even in the Mishnah, the name having been ultimately corrupted into the form *Sanhedrîn*.[2] At this time it consisted of seventy-one members,[3] as the original number of seventy-two or seventy

10–13, 30, cf. xii. 44–47, were for a long time matter of law in their essentials.

[1] We no longer know whether the Persian Governors made any difficulty about this; but from Alexander's campaigns downwards we hear of constant negotiations on the subject; and manifold notices are also found in the Greek age of the scrupulous observation of the year of rest; 1 Macc. vi. 49, 53, Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, 5 sq., xiv. 10, 6, xiii. 8, 1, xiv. 16, 2, xv. 1, 2; cf. also the stories in the *Gem.* to שביעית, v. 1. On the other hand, it follows from the words of Philo apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 7, 15 sq., that the year of Jubilee was never celebrated again. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 4, supposes that the law about the Sabbatical year grew out of a lazy disposition; but this is only in keeping with his universal prejudice against everything Jewish.

[2] Fl. Josephus prefers this name, but in earlier times the supreme council was also called γερουσία, as in the letter of Antiochus in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3; also in Judith, 1 Macc. xii. 6, 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44. For this we sometimes find the name οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, as in 1 Macc. xiii. 36, or the double expression ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, 3 Macc. i. 8. The two first words, συνέδριον and γερουσία, are combined to indicate the *full* Synedrion in Acts v. 21.

[3] This number, handed down in the Mishnah, *Sanhedrîn*, i. 5, 6, ii. 4, appears to be correct; the best proof being that according to the same Mishnah there was an intermediate tribunal consisting of twenty-three judges (or 24–1), and the smallest of all numbered three, the only reasons adduced in explanation of the number twenty-three being quite unsatisfactory, *Sanhed.* i. 6, as if it had been impossible to recover the real reason at that time. Now 24 is related to 72, i.e. 6 × 12, as

had already been changed for seventy-one, to avoid the possibility of equal divisions. It seems to have been composed of equal numbers of the three orders most important in those times, and best adapted to constitute a tribunal—the priests, the elders (of communities), and the scribes.[1] To it belonged the supreme judicial power in cases which, by their nature could not be properly settled by inferior courts, for example, the accusation of a false prophet or a high-priest; and, besides these, many questions of the higher administration fell under its jurisdiction,[2] so far as the prince himself did not assume the power of deciding them alone. In the Persian period, no doubt, when all superior authority was rigorously concentrated in the hands of the governor, the independent jurisdiction of such a body could only be very limited, but still we have every reason to suppose that it was instituted as early as the time of Ezra. In the first place, when we reach the Greek period, we find it in constant activity already, and can see no opportunity for it to have originated then; and, secondly, Ezra had too true a reverence for the law not to have endeavoured to call this organisation also into fresh life, since it was there prescribed.[3] Though the sphere of its duties must at first have been very narrow, there were certainly even then a great many questions which it could settle more suitably than the popular assembly, e.g. the arrangements of public worship, and the manner and order of reading the law aloud on the sabbaths and feast days. This was all the more needful because the power of supreme judge, which appertained to the high-priest under the ancient theocracy, could not be fully restored at present, and the high-priest had to content himself with the Temple service and the presidency in this council.

But, at any rate, an obscure reminiscence of a tribunal of this kind, which was said to have existed ever since Ezra's time, has been preserved in the representation of the *Great Assembly* (Synagogue). It certainly cannot be denied that the greater number of the statements about this body found in Talmudic and still later writings[4] simply result from the increasing want

23 is to 71. But elsewhere mention is made of 72 Elders, Mishna, *Jadâim*, iii. 5, iv. 2.

[1] This may be inferred from the Gospel according to Mark. See the *Erklärung der drei ersten Evv.* p. 318.

[2] What the Mishnah, *Sanhed.* i. 5, 2, 4, adduces on the subject seems to rest on a tradition of the times of John Hyrcanus and Jannæus.

[3] See the *Alterth.* p. 284 sq.

[4] The passages have been already collected and examined by Joh. Eberh. Rau in the *Diatribe de Synag. Mag.* 1726; but he is too purely negative, and does not explain the origin of the conception of such a

of the historical spirit which characterised the Judeans in the Middle Ages. The details must be admitted to rest on conjecture and imagination, rather than on fact, just as we saw to be the case[1] with the later representations of Ezra himself, who was always considered as the head of this council; but if we confine ourselves strictly to the oldest traditions of its origin, which are very scanty,[2] we cannot imagine that it is all a pure invention. After the age of the prophets, it is said, their doctrine descended by a sort of inheritance to *the men of the Great Assembly*; one of the last of these was Simon the Just,[3] who lived in the early times of the Ptolemies; and these men were then succeeded by individual teachers of the law, whose various opinions it was afterwards attempted to work up and complete into a system in the Mishnah. This really only amounts to an obscure tradition that in the Persian times, and especially from Ezra downwards, when living prophecy had been extinguished, a general council of distinguished men existed to watch over the purity of doctrine and of sacred usages, to define them more accurately, and pronounce judicial decisions in matters affecting them; and, certainly, these are just the limits beyond which no tribunal instituted by Ezra could extend its activity. We can easily believe that, after the Greek period began, this body became more exclusively a superior judicial and administrative court, that doctrine became more an affair of the different schools, and that everything was thus altered so entirely that the council which had existed in the Persian age came to be regarded afterwards as a venerable society of quite a special nature; but we can also readily see how Josephus might pass over in absolute silence a representation which, even if it had come into existence in his time, was exceedingly obscure, and only gradually found its way into historical narrative. Even the more fully developed representations of the later Talmudists, in spite of all the arbitrary elements which they introduce,[4] may be reduced essentially to the ascription to this body of a manifold activity in arranging the sacred usages

synagogue and the residuum of genuine historical tradition still preserved in it. Cf. also *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 291.

[1] Pp. 163 sq.

[2] *Abôth.* i. 1, 2.

[3] See below.

[4] This is specially shown in the attempt to mention the very names of all the individuals possible who belonged to the assembly, כְּנֶסֶת. The only point worth mentioning is that the number of the members was 120, Babyl. Talm. *Megillah*, i. f. 17 sq., a number which certainly did not arise from Dan. vi. 2[1] (where 120 is a diminution of 127, Esther i. 1); but in accordance with the idea of a *great* assembly the number 72 (6 × 12) was increased by 48 (4 × 12), so as to give a total of 10 × 12, just as, according to p. 167, *note* 3, the 72 was decreased to 24; cf. Mishnah, *Sanhed.* i. 6 ad fin.

and the holy books. Thus these later scholars, who were so deficient in the historical spirit, indulged in all kinds of groundless fancies about details, which they put down as history; but the obscure representation which lay at the root of it all was not itself a mere invention. After all, then, we may leave Ezra the fame of having also established a high council, which, in spite of weakness and neglect at first, nevertheless transmitted his spirit with increasing strength, and became a powerful additional support of the new community, until, under the altered conditions of the Greek period, it assumed quite a different character. This was, no doubt, the body of 'elders,' whose traditions stood so high in the time of Christ that the later teachers of the law were always glad to attach their own opinions to them.[1] These are 'they of old' who had left behind for the people a short sketch of the virtues and duties of a true Israelite, which was afterwards so highly reverenced,[2] just as the Talmud attributes to the men of the Great Assembly the consecration of eighteen forms of blessing which subsequently came into frequent use.[3] The Council of Twelve, constituted in the early days of the new Jerusalem,[4] must certainly have lost its chief importance in the presence of this larger body; but our previous observations warrant us in inferring that Ezra still retained it for certain solemn occasions.[5]

In spite, however, of all the zeal to restore the ancient organisation according to the description of it found in the sacred book, it was impossible to restore everything. This has, indeed, been already shown in the case of the year of Jubilee. Nothing is more indispensable to a hagiocracy than the heavy penalty of excommunication against recalcitrant members of the community; but, although this was revived,[6] the full severity of former times could hardly be restored to it now. The same difficulty was experienced with regard to sacred objects of the highest nature and significance. No one ventured to restore, after the description in the Pentateuch, the Ark of

[1] *παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, Mark vii. 3–5, and elsewhere in the Gospels.

[2] This may be seen most clearly from a proper interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, see *Die drei ersten Evv.*, p. 213 sqq.

[3] According to *Megillah*, i. f. 17*b*; although, according to the same passage and *Berachoth*, iv. f. 28*b*, they are also referred to a later teacher who is expressly named.

[4] According to p. 86 sq. Its constitution implies a division of the people into twelve tribes; and, indeed, a reliable indication of this fact seems to be found in the document already noticed (p. 143 sq.) contained in Ezr. x.; for if in Ezr. x. 40, instead of the word מכנדבי, which makes no sense on any supposition, we read . . . וּמִבְּנֵי, according to 1 Esdr. ix. 34, we may then infer that down to Ezra's time Judah consisted of eleven lay-tribes, with the priestly tribe as a twelfth.

[5] P. 146.

[6] P. 144.

the Covenant, of whose ultimate fate in the former Temple we have already spoken.[1] This sacred object seemed to the men of a later period too august and sublime for any priest to dare to reproduce the Mosaic type. Thus the Holy of Holies in Zerubbabel's Temple remained quite empty, and the wildest ideas gradually arose among the people about the Mosaic ark, which had long vanished entirely out of sight.[2] In the same way the sacred ornament of the high-priest, employed in the consultation of the oracle,[3] had been lost in the great overthrow in the sixth century, when it probably fell into the hands of the Chaldeans as booty. When the new Jerusalem was founded, the first high-priest, Joshua, had to go without it, so that the whole of the new kingdom seemed to labour under a great defect, which it was hoped the future would make good.[4] Yet even at a later date no one ventured to prepare another with his own hands, at any rate in its complete and ancient form, and its absence was the less acutely felt because the oracle of the high-priest had already lost its former high importance long before the first destruction of Jerusalem, and was by no means in a position to regain it now under a foreign supremacy. These deficiencies, therefore, which it was no longer possible to supply, in carrying out the sacred ordinances of the Holy Book, served to bring all the more powerfully to mind the fact that still the ancient order of things had not yet returned in the fulness of its glory, and that all the present laboured under deep and mysterious wants. We shall see further on what important thoughts and conceptions gradually united themselves to this feeling. Nevertheless, wherever any portion of

[1] Vol. iv. p. 209.

[2] The simplest and most beautiful of them is as follows: The ark of the covenant was taken up to heaven, where it now remains invisible till the coming of the Messiah (see my Comm. on the Apocal. xi. 19; cf. also Ps. cxxxii. 8; Mish. *Shekalim*, vi. 1 sq.). It is also the most consistent, for it is connected with a wide circle of similar ideas, of which we shall have to speak below. Another more popular account was the following: On the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah gave the law to the people with earnest exhortations that it might be sacredly preserved; but in accordance with a divine injunction he bade the holy tabernacle and the ark of the covenant and the altar of incense follow him to Nebo, the holy mountain of Moses, and there he secured them in a deep hole; and when some of his disciples took pains to mark the spot with accuracy he rebuked them for so doing, since the place could never be seen again till the time of the Messiah. The author of the second book of Maccabees already had before him a detailed narrative embodying this story, for in ii. 2–8 he gives just a short extract from it. It implies that Jeremiah himself was already regarded, like Elijah and Ezra (p. 164), as one of the few men of Paradise exalted above death and mortality, and that he would sometime return with the ark of the covenant which he had now concealed; cf. the legends concerning him in Victorinus Petabionensis in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, iii. p. 418*d*; Jalâleldîn's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 289, Reyn. Hence also the story of Jeremiah's appearing in the dream related in 2 Macc. xv. 13 sqq.

[3] See the *Alterth*, p. 337 sqq.

[4] Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65.

the great book of the law could possibly be carried out in practice, ample devotion, integrity, and self-sacrifice were lavished upon its execution, the purest zeal was kindled, and the most earnest effort made in every direction. The new community threw itself with growing ardour and completeness into this 'service' of its God, whenever the sacred book and its interpretation placed it before them in any way as a clear obligation; and while the sense of this duty gained constant strength, the confidence in such men as Ezra grew daily greater. Thus was a people being trained in respect of willingness of spirit and tender faith in the truth revealed of old into more and more complete conformity to the type which had often been longed for in earlier times by the prophets, but had never yet appeared. It was as though since the days of Moses the law had never found a nation to listen to its claims and its decisions so readily as now.

This tone and tendency of life, directed so earnestly and so perseveringly by the great majority of the new people to sacred things and their more and more complete appropriation, was accompanied far down into the middle of the Persian epoch by that genuineness and warmth of feeling which we have seen springing up afresh at its commencement. To this, again, was now added the quiet domestic peace and cheerful content which could not be diffused until the people had found the full satisfaction of their aspiration in the authority exercised by their venerable faith and law, in their new sanctuary, and in the honour which their country was once more acquiring. Many of the latest Psalms still breathe this lofty rest and joy in God, which tends henceforth to spread through the whole community, while by it each member can feel himself raised, individually no less than collectively, above all the limits of time.[1] How earnestly the venerable law of Israel in its written form might be embraced by the human mind, and what infinite exultation, what certain hope, and what bold confidence towards princes and kings might be derived from it, since it is not only a legal work, but at the same time a short epitome of all true religion, may be seen with peculiar clearness in Ps. cxix. This poem is one of the latest of all the Psalms. It shows little of the higher art in its composition, yet it is penetrated by a tranquil warmth of feeling, and animated, in spite of its wearisome length, by flashes of the most vivid spiritual life; and thus forms a fine memorial of the purer aspirations and elevating feelings characteristic of this period of mingled age and youth.

[1] See in particular Pss. ciii. sq., xxxiii., cxlv.–cl.

Indeed, all the comparatively prosperous and peaceful tranquillity which enabled the new kingdom to settle down round Jerusalem, and gain strength for new and mightier efforts, was itself in the main nothing but the fruit of the resolution with which it had addressed itself to the sacred things which remained the one great blessing of its life, and in which it could find an abundance of elevated contentment and calm. So now, whenever any one of the great feasts gathered together around the new sanctuary, from all quarters, the confessors of the true religion, the inhabitants of the ancient holy land with the hosts of pilgrims whose active participation in commerce in every direction had scattered them further and further in distant countries—what an elevating spectacle must even then have been unfolded![1] Again, through the continued spread (in spite of the new settlement at Jerusalem) of these offshoots of the ancient people, the true religion became better and better known among the heathen, and, moreover, by the residence at foreign courts of such Judeans as Ezra and Nehemiah, more and more highly honoured, as the inhabitants of Jerusalem itself perceived with joy.[2] We cannot specify exactly when a third or outer court[3] was added to the two older courts of the Temple.[4] It was open even for heathens to sacrifice in it, and we know that in the Greek period generals, kings, and other potentates, often brought the most magnificent offerings there 'to the most great God.' But this kind of half toleration of the heathen was quite in accordance with the spirit and indeed the external necessities of the times; and this 'fore-court of the heathen' [Court of the Gentiles] was probably established from the very first.

In these centuries of the triumphant glorification of the venerable law, the priests answered on the whole, as we have observed, to the special call made upon them by the age, and displayed a far more zealous and enlightened activity. This in turn concentrated the brightest beams of the honour and glory of the times on them, especially after the fire of Ezra's zeal had kindled and illuminated them afresh. We have indeed seen already[5] that Nehemiah sternly recalled to his duty the high-priest of his time, Eliashib, grandson of the well-known Joshua. Malachi too had to reproach the priests in his day with all kinds

[1] To this connection belong especially the two great songs corresponding one to the other, Pss. cvi., cvii., and similarly Pss. cxi.–cxiv.

[2] According to the very noteworthy expression in Mal. i. 11, cf. Ps. cxlviii 11, xlvii. 10 [9]. See also the further explanations in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 162.

[3] Cf. 4 Macc. iv. 11; Book of Aristeas, p. 111 sq.; Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, 2; *Contr. Ap.* ii. 5, 8; 3 Macc. i. 9, 16, and elsewhere

[4] See vol. iii. p. 232 sq.

[5] P. 159 sq.

of irreverence in their sacrifices and teaching, and with quarrelsome, overbearing, and selfish conduct.[1] But these were only the first feeble and scattered germs of future degeneracy, such as invariably appear in any hagiocracy, especially one in which both the ruling house and the ruling order of priests are hereditary. On the whole the priestly order did not fulfil its function badly during these centuries. Nothing now remained to the people wholly unimpaired except the pure and eternal contents of its religion; and the priests, consequently, especially such as were skilled in literature, became of necessity its most powerful leaders and its ablest representatives externally. Submission to their judgment and regulations inevitably assumed in the minds of all the more conscientious individuals the aspect of one of the highest duties of life, and their honour and welfare seemed to be the foundation and an important part of the honour and welfare of the whole people. This was an internal necessity, as is strikingly exemplified by the powerful and energetic layman Nehemiah; and as we should expect from the new Jerusalem, in virtue of its ancient associations and the circumstances of its foundation, it was met in a spirit of laborious but fruitful toil by the corresponding depth of individual conscientiousness and reverence for sacred things which characterised such great priests as Ezra. In more exalted style, the priest now very often bears the honourable designation of a 'mediator' or 'messenger of God,'—the most beautiful that can be given him;[2] and it seems as if the thrill of the rich blessings which immediately resulted from the labours of Ezra was still felt when Malachi sketched his noble picture of a true priest[3]—the same Malachi who was in other respects the last man to spare the priests with his stern word of God.

II. The Extinction of Prophetism.—The Last Prophet.

The hagiocracy, then, was now fully started. It is true that it had no new and powerful supports at first, except the sacred book of the law and the power of the priesthood in its three gradations, which had been hereditary from the times of antiquity. All else was as yet undeveloped, but everything was

[1] Mal. i. 5–14, ii. 8 sq.

[2] Mal. ii. 7, Ecc. v. 5 [6]; at the beginning of this period the name was much more used of prophets; Hag. i. 13, cf. Isaiah xliii. 27.

[3] Mal. ii. 2–7; cf. Ecc. v. 5 [6]. Hence the sentences (quite fresh of their kind) in praise of the priest and sacrifice, Ecclus. vii. 29–31, xiv. 11, xxxv. 1–11.

favourable to its growth and independent strength, especially after Ezra's labours.

But at the same time the disadvantages and drawbacks which must arise in every hagiocracy, merely assuming different forms in different times and places, began at once to appear. The hagiocracy was something new in Israel. Such an organisation had never existed there before; and in the presence of its fresh power the old order, in spite of the scrupulous endeavours which were made at this very time to preserve it, underwent of necessity a complete revolution in its most important features. Externally the ancient religion was more highly reverenced now than ever, and even internally there was nothing at first to stand in the way of its sinking more and more deeply into the hearts of individuals, since its essence now shone inextinguishably in sacred books, which lay open to all; but since it was only protected by the hagiocracy in so far as it had been once for all received as sacred, the living process of development was at an end.

In the position then occupied by Israel, one of the first and most significant consequences of the establishment of the hagiocracy was the final extinction of all the better prophecy. We have indeed already seen[1] that even before the destruction of Jerusalem prophecy had attained the highest point within its reach in the course of the history of this people, for it was one of those elements of the life of Israel which could not rest until they had realised their own inner perfection. Nevertheless, the exceptional nature of the days of Israel's great trial, and afterwards of its approaching release, roused it once again to powerful expression, as we have previously described;[2] and then in the new Jerusalem prophecy strove to rise again quite after the ancient type,[3] and on the sacred hearth of Zion itself its fire flashed forth with considerable power yet once again in Haggai and Zechariah. But it could no longer flourish in its purest sphere of action as the creative source of the life and spirit of revealed religion where a sacred book already contained this revelation with sufficient detail and precision, and was regarded as the final authority. By the side of this it must either become superfluous, in which case it would gradually lose itself in weakness and impotence, or else it must advance beyond all the revelation already contained therein. This latter task required more strength than it was conscious of possessing. It was, in fact, quite an impossibility in these centuries, which were fully

[1] Vol. iv. p. 246 sqq. [2] Pp. 10 sqq. 39 sqq. [3] Pp. 102, 109.

occupied with the simple appropriation of the lofty revelation made already. Hence, soon after the last efforts of prophecy, its power in Israel succumbed to a natural and complete decay; and in its place, by the side of the sacred book, wherever any important decision or regulation for the present had to be made, at any rate in purely religious matters, the priests stood forth alone, and especially those of them who were skilful scribes, until at last the scribes also became an important power independent of the priesthood. This change came about only by degrees, but in such a way that the revolution soon became perceptible enough.[1] In gloom and darkness the ancient prophecy long strove to maintain a continued existence; but the depth of moral degradation to which it soon fell in the midst of the revival of the hallowed usages of old, has been already pointed out in the life of Nehemiah.[2]

It is true that the age of Ezra, the last pure glow of the long day of the Old Testament sun, produced one more prophetic work, the brief composition of Malachi.[3] With its clear insight into the real wants of the time, its stern reproof even of the priests themselves, and its bold exposition of the eternal truths and the certainty of a last judgment, this book closes the series of prophetic writings contained in the canon in a manner not unworthy of such lofty predecessors. And, indeed, it is no less important than consistent in itself that even the setting sun of the Old Testament day should still be reflected in a true prophet, and that the fair days of Ezra and Nehemiah should in him be glorified more nobly still. But in spite of all this, the last of the prophets, as Malachi really was, proves already of a very different stamp, so far as he gives ground for the confident expectation that the inevitable extinction of all true prophecy in Israel is very near. For on the one hand, though Haggai and Zechariah, when first the kingdom of Jahveh rose afresh, had laboured again in public, just like the ancient prophets, yet the fearful blow which every free movement and

[1] The age itself is constantly spoken of as 'the prophetless,' especially after the additional changes produced by Greek influence, Ecclus. xxxvi. 15 sq., 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41, Apocr Dan. iii. 38 [Song of the three holy children, 15]. On the other hand it seems from 1 Macc. ix. 54, that the second temple itself was still regarded as established by prophets, which view was in fact quite correct, pp. 102. 108 sq.

[2] P. 157.

[3] The whole tone of this composition implies that it followed the age of Ezra, which had left the freshest marks upon it. In fact, Ezra's labours are already presupposed in the way in which the admission of mixed marriages is reproved, quite incidentally and briefly, though severely, Mal. ii. 11 sq., while the remoter and more delicate consequences of this reform under Ezra are now more discussed. But, on the other hand, this remarkable book certainly does not belong to any much later period.

hope of the new Israel soon afterwards experienced,[1] made the free and public ministry of any prophet no longer possible. And the hagiocracy, again, the only power which still developed itself with increasing freedom under the pressure of the times, was constantly working unperceived towards the same result. Thus, then, the prophet whom we now call Malachi (on the authority only of the superscription of his book, which is not by his own hand) sends forth to the public his lofty words, not indeed under the name of any other man, but yet not under his own; as if it had become a recognised principle that no prophet any longer wrote under his own name.[2] How utterly impossible the ancient style of public prophetic address had now become, the book of Malachi shows with a clearness beyond dispute in the almost exclusively didactic style of its discourse and its attempt to confute the current objections. But further, the prophet concludes with the unprecedented and highly significant reference to the law of Moses as the absolutely holy rule of life, and (as if the true prophetic spirit taught him that this alone would not suffice) with the yet more emphatic reference to the certain return of the great prophet Elijah.[3] His book thus bears involuntary witness that the last remains of pure prophetic power were already in complete decline. Prophecy, in fact, resigns its own power in pointing so clearly and with such faith to the certain return of a far mightier

[1] Pp. 120 sqq.

[2] This is the truest view under all the circumstances. The name מַלְאָכִי, i. 1, stands boldly by itself; and if the prophet had publicly designated himself thus, he could not have written the words of iii. 1 without a blush. But I have already noticed in the *Proph. des A. Bs.* i. 61 sq. [p. 81, 2nd ed.; Eng. Trans. i. p. 100], that the superscription, i. 1, is not from the author; and a later hand might describe him as *Angelicus* by an ingenious use of iii. 1. Cf. *Proph. des A. Bs.* iii. p. 216 [2nd. ed.]. Since the book refers to no previous public activity of this prophet, and the name מַלְאָכִי, according to iii. 1, ii. 7, Hag. i. 13, might mean the same as *Angelicus*=*Propheticus* (*vir*), (and such artificial names were then in high favour), it is difficult to avoid conjecturing that the author himself concealed his real name under an artificial one. Indeed, this presumption was already shared by some of the ancient readers; the LXX translate ἄγγελος θεοῦ as if they read מַלְאָכוֹ, in i. 1; cf. 4 [2] Esdras i. 40, Vulgate, and Eusebius in the *Eclogæ Prophetic*æ, iii. 27–32, Ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1842. But yet the contents and style of the book furnish no necessary ground for supposing that the author wished to conceal himself so elaborately. And a real proper name, מַלְאָכִי or מַלְאָכִי, would certainly be quite as possible as חַגַּי, Num. xxvi. 15, or in its later form, חַגָּי, according to the *Lehrb.* § 164*c*, חַגָּי, i.e. *Festive* or *Feast-man*; and if the proper name was not pronounced מַלְאָכִי, but מַלְאָכִי, we should no longer find the difficulty that a man calling himself Malachi could not have put such words as iii. 1, הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָכִי into the mouth of God. Yet such a coincidence would still be curious, and we have no ground for supposing it intentional on the part of the prophet himself. Indeed, even at the end of the exile the prophets wrote without their own names, according to p. 41; but the circumstances were different.

[3] Mal. iii. 22 [iv. 4]; iii. 23 *sq.* [iv. 5 sq.]; cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 10 *sq.*

prophet of old,—one whose reappearance would naturally be desired in times which had not the advantage of the labours of any vigorous prophets;[1] but we ought to add that it could not come to a close in any manner more striking or more worthy of itself. As years went on, a firmer and firmer hold was gained by the belief that for the settlement of the great questions of the kingdom, of universal and decisive importance, they must wait for the great prophet of the future, whether he was thought of as an Elijah or even as a Moses, or under any other form;[2] and this belief naturally bordered closely on the Messianic hope, which in its strict sense now manifested a growing tendency to recede.[3] But when the public ministrations of the prophets had gradually ceased entirely, whatever prophetic thoughts and efforts might arise had no means of acquiring general influence save through the medium of literary composition; so that a weak and artificial after-crop, but nothing more, began to germinate on the ground of the writings of the ancient prophets. As no one would believe any longer in the eminence of a living prophet, the result was that prophecy leaned for support upon the ancient works, in the shape of productions of anonymous authors and editors; but the soil of the prophetic literature of the past was so fruitful and generous, and the spirit which it had left behind exercised so healthy an influence in various directions, that many a shoot full of sap must have sprung up even among the dry twigs of these later times.[4]

The complete and generally recognised cessation of prophetic activity, however, had more serious consequences for the people of Israel than for any other. In the advance of the public life of the community that voice was now stilled, by the divine power of which it had at first been founded, and by which it had ever since been led most effectively through every time of trial. With this perished the loftiest and most characteristic free activity and force which the law had permitted in its midst from primæval times. It was not, indeed, regarded as eternally and necessarily extinguished; for the community was still distinctly conscious that it had not yet reached its own perfec-

[1] From the addition 'the messenger of the covenant, *whom you delight in*,' iii. 1, 23 [iv. 5] sq., it follows that the memory of Elijah was already connected with the wonderful being called by the Arabs *Al Chidhr*, who brought help in every time of need with his eternal youth, for whom all longed and whom all rejoiced to behold, vol. iv. p. 113. Otherwise this short but very significant addition would be inexplicable; and the words of Malachi about Elijah sound too brief and too definite to allow us to suppose that this passage contains the first expression of such a hope.

[2] 1 Macc. iv. 46, xiv. 41; cf. ix. 27.

[3] P. 119 sqq.

[4] See the *Propheten des A. Bs.* vol. iii. p. 231 [2nd ed.].

tion, and it still felt that when it really did so the voice by which it had been established must make itself heard again with greater power than ever. But in the present, with its sluggish crawl, it was completely silenced; so that any true inward development of the ancient revelation and religion, and any successful remedy of the defects which still remained, were for the time rendered impossible. And since the ancient revelation already contained in the sacred books required first to be inwardly and thoroughly appropriated, the joy of possessing it for the moment prevented men for a time from feeling very keenly the absence of any living continuation of the great prophetic work; but, in the long run, the deficiency inevitably became all the more prominent, and the substitute which rested on the sacred books proved less and less satisfactory.

III. The Influx of Foreign Elements.

The hagiocracy only protects old institutions in virtue of their sanctity, and is therefore incapacitated by its intrinsic impulse and the character of its power from removing the graver defects which still cleave to them. In spite, therefore, of any transient appearance of satisfaction, it necessarily leaves a barren void, which may perhaps be long concealed by its other labours and its external grandeur, but which must make itself more acutely felt with the progress of time. Indications of this now began to appear in Israel. While the old sacred order was now for the first time able to attain complete supremacy, and was really working its way more and more deeply into the spirit of all the remainder of the people, nothing new could rise to give entire completion and exaltation to the present by filling up the gaps still left open from the past. Thus, by the side of this powerful grasp of all that had been holy in antiquity, there still remained a growing uncertainty and weakness with regard to the immediate present, which increased the scrupulousness with which the ancient sanctity was maintained, and intensified the tendency to return to it whenever it seemed necessary—a phenomenon which some striking instances have already made clear to us.

The void created in this way rendered it all the easier for foreign influences at once to force themselves back again, just when it was supposed that they had been entirely expelled. At no time were the national and sacred institutions of the past the objects of a fresher enthusiasm and a more universal

sympathy than in the Persian centuries; but, even in this period, the prevailing influx of foreign elements, which had begun to be injurious when the gradual decline of the national energy of Israel set in, long before the destruction of Jerusalem, never ceased. That heathenism in the strictest sense should force its way in was now, indeed, utterly impossible. But foreign languages and words, especially Aramaic,[1] and step by step a few pure Persian terms as well,[2] could hardly be kept out. This was the consequence, partly of the foreign supremacy, and partly of a variety of causes operating in the same direction, which it would be difficult for us to trace out at the present day, though their important results are very conspicuous. It is impossible to deny that henceforth we find those same linguistic phenomena appearing quite fresh among the people, which only became more and more strongly marked in after times; so certain is it that any violent convulsion, dispersion, transplanting and restoration of a people may produce the most marked alterations in its speech, even if it has already long ago reached the stage of a highly developed literary language. The exiles in the Assyrio-Babylonian countries learned the popular Aramaic language there, and those who were deported from Jerusalem did so all the more easily on account of their many points of contact there with the exiles of the Ten Tribes, who had preceded them much earlier; but, no doubt, the high state of perfection which the Aramean genius itself had at this time reached in culture, in literature, and in scholarship, contributed powerfully to the same result.[3] But, meanwhile, even in the ancient holy land itself, the power of the government and the fresh Aramean settlers had already given Aramaic such an ascendant that it was in general use both in the north and south, while Phœnician alone held its own in the free maritime cities. Thus, by the time of the destruction of the Aramean kingdoms, the genuine old Hebrew had received a blow from which it was not destined ever again completely to recover. The earliest settlers who returned to Jerusalem from the exile, and gradually colonised Judah once more, evidently continued Aramaic in common use. Even in the house of the high-priest, Aramaic expressions were re-

[1] P. 107.

[2] Only those, however, gained currency which were names of Persian offices or else represented ideas closely connected with the Persian supremacy. To the last category belong especially אַגֶּרֶת, פְּתֶגֶם, דָּת. Into the Chaldee, on the other hand, as spoken by the Judeans with something of a Hebrew colouring (as we find it in the books of Ezra and Daniel), a somewhat stronger Persian element was infused.

[3] P. 132.

tained, and Hebrew was thrown into an Aramaic dress; [1] and local names, also, were now given in Aramaic.[2] At a distance from Jerusalem, in Galilee, Aramaic was always spoken.[3] No doubt the release of the people and the restoration of its religion and nationality to public recognition exercised a powerful influence in the other direction. Hebrew was again honoured as in former times; it had to be preserved in active use in church and school, and the learned once more addressed each other in the sacred language of antiquity. These counter influences could not, however, put an end to the ascendant which Aramaic had already gained, and the new Israel in Palestine consequently became in fact bilingual, for every man of culture spoke and wrote Hebrew as well. But while the Hebrew language was thus renovated and developed in the learned intercourse of a new generation, many fresh elements found their way in. These took the shape, first, of such new words as the requirements of the age demanded; next, of dialectic variations, which had been previously excluded from the language of literature, but now acquired a freer movement and were able to recommend themselves by their convenience; [4] and, again, of a genuine development in accordance with the genius of the ancient language, although under a fresh impulse and by a sort of leap of bold originality.[5] Thus, the *new-Hebrew*, as it might properly be designated,[6] the formation of which commenced in the period immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, now entered upon a course of rapid advance.

But this new-Hebrew did not enter into the language of literature in its complete form either very rapidly, or, in the first instance, very generally. On the contrary, it is in the highest degree remarkable how powerfully the old-Hebrew shook off the foreign yoke in the period of promise immediately after the liberation, and in how pure a form it strove to maintain itself, and even to regain its pristine beauty, in the hands of the best poets and writers.[7] An imperceptible introduction of Aramaic idioms and a gradual decline of Hebrew could not, of course, be prevented, and had already begun in the times of

[1] This may be seen most clearly from the remarks in Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, 1 sq. Instead of אַבְנֵט the form ἐμία, i.e. חֲמְיָנָא, was used, and the Hebrew מִצְנֶפֶת was pronounced μασσαέμφθη, מַצְנֶפְתָּא.

[2] For instance, *Golgotha*, which is a more correct form than Golgatha, since it is abbreviated from Golgoltha.

[3] As the New Test. most clearly shows.

[4] For instance, the שְׁ, *Lehrb.*, § 181*b*; similarly אד, corresponding to the Phœnician אש, stands in Samaritan for the proper Aramaic דְּ.

[5] As in the לְטוֹל formations; see *Spr. Lehr.* § 245*a note.*

[6] Cf. *Spr. Lehr.*, § 3*d.*

[7] Cf. especially the authentic compositions of Ezra and Malachi.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel;[1] but no stronger infusion is to be discovered, except, on the one hand, in certain poems of the age immédiately following the return from the captivity,[2] and, on the other hand, in the later Persian times, in the book of Koheleth [Ecclesiastes], the author of which, in dealing with entirely new subject matter, did not hesitate to make use of the modern language of his day. It is elevating to see how forcible and how beautiful the Hebrew idiom still appears for general purposes in the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah; and we also know[3] that Nehemiah was not disposed to tolerate corruption of the language. Malachi, too, still writes with great purity. But, with the book of Koheleth, certainly not much later, the whole of the important element thus recently introduced suddenly breaks in, and it is only resisted by the still later authors of the books of Chronicles, Esther, and Daniel, by an effort of self-restraint. In the book of Ecclesiastes, however, we are quite justified in saying that the way is being paved for a completely new-Hebrew language. This was a special formation of this period, drawn together from native and foreign, old and new materials, and particularly from the language of philosophy, and it reappears long afterwards, in times which were still more favourable to new developments of this kind, in the shape of the *Rabbinical Hebrew*. The penultimate division of the Chronicles, which is now reckoned as the book of Ezra, gives us the first example, on an extended scale, of a Hebrew book composed in part of entirely Aramaic sections; and it admits of no doubt on other grounds that Aramaic books, even on the higher subjects of faith, proceeded at a very early period from the hands of Israelites.[4]—Besides this, Hebrew was only preserved in tolerable purity by the best writers in and about Jerusalem. In Samaria, the fusion of widely different elements in the population[5] produced a thoroughly mongrel language. Its spirit and chief constituents were doubtless Aramaic, but it included a great deal of Phœnician, old Canaanite, and other foreign materials, and thus formed a tolerably distinct dialect. In Galilee, too, where the faithful were now only connected

[1] Vol. iv. p. 279.

[2] For example Pss. cxvi., cxxxix. Poets can most easily venture on such innovations, and altogether it is remarkable to see how full of variety the language of the poets suddenly becomes after the release from Babylon, as if that event had caused a greater number of poets to sing from their inmost hearts, and had given them all greater freedom even in the style of their language.

[3] From Neh. xiii. 24.

[4] The Aramaic words of Jer. x. 11 are certainly foreign to the context of the passage, and do not proceed from Jeremiah, but they must have stood at a very early period in a completely Aramaic work of an elevated character.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 215 sq.

with Jerusalam by community of religion, a similarly corrupt form of Aramaic had been constantly making its way undisturbed since the Assyrian period. By this time it had, no doubt, acquired much the same form as we observe in the New Testament.

One practice which had now permanently established itself was the calculation of years by the reigns of the Persian kings. In designating the months, however, the Chaldee names were employed, a usage which need not surprise us after the remarks already made.[1] This innovation was all the more easily introduced, and took all the deeper hold, because the nation had done so little in the previous thousand years of its independent existence towards bringing a chronology of its own into general use.[2] But it is to be noticed that some writers still preserve the old-Hebrew method of reckoning the months from the beginning of spring.[3]

But this linguistic fusion, which could not maintain its progress without difficulty, was far less important than the growing prevalence and vigour of freer modes of speaking of the Divine under the fixed images and names of imaginative forms. This kind of mythology is an essential characteristic of heathen religions, and even of Zarathustrianism. The ancient severity and even rigidity with which the original Jahveism allowed the Divine to be conceived under fixed images,[4] had already been struggling after greater freedom for a long time, in proportion to the increasing wealth of its historical experience,[5] and to the growing variety of movement with which thought, poetry, and art, together with the general spiritual life of the people, had striven after further development and transformation. The whole series of these thousand years was thus, it may be said, one long struggle to break through the first narrow limits of Jahveism in this direction also, to correspond with the expansion which it had sustained in so many others.[6] But nothing was more

[1] P. 107. It is remarkable that Ezekiel and the great book of Kings which appeared, according to p. 18, in the middle of the captivity, still use the old-Hebrew designations of the months, even with their full names, which are of rare occurrence, 1 Kings vi. 1, 38, viii. 2 (to which, however, the last narrator adds the numbers by which it was more usual to describe them). Haggai, also, still employs them, but not Zechariah.

[2] Vol. i. p. 204 sqq.

[3] Ezra still used this computation in his memoirs, but Nehemiah gave it up. The practice of the latter may be seen from Neh. i. 1, ii. 1, vi. 15; of the former from Ezr. x. 9, 16; Neh. vii. 73. A similar variation with respect to the commencement of the year in spring or autumn has been supposed by some persons to exist between the 1st and 2nd books of Maccabees, but incorrectly.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 114 sq.

[5] It is sufficient to refer to the conception of the *God of Armies*, vol. iii. p. 62.

[6] For instance, by the idea of immortality, vol. iv. p. 213.

calculated to excite and stimulate these efforts and the wants in which they originated, than the closer intermixture of Israel with other nations, especially in the east, which gradually set in from the tenth and still more from the eighth century, onward. Here it was brought face to face with highly-developed mythologies, and that, too, in religions like the Zarathustrian, which revealed a more earnest spirit, and had no share in the ordinary worship of idols. Two special peculiarities distinguished the Zarathustrian religion: (1) the sharp distinction between evil and good, even in each individual object of thought, in the invisible and the visible, in the abstract powers and tendencies as well as in the various created things; (2) the attempt to include all the infinite variety of separate eras, powers, tendencies, creatures, and essences within fixed series, numbers, and limits, so that number itself acquired in this system a certain sanctity. The union of these two elements to a greater extent than had ever before been realised, constituted the great charm which the genius of Zarathustrianism undoubtedly exercised for so long a period and over so wide an area. Touched by this system, and fascinated, at any rate, by the external beauty of its forms and numbers, the spirit of the ancient religion of Israel, or rather, in the first instance, only its poetic and artistic faculty, burst with the greater ease through the rigorous limitations which had hitherto confined it, and appropriated a set of images, representations, and names, which were unknown to the primitive Jahveism. In particular, the spiritual power of evil, which was now far more deeply recognised in general, was conceived as more independent, was thought of under fixed images and forms, and so put in sharp contrast to the pure, good God. Thus the opposition was no longer confined solely to Jahveh on the one side, and the heathen deities on the other; but an idea which might lead to far more profound and significant consequences was also adopted and pursued with growing freedom, viz. that of the antagonism between evil and good in all spiritual matters; and, under these circumstances, the attempt was made simultaneously to represent in each sphere under definite forms and images the countless host of spiritual powers individually conceivable. The whole of this freer movement of thought and imagination served, in the first place, only poetical and prophetic purposes,[1] and it was not till much later that it furnished material for pure speculation and subtilty. These images were at first by no means simply borrowed from the

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 19–22; Job; Is. xxiv. 21 sq., and the great section Zech. i. 7–vi.

foreign religions; on the contrary, they really shaped themselves with a fresh creative originality, in accordance with the inner tendencies and spirit of the true religion, worked themselves into exact accord with it, and even took their names from the circle into which they were thus introduced. At first, therefore, they scarcely appear except among certain special poets and prophets. Ezekiel, for example, delights in all kinds of images, however far-fetched, of divine things (widely differing in this respect from the simplicity of Jeremiah), yet he never speaks of evil spirits. But the influence of Zarathustrian imagery is distinctly visible in the new Jerusalem in Zechariah, when he makes the seven Amshaspands (who stand round the throne of the supreme God, like the seven chief nobles round that of the king[1]) into the seven eyes of God,[2] and with his sacred numbers and series is the first to prepare the way for the Gnostics and Kabbalists. These representations, however, underwent continual development, and subsequently sank so deeply into the whole thought and language of Israel, that the Chronicler speaks of the actions of evil spirits even in perfectly simple narrative.[3] To what extreme this tendency naturally led, and how it finally contributed to the ruin of the national spirit, will appear further on.

IV. The Transformation of Literature.

As a general rule the higher spiritual condition of any nation is most readily perceptible in its poetry and literature, and it is precisely in this department that we see most clearly how hard it was for the higher spirit characteristic of Israel to rise once more to its former energy and creative independence, and how easily the grander flight which it seemed about to take at the beginning of this period was ere long again impeded and its course checked by unforeseen and powerful obstacles. Even in the noblest efforts and hopes of its first attempts, we have seen[4] how completely and how painfully the people soon found itself checked, and even thrown back again into its

[1] P. 137.

[2] Zech. iii. 9, iv. 10; and subsequently in Rev. i. 4, and often later, applied in a great variety of ways. In a more remote way we may compare this with the custom of calling the nearest officers and servants of the great king, his eyes and ears, Herod. i. 114; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 2, 10; Æsch. *Pers.* 171 sq.; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 92, 124.

[3] 1 Chron. xxi. 1, 2 Chron. xx. 22; cf. vol. iv. p. 55, *note* 3.

[4] P. 120 sqq.

ancient sorrows and misfortunes; and this sad experience stifled and maimed even the spirit which was striving after freer action in the forces of poetry and the forms of art. A hagiocracy binds down the mind to what has once been adopted as absolutely above criticism, and with each successive stage in its development takes from it the more completely all liberty to soar freely in any direction and to seek the truth solely for its own sake. And this, as the only possible power among the people, now acquired an ascendency overshadowing everything else. In the form under which it now rose in Israel, resting upon a book of sacred law and a body of customs sanctioned by antiquity, as its firmest foundation, it was certainly effective in promoting the careful preservation, interpretation, and application of the law and other ancient books which seemed to be of high importance. In fact, the increased attention and labour bestowed on the venerable book of the law, and then, by an easy transition, on antiquity generally, constituted its greatest permanent service; but that in other respects it hampered and broke the upward course of the spirit, instead of stimulating or guiding it, was proved even in this period of its primitive purity. The complete silence which gradually fell upon the highest form of spiritual activity in Israel, viz. prophecy, the preponderance of an exclusively backward flight towards the past, the unyielding pressure of foreign supremacy, and the irresistible influx of foreign elements of thought, which there was no longer any increasing power of spiritual life to oppose, united to complete the decline of poetry and literature. This gradual deterioration had already set in, as we have seen,[1] before the destruction of Jerusalem; but now that the fresh flight essayed by general literature as well as prophecy towards the end of the exile was so soon checked again, it advanced with increasing rapidity. It is true that great numbers of books continued to be written, and indeed they gradually became more numerous than ever, so that Koheleth could raise an entirely novel complaint of their perplexing and wearisome multiplication;[2] but the intrinsic value of this literature corresponded less and less to its increasing fertility.

It is only in the poetry of song, of all kinds of poetry the simplest, and therefore in all ages the most indestructible and ever fresh, that we still find certain fragments quite worthy of comparison with the ancient models in depth of thought, in power, and almost in beauty of expression. The true religion

[1] Vol. iv. p. 277 sqq.

[2] Ecc. xii. 12; cf. vi. 6.

came now to be grasped individually with a deep earnestness as the highest blessing of life; it had often been lost already, and might easily be lost again, but this only made it necessary to grasp it the more firmly; it sank into the mind with a marvellous glow, penetrating and warming it throughout, and filling it with infinite blessedness.[1] These feelings receive the most perfect expression in many of these later songs, and nowhere else have we so clear a proof of the pure truth and the irrefragable certainty with which the ancient religion laid hold of the individual, with no further protection or privilege than it could secure for itself, and independently of all national interest or of his position in the community. Here we find hardly a trace remaining of any contest with the world, or of any severe struggle to avoid losing hold of the true God in the midst of its conflicts and dangers. Transfigured already in pure blessedness, the spirit feels itself in possession of the highest good, and only takes delight in pondering over it and in grasping it with growing earnestness.[2] These songs are thus the most eloquent and beautiful witnesses to the glorified faith in the true God which now poured forth into the world from the heart of the individual, feeble as he might be in himself, and to the victory which this faith seeks even now to win over the whole world; but by their side there gush forth at the same time the noblest hymns of the community, in such a stream as never flowed before, and many of them breathe an earnestness and an intense glow which can only inspire such compositions when they have first entered in equal strength into the song of the individual soul. This rich stream of public hymns[3] proves most forcibly that this reborn community of the new Jerusalem had already, in the possession of the ancient and eternal truths, gained imperishable life, which would endure through all the vicissitudes of time; and it forms the second original species of songs which still continued to be produced in this period.—But by the side of such songs as these, in which the creative power of the old religion still rises in full strength, and which are still adequate to supply even essential wants, many others now spring up which are simply put together in whole or in part from the most beautiful passages of older songs;[4] and this process affords the strongest possible evidence which any period can

[1] As in Pss. xci., cxxxix., cxvi.; others are mentioned above.

[2] The only earlier examples of this seem to be Pss. xxiii., xxvii. 1-6.

[3] Most of these are found in the third great collection of Psalms, Pss. xc.-cl.; in the two preceding collections none need be specially mentioned except Pss. xxxiii., lxvii., lxvi. 1-12, lxxxi.

[4] For instance, Pss. lxxxvi., cviii., cxliv., &c.

give of the decline of its own power, just because song is the most primitive and spontaneous of all forms of poetry. Besides this, the artificial alphabetical arrangement of the verses now becomes far more frequent and elaborate than it had formerly been;[1] and the want of cohesion, compactness, and elevation of style, which had already become manifest in several earlier poems,[2] now returned in many instances,[3] forming a direct contrast in this respect to the numerous poems produced during the short but lofty spiritual flight which marked this period, and distinguished for their brevity and point.[4]

The alternation of a diffuse and concentrated style, which had already been introduced at an earlier period,[5] was now carried further, even in prophetic books. The style of Haggai and Zechariah is by no means concentrated, having a tendency to run off into long periods; but in the loftier representation by means of a series of connected images, upon which Zechariah on one occasion[6] ventures, it becomes compressed in the highest degree, and supplies hints rather than details.—But the best example of a poetical style degenerating rapidly into prose is furnished by the book of Koheleth, in which the purity of the strictly poetic form is sustained only in isolated passages.

Literary artifices and devices are now applied with increasing frequency and boldness. In the first place, the freedom of figurative treatment and artistic design was enlarged[7] by the growing influx of Zarathustrian images and numbers. This freedom now passes into many of the best portions of the prophetic literature which was still produced, and what grand passages might thus be designed is shown by a great part of the book of Ezekiel, and again in a different and newer form in the main division of Zechariah. In the second place, a corresponding liberty came more and more into vogue of writing in the name of some great prophet or poet of an earlier time, a practice of which we have seen the first example[8] in a prophet who wrote in the name of Jeremiah, and in accordance with which towards the end of the Persian supremacy the sage Solomon was introduced, discoursing as Koheleth, in the book of sayings called by that name. But owing to the rapid decline of every branch of literature, but little use was made of the possibilities

[1] Vol. iv. p. 281. Pss. cxi., cxii., cxix.; and even Lam. iii., see above.

[2] For example, Pss. xxxv., lxix., lxxi., cii., cix., of the last period before the exile or in it.

[3] Such as Pss. lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxiii.

[4] As Pss. lxxxvii., cxx. sqq., cf. p. 103. This is quite a special kind of song; see the last edition of the *Dichter des A. Bs.*.

[5] Vol. iv. p. 279 sq.

[6] Zech. i. 7–vi., cf. p. 111.

[7] P. 183 sqq.

[8] P. 46.

thus afforded for compositions on a grand scale. No such product as the book of Job ever sprang from this soil again; but, on the contrary, the supplementary portions of it, which come from either one or two younger poets who seem to have lived in Egypt during the exile, show that the perfect art of so lofty a work was gradually less and less comprehended, and that attention was paid only to individual portions of it. Thus even in this direction art became more and more concerned with mere externalities, as is indicated by the growing fondness for the introduction of artificial names into poetry.[1] Even the intermingling of different kinds of style and poetic art increases. For instance, the long 119th Psalm embraces contemplation, instruction, and prayer, all at once. Proverbial poetry passes to a far greater extent than was formerly the case, on the one hand into mere descriptive poetry,[2] and on the other into highly artificial designs. This last phenomenon is strikingly exemplified by the book of Koheleth at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century.

Meanwhile the value which was always attached to the great sacred Book might stimulate research in many directions. The first beginnings in philosophy had long been made in Israel, and had already ripened into glorious fruit;[3] and a host of extraneous opinions and questions was now streaming in from without as well, as for example through the Zarathustrian religion. In spite, therefore, of the blow which everything Israelite had suffered in the exile, the spirit of philosophic inquiry was once more aroused; and this was effected all the more easily because the nation had now more leisure for quiet introspection, and the opportunity was consequently favourable for ample discussion. The gradual revival, under these influences, of the ancient schools of wisdom, and the actual formation of a new scholastic language of research and philosophy, are set in the clearest light by the book of Koheleth[4] and another adage book of but little later date, which passed over in the Greek period almost word for word into the book of the Son of Sirach.[5]

[1] Such are the names Ithiel, and Ucal, and Lemuel, at a somewhat earlier period, Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1; Aholah and Aholibah, Ezek. xxiii. 4; then Koheleth; and later still Tobit, Judith, &c. Koheleth signifies that which preaches, *fem.* (*wisdom*), and may thus just as well designate the ancient Solomon as the real author of the book; but this Koheleth also forms a number of other ingenious artificial names of this kind, x. 18, xii. 3 sq.

[2] The beautiful description of the house-wife, Prov. xxxi. 10–31, probably dates from the beginning of the sixth century; but at the same time the description of old age and death in Eccles. xii. 1–7, is very artificial.

[3] See the essay in the *Jarhbb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, 1848, p. 96 sqq.

[4] See the *Dichter des A. Bs.* [Pt. ii. p. 270, 2nd. ed.]

[5] See the section in which this work is discussed, further on.

The national spirit was not at rest in this direction either, and nothing but the gloomy depression of the age held back this effort for any length of time.—But ever since the great dispersion of the people and the destruction of Jerusalem, foreign culture and art had endeavoured to make their way in under a thousand forms, and to amalgamate with the still living treasure of the ancient spiritual powers of Israel; and accordingly the art of playing upon the letters of the alphabet, which had doubtless been familiar from an earlier period to the learned men of the ancient Babylonian-Assyrian schools, now became more and more prevalent. It is true that we no longer possess any precise knowledge of the history of the learning of the old Babylonian scribes; but it is indubitable that it was extremely ancient, and that it might therefore soon have lost itself, in accordance with the whole spirit of the religion and philosophy developed there, in all manner of artificial devices, and we have already demonstrated[1] the power of its general influence on the old-Hebrew school of this period. When we find that the device of the *Atbash*[2] first appears towards the end of the exile in a Babylonian-Hebrew writer,[3] but from that time forward, together with other similar arts, only obtains more and more favour, like every pleasing novelty, during all the succeeding centuries of this history, we are compelled to conclude that Israel received from the Babylonians these elements of the later so-called Kabbâla (i.e. scholastic lore, erudition). In this case, too, the first steps were very simple and the oppression of the age might be pleaded in excuse,[4] but when in after times the ancient simplicity and straightforwardness failed to return, these ingenious efforts came more and more into vogue, as we shall have to explain more fully by-and-by.

The art of historical composition received further development from the new species of personal memoirs of which the records of Ezra and Nehemiah furnish striking examples. At the same time the practice also grew up, in accordance with a powerful impulse, of introducing as nearly as possible in their original form the royal decrees and similar documents, for in its foreign servitude the nation felt more and more strongly the

[1] P. 132.

[2] This was the use of ת for א, of ש for ב, and so on, reversing the order of the alphabet.

[3] The Babylonian editor who worked up the book of Jeremiah, p. 46; cf. the *Propheten des A. Bs.* vol. ii. p. 237, iii. p. 141 [2nd ed.].

[4] It was evidently under the heavy yoke of the Chaldees that the custom was established of writing ששך for בבל, לבקמי for כשדים, so as to give no offence. The writer who worked up the book of Jeremiah found this practice already in existence.

profound influence and benefit of the letters of clemency issued by the great king.[1] In other respects, however, the art of history was making no advance to any higher perfection, and the details of the more remote antiquity became increasingly obscure to it. This is, indeed, perceptible enough towards the end of this period in the books of Chronicles,[2] and is in some respects still more clearly disclosed in the book of Esther, which we shall have to discuss hereafter.

But one of the chief efforts of this whole period is directed to the collection and frequent reissue of the best writings of the past, the high value of which, together with all the national antiquity, had at length gained general recognition. These collections and scholastic labours had already begun long before the destruction of Jerusalem,[3] but they were now resumed and pursued with a zeal quite new. We can also clearly perceive that these collections were now no longer taken in hand so arbitrarily by incompetent persons. Many of the latest prophets, on the contrary, who may be called disciples of the prophets to distinguish them from the prophets themselves, were the collectors of prophetic books, and often added something of their own here and there in their editorial capacity;[4] and in the same way many of the latest Psalms show signs of having been composed by the last collectors and editors.[5]

Finally, the frequent reading and the more earnest contemplation of the ancient writings, which were now to become the regular custom, reacted powerfully upon the contents of this later literature in many ways; and instead of the mere involuntary repetition of single words or even sentences from the more ancient writings, we now find echoes of their subjects in a great portion of the productions of this period. Even poets were fond of topics from ancient history, and employed them at some length in songs for every kind of instruction and exhortation.[6] Even in the midst of the outpouring of the poet's own feelings, his song often passes involuntarily into the commemoration of sublime events of the past, and first finds satisfaction

[1] P. 48 *note* 1.

[2] Vol. i. p. 169 sqq. The 'book of the journals,' once directly cited in Neh. xii. 23, and written, according to the indication there given, towards the end of the fifth century, seems to be the large historical work of which the Chronicler made great use as one of the most recent works of the time, according to vol. i. p. 181 sqq.

[3] Vol. iv. pp. 197 sq., 284; also vol. vii. [German.]

[4] See the *Propheten des A. Bs.*, vol. ii. p. 553 sqq. [vol. iii. p. 232 sq. 2nd ed.]

[5] Ps. cl. is evidently intended to form the conclusion to the whole collection, just as Ps. i. must formerly have been the introduction to an older collection. The poet of Ps. cl. was also the author of several others of the latest Psalms.

[6] In the first place Pss. cxxxii., xcix.; then Pss. lxxviii., cvi., cv., cxxxvi.

there;[1] and in other books, also, elaborate discourses on the past,[2] or long and minute references to it,[3] present themselves naturally on every occasion. This tendency supplies further proof that the noblest elements of the spirit of the age were nurtured on the past alone.

V. The Germs of further Dissolution and Weakness Within and Without.

In other respects no doubt the ancient customs of the people remained on the whole but little changed during the Persian epoch, and the renewed strictness of the old religion of the fatherland was its protecting shield. During these centuries the nation had first of all to gather its powers together, and start afresh on a life of its own. For this end this scrupulous return to the usages of the past, and even to a more rigorous observance of them, was highly beneficial; while the disadvantages of this tendency towards an absolute hagiocracy, though they must soon have revealed themselves in the higher departments of life, exercised as yet but little influence over the lower, where the customs of antiquity were firmly established.

Nevertheless certain germs of the dissolution of this new order of the hagiocracy show themselves without delay. Nothing but absolutely pure conceptions and actions can supply a basis for a supremacy which shall from the first be indestructible; nothing else, from the moment of its coming into general view, can help giving unmistakable signs of its inevitable dissolution at some future period. At certain epochs the hagiocracy may perhaps have become a necessity; it is this cause which raises it to power and secures its temporary advantages; but since it only springs from temporary exigencies, it cannot avoid soon disclosing its deficiencies by clear indications of its internal and external weakness and its final dissolution. And if even the original pure Theocracy, in the form under which it had entered the world a thousand years before, had speedily given premonitions of its future dissolution,[4] this was much more likely to be the case with the hagiocracy, which did not even attempt anything more than to maintain and renew the ancient type to the

[1] This may be seen in Hab. iii.; Ps. lxxvii. 14–21 [13–20].
[2] Neh. ix. 6–37.
[3] Neh. xiii. 18, 26 sq.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 101 sq.

utmost possible extent. The defects inherent in the former would now reappear, so far as the altered circumstances of the age did not restrain them, and those peculiar to the latter would be added to them. It was this combination which rendered the dissolution of this new power inevitable, the preliminary indications of which could not long be concealed. Those which present themselves in the Persian period are at first only remote, but of their appearance there can be no doubt.

1. The hagiocracy is indeed capable of scrupulously preserving and protecting whatever sanctity comes into its hands; but to let this element have free scope for action without suffering it to evaporate, and to employ it to penetrate and reform the world without losing its own hold of it, is beyond its power. It has a burning desire to subject every element of humanity to its judgment and its law, and to control and guide the life of the individual, down to the minutest details, because it is obscurely conscious that the holy, in so far as it is the really divine, ought to pervade every department of human existence; but, since it possesses nothing but the reflexion of what was once divine, it is in fact destitute of the strength actually to attain that towards which it feels itself impelled. This is most immediately apparent in the sphere of philosophical inquiry and scepticism. The force and rapidity with which these tendencies gather strength are directly proportioned to the degree in which the hagiocracy supposes itself already to possess and to understand everything, whereas in reality it has not even desire and energy to look deep enough into its own immediate property, and consequently allows even the truths confided to it to become gradually obscured. Hence it is that philosophy, with its unwearied questionings and investigations, gradually rises up over against it, and readily assumes a hostile attitude towards the truths which the hagiocracy has failed to protect; and while the world learns in this contest to doubt the truths which it sees so badly defended, the whole strength of scepticism lies concealed in the hagiocracy itself, in the fact that it supposes itself to understand its own truths, but really comprehends them less and less. In this way doubt grows powerful around and even within it, developes itself in schools of philosophy, and embraces in its magic circle every one of an inquiring mind or from any other causes morally desponding; and freedom at last thinks itself obliged to enter into an alliance with it to resist the claims and compulsions of the hagiocracy, and nothing has so disintegrating an influence

as the scepticism which has come in contact with sacred things and yet has not been adequately overcome. This is always one of the prime causes of the dissolution of a hagiocracy; and in the Persian age we already see the first movements of this philosophy, which gradually passed more and more decidedly into simple scepticism. How much the spirit of questioning and inquiry was increasing, is shown by the whole tenor of the discourse of the last prophet, Malachi.[1] But the full power of scepticism is already seen developed in the book of Koheleth. Koheleth examines and searches through everything, all the vanity and all the blessings of the human lot, and even the vanity of philosophy and the spirit of inquiry themselves, and it is only with an effort that he at last hushes up his doubts as to the immortality of the soul and a last judgment of God upon it. It is true that he really does overcome these doubts in so far as they might prove injurious, and thereby shows how much of the great treasure of the ancient faith was still retained by this age for its support in spite of the complete change which was gradually passing over it.[2] But the sequel of this history will soon demonstrate with what irresistible strength this same power of scepticism was to return under conditions favourable to its own genius, and how it might suddenly seethe over and commit the most dreadful devastations. The hagiocracy inevitably fosters weak faith and groundless doubt, and generates no desire to emerge out of this condition, as the Papal Hagiocracy of our own day is ever teaching us afresh.

2. But the hagiocracy can never really satisfy even those who desire to remain absolutely faithful to the holy, because it thrusts itself in between the intrinsically holy and the individual mind, and erects a kind of partition wall between the two. It is possible, of course, for the individual, whether a member of one of the spiritual orders or not, to force his way behind the growing density of this partition to the inner sanctuary itself; and what fruits of purest religion have we not already seen ripening in this period? But the wall becomes more and more difficult to break through. The rule of life is more and more exclusively laid down by the priests for the laity, and by the sacred book and sacred letter for priest and layman alike, and behind this protecting wall the purely divine element, even in the very light in which it once shone forth so clearly, retreats further and further into obscurity.[3] The result is that the pre-

[1] P. 177 sq.

[2] See the *Dichter des A. Bs.*, vol. iv. pp. 184–87.

[3] Even in 1 Macc. xii. 9 'the holy books which we have in our hands' are spoken of in exactly the same way as God, ver.

scriptions of the ancient religion assume the aspect of mere laws of outer life, which must be obeyed simply because they are enjoined, because the priest or the sacred book has so determined, and because divine salvation is not to be expected on any other conditions. Thus the individual may well submit to them in their strictest form, and even prefer to do too much rather than too little; nor can he ever carry far enough to satisfy himself the scrupulous observance of the host of minute injunctions which he conceives to be founded on the letter of Scripture. In this direction, too, he is inevitably confronted by the same defect which we have seen[1] to have been inherent in the original limits imposed upon the whole ancient Covenant by the age in which it arose; and we have already observed in a conspicuous instance[2] to what an extent this might be carried even in Ezra's time.

The only leading tenets and mottoes of the Great Assembly already described[3] which have been preserved, are the three following:[4] 'be circumspect in judgment;' 'train up many scholars;' and '*make a hedge around the law!*' But what an amount of torturing scrupulousness and useless law-making is already implied in this third dictum, which treats all mankind as infants! The effort to provide against the possibility of the smallest letter of an old or new law being transgressed, and so to heap law upon law, and, instead of steadily accustoming man to the faithful observance of the few great laws of God, to surround him with an endless network of the most trifling injunctions, and always keep him in leading-strings, though only to be seen in the fulness of all its separate results in the Mishnah and the Talmud, nevertheless essentially dates its existence from this period, and only developes itself more and more irresistibly in the succeeding centuries. It must not be supposed that this tendency only sprang up in the world at that time, and that it never existed nor was even possible elsewhere. It is of course plain enough that Ezra, whose spirit so powerfully stimulated and controlled it all, was in the first instance only a judge, and could only regard and direct affairs from a lawyer's point of view; so that the spirit which now became predominant by the side of the hagiocracy may rightly be designated in brief as the *legal*, or, more exactly, that of instruction in the law (the juristic). But when a supreme law of

15; so that at last the removal or dishonouring of the sacred books was considered a sin against God himself (*sacrilegium*), Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 2, xx. 5, 4.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 103 sq.
[2] P. 139 sqq.
[3] P. 168 sqq.
[4] *Abôth* i. 1.

life has been already given, and, without seriously troubling themselves about its ultimate foundations, men are only desirous to work it out in detail, and, if necessary, to bring it into actual life by means of a countless multitude of new regulations, and to keep it alive and valid by all the compulsory power of ever new penal laws, similar conditions everywhere produce similar results. The scholastic labours of the Middle Ages, the labours of the papal jurists, and, so far, those of the majority of jurists in Germany, are essentially the same. The difference between the legal movement over which Ezra presided and its modern parallels lies chiefly in this simple fact, that the former found in every ancient law which it worked up the immediate presence of the holy itself, and therefore treated it with the utmost awe and the most scrupulous care, and with admirable patience made the most strenuous efforts possible to secure the legal obedience, and, by that path, the outward sanctity of man. What the learned of to-day would so hypocritically worship and appropriate as the 'Positive,' was then furnished by the 'Holy,' if by nothing else, and, in the eyes of believers, flowed from the purest conceivable source.

In fact, it seemed both useful and suitable to the nature of man that he should have before him all his duties toward God (i.e. those that were indispensable) accurately defined and arranged in a perfectly authentic code, so that he might be able to order his whole life in accordance with them, in the tranquillising hope that in doing this he did all that was possible, and satisfied every claim of virtue. It all looks so comprehensible, so easy and convenient. The learned elaboration of the letter of the law seldom leads, it is true, to a mitigation of its requirements, such as is found, for example, in the case of the forty stripes permitted by the law as the limit of that kind of punishment, where the Rabbinical regulation, to prevent one extra stroke being given by an oversight, permanently reduced the number to thirty-nine.[1] On the contrary, the prevailing tendency to narrow and rigid interpretations led to further extensions and increase of the power of the law in many ways. The tithes,[2] the purifications which were enforced with special rigour as closely affecting the Holy,[3] and most of

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 157 [418, 3rd ed.; Trans. 315.]

[2] Tob. 1. 7; Matt. xxiii. 23; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8, 22, Mish. *Abôth* v. 9, and the elaborate discussions of the Mishnah; comp. with *Alterth.* p. 345 sq. According to a favourite interpretation, a second tithe should be bestowed on the sanctuary, and a third be given to the poor, but certainly neither of these could fall under the penal laws.

[3] Mark vii. 2–4; cf. *Alterth.* p. 169 sqq.

all the sabbath,[1] as the great central point of the original law, came under this treatment. No doubt the number and the burden of the laws which were arrived at by a simple process of interpretation became in this manner frightfully heavy; but then there was no lack of all manner of devices and subterfuges for lightening this yoke, especially as many oversights could be made good by sacrifices and money. At any rate, this nation seemed to have the advantage over all others in the fact that its exceedingly precise, but, at the same time, supremely holy laws, enabled it to feel itself at every step in life, in all it did and in all it left undone, guided by a firm hand and protected from on high. It is on this element that Josephus seizes to exalt the law and religion of his people above all others,[2] and it was by this that, during succeeding centuries, so many thousands moved in its combination of the old and new with security and joy. It was only necessary for the believer to despatch his duties as prescribed, and he was counted a true and perfect member of the community of God, a disciple of 'the kingdom of heaven,' as it was afterwards called.

But when all the claims of holiness in general can be settled with such ease, however difficult certain details may be, it really disappears without our knowing it at the very moment when its possession is supposed to be completely secured. As a real and inexhaustible power in life, and as the moving energy of the soul, it vanishes, and is retained only in appearance and in fancy. And when men imagine themselves to have got hold of the true God entirely in his Scripture and his external law, he is really withdrawing further and further from man, in his incomprehensible exaltation and the mysterious impulses of his presence, while an empty void and waste is formed where all seems full and bright. This very vacuity of life and spirit, this absence of all deep enduring power and inexhaustible security in the divine presence, ever threatened, throughout the succeeding centuries, in spite of numerous brilliant cases of individual elevation, to gain the ascendant. It seemed as though the youth of the nation, in spite of all the efforts made from time to time to call it back, would never permanently return; and as though its form, which had now grown old, could never be restored to health

[1] Witness the rule extracted so rigidly from Exod. xvi., which laid down 2,000 ells as the utmost distance which might be traversed on the sabbath—a so-called sabbath day's journey, Acts i. 12,, the prohibition to bear arms on the sabbath (see below), and to seek even the most necessary nourishment, Mark ii. 23. &c.

[2] See the discussion in full, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 17–20.

without being completely regenerated, by starting afresh from an entirely new beginning. There are, moreover, certain signs which never fail to reveal, even involuntarily, the real secret condition of an individual or a nation: thus the whole of the internal weakness and perversity of the hagiocracy already betrays itself in the one small but significant circumstance of its treatment of the name of God. Desirous to maintain the infinite sanctity of the venerable name *Jahveh*, and fearful of desecrating it, it ordained that it should never be pronounced at all, and so allowed this glorious ancient name to lie in absolute obscurity behind a perpetual veil. No doubt, this practice was only introduced very gradually at first; and unless the name had always been treated with a reverence quite peculiar to itself ever since the formation of the community,[1] no such custom of abstaining out of reverence from pronouncing it at all could ever have arisen. But it was only the growing scrupulousness of later days which could conclude from the third injunction of the Decalogue that for fear of running the risk of misusing the name when taking an oath,[2] or on any other occasion, and thereby exciting the wrath as it were of an avenging Lord, it would be better never to utter it at all. It now became usual to use instead the common name *Elohim*, i.e. God;[3] until at last the custom was established of reading the higher name of *Adonai*, which corresponded to it most nearly, even in those passages of Scripture where it was found written, or where, as in the books of history, it had to be written then; and, in the same way, men afterwards came to prefer saying *Heaven* instead of God, in ordinary speech. The substitution of the divine name *Adonai* was already customary towards the end of the Persian era, as we see from many indications;[4] and from that time it maintained itself amongst the Judeans for all succeeding ages, through a constant succession of departures from the free and straightforward course. The Samaritans alone never gave in to the practice. The name of the true God was now removed to an infinite distance, high

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 253 sq.

[2] That scruples with regard to oaths contributed to this result with special power is clear from Ecclus. xxiii. 9 sq., Matt. v. 34–36.

[3] For instance, in the book of Koheleth, and with one of the collectors of Psalms (*Dichter des A. Bs.* vol. i. p. 191 sq.). In somewhat more exalted style the use of *the Most High* came into favour; ὕψιστος, for instance, is frequently found in Ecclus., and ὁ ὕψιστος θεός in Philo and other Hellenists.

[4] Especially from the ὁ κύριος of the LXX. Hence, whenever later writers wish to indicate the name itself as such, without ambiguity, they call it שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ, the *name to be interpreted*, i.e. to be paraphrased, according to *Lehrb.* § 168*b*. ad. fin., as much as to say that *Adonai* or any such periphrasis was only its פֵּרוּשׁ.

above all the present scene of existence; and the further notion was soon conceived that it would only be revealed again in all its wondrous significance and power in the fulness of things, at the end of all time.[1] In the same way, the heathen spoke of mysterious names of deities, and the Chinese emperor's original name is suspended over all his subjects, inviolable and unapproachable during his reign, while he is designated by some other appellation.[2] But this God of the ancient community, though men feared his name above all things, and desired utterly to surrender themselves to him in deepest awe, was in reality ever retiring further and further from them, into a mysterious distance; and while they were restrained by their scruples from looking into his face or calling upon him by his true name, they were really losing him more and more, so undesigned was this most significant of all the signs of Israel's last great era! As the name of the people changes with each of the three great stages of its history,[3] and each name may serve as a brief symbol of the whole essence of the special era to which it belongs, so it is to a still greater extent with the name of God; and nothing is more significant than that the simple but sublime *Jahveh* should be succeeded by the splendid *Jahveh of Hosts*, together with the very free use of Jahveh, and this, again, finally by a blank. But this practice of avoiding the highest conceivable name of the true religion, when it had acquired the force of law, gradually fostered the most artificial ways of thinking and speaking of God, as though it were impossible, at least for human language, to find any name fully worthy of being used as an adequate designation of the Unspeakable.[4] Nor was this all; it also produced many kinds of superstition, especially the prevalent belief that it was possible to work miracles[5] by the bold utterance of the mysterious heavenly name, the probable sound of which it would still be easy to imitate. These tendencies, no doubt, only reached their further development in the following centuries, but their ultimate source lies hidden here.

Now, when the believer thus endeavours himself to fulfil the whole of the sacred law, and yet sees the less conscientious, or

[1] See Comm. on Rev. ii. 27.

[2] See Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. ii. p. 6 seq.

[3] Hebrews, Israel, Judeans; on the other hand the name of *Jews* is more appropriately bestowed on the nation after Christ, or, later still, after the war of Hadrian.

[4] As in the circumlocution of Rev. i. 4; see vol. vii. p. 113 [Germ.], and *Die Johanneischen Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 108 sq.

[5] Certain Gnostics seriously believed that some miraculous power was to be found in sounds such as Iao, Hieo, Iae; and so did the author of the Greek *Testamentum Salomonis* (in Ilgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1844, vol. iii. p. 45).

even those who are absolutely hostile to it, prospering, it would naturally depend entirely upon his disposition and circumstances whether he burst into indignant wrath against them and cursed or chastised them severely, according as they were beyond or within his power, as we have seen Nehemiah doing,[1] or whether, on the other hand, he was led to entertain doubts of his own conduct and to fall into a sullen, or even, as far as the distinction between good and evil is concerned, into an indifferent state of judgment and action. Indeed, we see this half sullen, half indifferent life increase to a dangerous extent among the members of the new community before the Persian age is over, so that Malachi cannot raise his prophetic voice high enough in denunciation of it;[2] and Koheleth writes his book of sayings with the special object of rather reminding a generation growing in discontent and sullenness of the joys of life, as well as of the duty, in all fear of God, of thankfully enjoying life itself as a divine gift.[3] In this respect, the book of Koheleth is the first of its kind, and the inference suggests itself that the people which has to be thus admonished on the enjoyment of life must be growing old already, or that, at least, in spite of its last great change, it is not willing completely to renew its youth again.

3. Finally, this same obscure feeling of discontent might receive the most formidable accretion from an entirely new and unexpected source. The hagiocracy arose on the basis of the great book of the law, and it was, in consequence, logically driven back towards the primitive condition of the ancient community. Indeed, the renovation of the true religion, which is, strictly speaking, the last and highest effort of this third era, could not fail, if it were but profound enough, to involve a return to those fundamental truths which had been enunciated in the first instance, and to the spirit which had once been revealed in all its power through them. But since the hagiocracy laid down as its special foundation the book of the law alone, and did so because there were no old sacred laws and ordinances expressly prescribed anywhere else, it was ever more and more inclined to leap over the whole intermediate development of the second era, which we may call the prophetic, on account of the great prophets who then stood by the side of the kings. This great movement had certainly not yet been brought to a full and clear conclusion, nor established an entirely new

[1] Neh. iii. 36–38 [iv. 4–6], and vi. 14; and under the other aspect, xiii. 25.

[2] Mal. ii. 17, iii. 13–18.

[3] See the *Dichter des A. Bs.* pt. ii. p. 275, 2nd ed.

basis of life, simply because it had been violently broken off by the destruction of Jerusalem. In many respects, however, it towered far above the primitive condition of the community in the first era; and many golden grains had already found their way from its spiritual treasures into the great book of the law itself, though not to such an extent as completely to remove the defects of the ancient order. The fact, therefore, that the hagiocracy depended immediately on this great book of the law alone, rendered it easy for it to take a reactionary direction, the consequences of which might be very dangerous. It concealed behind itself nothing less than the ancient theocracy, in the form under which it was described and aspired after as a national blessing in the great book of the law, the very letter of which was now considered sacred. Thus, in proportion to the logical consistency with which it developed and confirmed itself, it must constantly feel impelled to return to the primitive national constitution; and indeed, even in its imperial and national relations, the community strove in its latest period to recur to its earliest state, as it found it set forth in the sacred law. Thus it followed the lead of the ancient theocracy in endeavouring more effectually to close its ranks externally against the heathens and semi-heathens, a principle which also harmonised completely with the scrupulous character which was becoming prominent in it, and of which we have already seen an instance,[1] immediately after the foundation of the new Jerusalem, in the treatment of the Samaritans. This, as one of the first important events of the new community, making a great rent in the religious and national relations of the holy land itself, became a precedent for all the future. We find then a constant imposition of fresh national limitations upon religion at the very time when it ought, on the contrary, to be throwing them off more and more, rising above all lower difficulties and doubts, and victoriously extending itself through the whole wide world. Indeed the ancient theocracy which lay here concealed, simply endured the foreign supremacy as long as it was inevitable, but could by no means be reconciled with it, since the Messianic hopes could never again be quite extinguished, but necessarily tended to break out into more abundant blossom at every time of external oppression. The first disturbances which sprang from these causes were speedily followed, it is true, by a long period of tranquillity under the Persian supremacy;[2] but though Ezra genuinely submitted

[1] P. 103 sqq. [2] P. 122 sqq.

himself to it, and exhorted all his contemporaries to acknowledge its benefits, yet, at the same time, he considered it due alone to the sins of the people that they had been made the slaves of the stranger;[1] and he therefore hoped in his inmost heart that by-and-by the relation might be again reversed. And so, in the times which succeeded Ezra's, when the Persian empire kept losing in prestige and internal strength,[2] when the rule of the satraps became more and more arbitrary and pernicious, and Palestine especially had much to suffer from the protracted and devastating wars between the Persians and the Egyptians, whose craving for independence could never be stilled, we find in the book of Koheleth expressions of profound dissatisfaction with the external supremacy, which the sage author can only attempt laboriously to smooth down.[3] The events and the religion of its primitive history had strengthened the nation in a hatred of arbitrary despotism; and at this very moment the hagiocracy was endeavouring to restore it to that position which it had occupied a thousand years before.

In all this lay just so many germs of dissolution, threatening this form of constitution and government also, as soon as it should begin to rise in power and to unfold its specific genius. It is true indeed that the beneficial tendencies and germs of the hagiocracy were far more powerful, and that this whole stage of the history is occupied with their growing ascendency, but still we shall see the others constantly returning under more and more highly developed forms. We are now sufficiently prepared to form at once a correct estimate of the general results of this period.

D. THE ISSUE OF THE PERSIAN EPOCH.

About this time of transition, it is true, we only possess very scanty and obscure information; and, indeed, at this point we come upon an interval of nearly two hundred years of which our knowledge is very slender and disconnected. The age of Ezra and Nehemiah falls between the antiquity proper of the nation and the fully-developed hagiocracy in which the

[1] Ezr. ix. 7–9, Neh. ix. 36 sq.; similarly Bar. i. 11–13, iv. 6 sqq., and elsewhere.

[2] This is nowhere described more vividly or intelligibly than by Xenophon at the end of the same book which is intended to glorify Cyrus and the noble early history of his empire, *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 2 sqq.

[3] See the *Dichter des. A. Bs.* pt. ii., p. 271 sq. 2nd ed.

sun of its long course was finally to sink for ever, but it has preserved for us the last records which give us the most trustworthy insight into the activity of these noble individuals and the condition of their time; and they supply the last proof that great epochs always produce and preserve testimonies to their own glory as splendid as themselves.

This much, however, we know with certainty, that in Judea the peaceful and prosperous co-operation with the Persian supremacy which had become the true basis of the external rise and progress of the new kingdom of Jahveh at Jerusalem, was at last most profoundly disturbed. The indications above mentioned in the book of Koheleth have already prepared us to expect that all the accumulated dissatisfaction with the Persian supremacy would at last break out under various forms; and certain obscure traditions, here and there preserved, imply that this really took place. These considerations bring us unavoidably to the closer examination of an institution which now rises into fresh relations and is henceforth of the utmost importance for all the remaining course of the history, almost down to its very end.

I. The Rise and Character of the High-Priestly Power under the Hagiocracy.

The high-priestly power in Israel was perfectly legitimate and indispensable. It was rendered so not only by ancient tradition but also, under the hagiocracy, in accordance with the spirit of the age, by the support conferred on it, in common with everything relating to the priesthood, the sanctuary, and religion, by the sacred book of law and the inferences now drawn from it. Intended originally simply to knit the priestly tribe firmly together and to provide for the performance of certain high offices in the sacred ceremonial, the high-priesthood, in virtue of its inheritance by the right of primogeniture, had in early times become a powerful support and pillar at first of the lofty edifice of the sacred objects, and then, by its means, of the whole community of the people of the true religion. In the pre-monarchical times of Israel, when the other supreme powers were relaxed, it stepped into their place from time to time as the leader of the whole nation;[1] and then in the separate kingdom of Judah, after the disruption of the old kingdom, it was most eminently favourable to the unbroken maintenance

[1] Vol. ii. p. 312 sq., 408 sqq.

at least of the sacred objects of the people and the priestly life of the old religion through every change in kingly government. The glory of ancient sanctity and high deserts from a hoary antiquity downwards, intensified now by a great book of sacred law, cast a glow upon the whole Levitic priesthood, but especially upon the office of the high-priest, at the time of the destruction of the Davidic kingdom. From the position which it then occupied, the true religion could not yet quite free itself from the tutelage of the Levitical priesthood, although, with the support it had derived from it for a thousand years, it had learned long before to move with growing freedom. True prophecy, however, had already begun to look forward to its complete release,[1] and only lamented the profound indignities which the chief-priests experienced at the hands of the heathen,[2] as though for a sign that they too knew how to suffer for the true religion. And, indeed, we have already[3] noticed what benefits resulted from the fact that so many priests felt themselves moved by their birth and their ancient privileges to contribute everything they could to the foundation of the new Jerusalem, so that it is doubtful indeed whether it could have risen again from its ruins at all without their burning zeal. But in the high-priest and in the firm establishment of his supremacy over every visible expression of the holy, this new Jerusalem now found its firmest and most inalienable support against the heathen power. This fact could not fail to be soon demonstrated by experience, and remained henceforth unshaken, as we have already observed,[4] through all the subsequent changes of heathen supremacy. But the necessity which compelled the hagiocracy[5] to rest on the ancient priesthood, and the readiness with which the priesthood recognised in it a powerful means of exalting its own strength, which, at the beginning of this period, had been so miserably impaired, tended to unite the high-priestly power more closely with the hagiocracy, till it became one of its most powerful instruments, and then learned in its turn to make the hagiocracy a source of prestige and power to itself not easily to be exhausted.

When once, however, the hagiocracy is firmly established, as it was now among the people of Israel, it may succeed in maintaining in the lower classes for a considerable time a certain uniform culture of religion and morals; but its intrinsic hollowness will speedily be disclosed in the higher ranks, and its in-

[1] Is. lxvi. 21; cf. above p. 26.
[2] Cf. above, p. 6.
[3] P. 84.
[4] P. 122 sqq.
[5] Pp. 175 sq.

fluence may be most prejudicial where its life has taken its deepest root. We have already seen[1] what vexation Nehemiah had to endure in his strife with the selfishness and shallowness of many of the nobles of his day in Jerusalem; and, by the time of Malachi, the avarice of many of the priests had developed to a most culpable extent.[2] On the high-priest of his later years Nehemiah was compelled to inflict a rebuke for a grave transgression,[3] and it can surprise no one that during the growing dissolution of the Persian empire the high-priestly house rapidly rose in power, but at the same time fell into the danger of the deepest moral degeneration.

Josephus relates[4] that the high-priest John, grandson of Eliashib,[5] who lived under Nehemiah, murdered his own brother Jesus (Joshua) during a ceremony in the Temple, in consequence of a promise made to the latter, in mere friendship, by a Persian general named Bagôsês, to promote him to the high-priesthood. In reliance upon this, so he alleged, his brother had provoked him to a quarrel. The result was that Bagôsês zealously took up the cause of his murdered friend, bitterly reproached the Judeans with the enormity of such a murder committed in the very sanctuary, made his way in spite of every dissuasion into the sanctuary, affirming that he was at any rate cleaner than a murdered corpse, and laid on the country for seven years the burden of paying fifty drachmæ for every lamb offered as the law directed in the daily sacrifice.[6] This case presents us with the first clear indication of the ruinous discord of the high-priestly house. Like a worm, it ate its way into the whole institution; and we shall find it spreading further and further during the Greek supremacy towards its destruction. The succession by primogeniture brought to the high-priesthood the same advantages of a continuous development which it secures to every princely dignity, but it also tended to make those who were called to the office, whether by near or distant ties, far too lax. We have already seen that Eliashib was by no means a pattern for his age.[7] And the same cause provoked a state of dissension between the actual occupant and his expectant successor, which readily led under a foreign despotism to the most frightful crimes.

[1] P. 160.
[2] Pp. 173 sq.
[3] P. 159 sq.
[4] *Ant.* xi. 7, 1.
[5] This name John is fixed by Neh. xii. 22 sq.; the name Jonathan in ver. 11 rests on an error, see p. 123, *note* 1. The Johanan, son of Eliashib, Ezr. x. 6, who must have lived much earlier, is only known to us by the fact that he had founded a hall in the new temple, which was called by his name.
[6] See the *Alterth.* p. 132.
[7] P. 159.

Whether this event took place under Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), or Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), cannot be determined with certainty from the words of Josephus as they stand.[1] We shall, however, find the son of John, Jaddûa, high-priest and advanced in years at the conquest of Alexander, and this might warrant us in fixing on Artaxerxes II., especially if John himself was (as is probable) still young at the time of the murder. So far as our present knowledge goes, at any rate, we may affirm that this event must not be confounded with the dangerous insurrection against Ochus, which terminated with the destruction of Jericho, and the deportation of a number of Judeans to Hyrcania. Of this Josephus says not one word; and the accounts of it preserved elsewhere[2] are extremely scanty, a deficiency which is fully explained by its disastrous consequences. This probably led to the union of a strong party of Judeans with the Phœnicians and Cyprians, who, about the years 358–356 B.C., in alliance with Egypt and King Nectanebus, endeavoured permanently to shake off the Persian yoke.—Soon afterwards Ochus once more subdued Egypt; and quite possibly it was at this time that the numerous captive Judeans were compulsorily removed to Egypt, of whom, however, nothing but obscure traditions remain.[3]

II. The Books of Baruch and Tobit.

The new government of the hagiocracy in Jerusalem was, then, seriously tottering already, after an existence of little more than a century and a half, during which it had had the opportunity of establishing itself more firmly. But, even in its wide dispersion, the nation still retained too much of the

[1] The reading *Ochus Artaxerxes*, which is adopted in a recent edition, rests on a mere conjecture of Scaliger. It might further be conjectured that the general Bagôsês was identical with the well known eunuch Bagoas, who was all-powerful under Ochus; but this receives no further confirmation: elsewhere Josephus distinguishes between the two names.

[2] These are the very brief narratives in Eus. *Chron.* ii. p. 221, and G. Syncellus, *Chron.* i. p. 486, the equally sketchy and condensed account in Solinus, *Memorab.* or *Polyhist.* cap. 35, and that in Orosius, *Hist.* iii. 7. Of these the last sounds the most circumstantial; and the war here referred to as being carried on at the same time against the Phœnicians, who had been treated by Ochus with the greatest cruelty, as well as that against the Cyprians, is described with great minuteness by Diodorus, *Hist.* xvi. 40–45. For the rest Eusebius places this deportation to Hyrcania many years earlier than the conquest of Egypt, which is probably correct; and the Romans there named, together with the Judeans, may originally have been Idumeans.

[3] In the book of Aristeas, at the end of Haverkamp's edition of Josephus, vol. ii. p. 103 sq. Hecatæus also speaks in general terms of ill-treatment endured by the Judeans at the hands of the Persian satraps and kings. See Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 456.

healthy spirit which had come down from the grand old times of the great prophets to allow the secret corruption which the hagiocracy carried in its core to develope itself so soon in full. Nay, the dispersion of the people of the true religion still proved salutary to it. The hagiocracy in Jerusalem might tend to dangerous disturbances, but it was by no means so rigidly organised, or so supreme over all other forces, as to prevent healthier endeavours and simple reverence from maintaining themselves in more distant circles, and even reacting with moderating influences on the central locality. This is most clearly shown by a work belonging to this period.

The little book of Baruch, which is now found in the Greek Bibles associated with the great book of Jeremiah, was probably written at the time of dangerous risings against the Persians. The Judeans in Babylon certainly held aloof from the disturbances of their fellow-countrymen in the holy land; and the book of Baruch has all the appearance of having proceeded from men who, while filled with the most lively Messianic hopes, and zealously desiring a divine deliverance of Jerusalem (i.e. of the community of Israel) from the yoke of foreign nations, nevertheless severely discountenanced self-willed and inconsiderate revolts. It was known that Jeremiah[1] had formerly required similar prudence from the Babylonian Judeans; and it accordingly seemed expedient to the author to introduce his assistant Baruch, who was supposed to have been in Babylon on a commission from his master,[2] as despatching to the community in the holy land a letter, which, though drawn up by him, had been approved by the whole Babylonian community. This communication carries out further the view which Jeremiah himself might have entertained on the matter in question. For the sake of outward keeping it refers exclusively to similar circumstances under the Chaldeans, but in its true application and its main portion[3] it is perfectly suitable to the existing relations with Persia. Loyal to the king and his house, the community in the holy land should freely confess its deep repentance in prayer to God.[4] Not till then can it again

[1] Jer. xxix.

[2] The date in Bar. i. 1 sq., cf. ver. 8 (in ver. 8 the month referred to in ver. 2 is designated more particularly), is certainly intended to agree with what is supposed (and not unsuitably) to be the date of Jer. xxix. As a more exact explanation of the occasion of this visit to Babylon, it is stated that Baruch was to have brought back to Jerusalem the patterns of the golden vessels of the temple which had been carried away, with silver for their restoration. This at least must be the meaning lying in vv. 8–10, although the original words in this as in other passages have only been very imperfectly rendered in the Greek translation. But the whole historical introduction, vv. 1–10, shows that the book cannot have been written till long after Baruch.

[3] From i. 15 to the end.

[4] i. 15–iii. 8.

understand with edification the sermon of life, and grasp the fact that as the people of God it already possesses all true wisdom, and with this, if it will only use it aright, all true salvation;[1] now, what lamentation rises from Jerusalem (i.e. the true community of God) for the present misery of its separate members,—Jerusalem, whose Messianic salvation will nevertheless be assuredly complete at last![2] This little book, thus compact in itself, is no unworthy echo of the old prophetic voices. It contains many thoughts powerfully conceived in the spirit of the past; but the special feature in which it shows itself worthy of the age immediately succeeding Ezra's lofty labours, is the view which it expresses of the sacred law. This wears the appearance of full creative originality. The law is the final manifestation on earth of the wisdom of God himself, which has taken a sort of bodily form, bestowing life and salvation on all who keep it.[3] This constitutes a totally new combination of the older representation of wisdom as the revelation of God in the world[4] with the deep veneration for the law which had recently arisen, and provides us with one of the principal reasons for not placing the composition of the book at an earlier date.[5] But, on the other hand, there are many clear marks that it cannot be later.[6] That the purport of the whole composition was directed far more to the country communities in Palestine comes out quite prominently towards its close.[7]—Considerably later, an unknown writer, apparently desirous to

[1] Bar. iii. 9–iv. 9.

[2] From ἀκούσατε, iv. 9, to the end. In this discourse, which rises towards the conclusion into quite prophetic style, four strophes of equal length may be clearly distinguished, iv. 9–18, 19–29, 30–37, v. 1–9. In the three divisions of its own contents, the whole book thus supplies a type of the contemporary worship in the house of prayer: first prayer, next preaching, and, lastly, a more elevated prophetic close.

[3] This is the purport of iii. 35–iv. 1.

[4] Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. i. p. 98 sqq.

[5] Even Ps. cxix., which in other respects is very similar (p. 172), does not contain this representation.

[6] In many passages the Greek translation corresponds so imperfectly with the original as to show that the latter must have been by that time tolerably old; and, further, the books of Jeremiah and Baruch have evidently been translated by the same person (it is sufficient to compare the use of the words βαδίζω μαννά for μαναά, ἀποστολή, χαρμοσύνη, γαυρίαμα, δεσμώτης); he therefore found the book already closely united with that of Jeremiah. Besides this, the author of the book of Daniel had read the book, and moreover in Hebrew, probably also in the same connection with the book of Jeremiah. The words of the prayer in Dan. ix. 4–19 are in substance only a reproduction of Bar. i. 15–ii. 17 for the most part in an abbreviated form; and while in Daniel this prayer is only subsidiary, so as to lead up to something more important, it is the chief feature in Baruch. The quotations from the Pentateuch also, ii. 2 sq., 28–35, are very free, and not drawn from the LXX. The last, however, is so peculiar that it might almost recall the commencement of the book of Jubilees; cf., however, the similar cases in vol. i. p. 191. Further, compare the *Jahrbb der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. iv. p. 77 sq., vi. p. 113.

[7] Cf. iv. 8, and the address to the αἱ πάροικοι Σιών, i.e. the country communities iv. 9–24.

supplement this address to Judeans, composed an epistle of Baruch to the Ten Tribes. In a style of rhetorical prolixity, and with little depth of meaning, it exhorts them with special fervour to patience and repentance in the fear of Hell; and its language about the transitory nature of the world sounds quite Christian. Although it nowhere clearly alludes to Christianity in any way, it was certainly composed in Christian times.[1]

To this period we may appropriately assign the book of Tobit also, which appears to have arisen, like the book of Baruch, among the Judeans in the East, and is probably not much later. Its origin in the remote East is indicated not merely by the accurate knowledge of the scene of its story,[2] and the use of proper names that were only native there,[3] but also by the ultimate object of the work itself. This is nothing else than to recommend to the confessors of the true religion scattered in foreign countries and at vast distances from Jerusalem, not only the performance of their religious duties, but also in particular the maintenance of the closest connection with Jerusalem and its temple as a sacred obligation. In brief, the little book contains an energetic summons to glorify the true God 'among and before the heathen.'[4] For the vivid portrayal of this truth, the author chooses suitable representatives from the past. In the general design and execution, the book of Job is already before his mind as his model, and he accordingly shapes the forms which seemed necessary for his purpose with far greater freedom, and avails himself fully of the new-born possibility[5] of perfect epic art. Accordingly he sets up a great hero of this truth in Tobit, a man whose very name, *Goodness*, immediately betrays his real nature. It is the peculiarity of the conception of the true religion entertained by this writer that, so far as its intrinsic human character is concerned, he places

[1] This production is now found only among the Syrians, and is known by them as 1 Bar.; printed in the Paris and London *Polyglots*.

[2] From Tob. vi. 1 it might seem that the author did not know that the ancient Nineveh lay on the left bank of the Tigris; but at his time the old city had been long ago destroyed, and we may suppose with much probability that the residence of the author far to the east in Media prevented him from being exactly acquainted with the precise situation of the ancient Nineveh. That the name Tigris signified *river* in general, and is consequently not to be interpreted here in too definite a meaning, cannot at any rate be proved from Herod. v. 52 (where the name Ζάβατος has fallen out between τρίτος and ὠυτός); and although Nineveh reappears as late as the Middle Ages (see Wakedii *Lib. de Mesopot. exp.* p. xxii.), yet the *Anabasis* proves that at the time when our book was written the name was not in use.

[3] Such as that of the evil spirit Asmodeus, iii. 8 sqq., whose name was derived from the Zend *Ashĕmaŏgha* or *Aeshmaogha*, see the Vêndidâd, ix. 188, 193, x. 23; Bundehesh, xxiii. What perverse opinions are still maintained on this subject may be seen from the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. viii. p. 181 sq.

[4] See the principal passages, xiii. 3, 5 sq., compared with i. 4–8, v. 13.

[5] P. 183 sq.

it in goodness of thought and conduct, and represents it as only perfected in unwearied beneficence. He regards prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and justice, as the four great virtues,[1] but the foundation of them all is love and goodness. Tobit, however, was compelled to look for some securely-established place on earth as the divine shelter and protection of the true religion. For this end, although an inhabitant of the disloyal kingdom of the Ten Tribes, belonging to the northern tribe of Naphtali, he nevertheless continually directed (so it is related) all his affections towards the sanctuary in Jerusalem. With the utmost readiness he observed all the duties there required, and even when he was carried away captive by Shalmaneser to Nineveh, together with many of his countrymen, under the most depressing sufferings and the changes of a series of rulers of most various characters down to the times of Esarhaddon, he never ceased through every vicissitude to maintain the most spotless goodness. But though this goodness never allows itself to be bent by the most diverse trials, the despair of his wife almost reduces him to despair as well, and he finds relief only in fervent prayer. As in the book of Job, the wife of Tobit plays much the same part of contrast, but only so far as is compatible with the limits of the tender and truly child-like spirit which breathes through this poetic composition. In the meantime, by the side of this man of tried fidelity there rise two younger figures, into which his greatness and glory may pass if they strive to become like him. One is his son, named Tobias[2] (Tobijah, i.e. the good one of God); the other, at a far distant place, is a maiden named Sara, who, like Tobit, innocently suffers the bitterest persecutions at the hands of men, and from the depths of her distress calls aloud to God.

[1] According to xii. 8; the essence of goodness, on the other hand, is most briefly expressed in the words ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς, iv. 15. There is no reason whatever for deriving this from Matt. vii. 12, since all anticipations shine like sparks in the Old Testament, and to this it must be added that the scope of the goodness which is here required only extends to co-religionists. The maxim ἃ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν is an old Jewish maxim, according to Philo (quoted in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 7, 6); Hillêl had a similar one (see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. x. p. 71) according to the Gemara to *Shabbâth* 31*a*; and similar precepts are enunciated not only by Greeks like Isocrates and Menander (see the *Jahrbb.*, loc. cit., and Land's *Anecdota Syr.* vol. i. p. 69, 13), but also in Kung tsö's *Tschung jung*, xiii. 3. But it cannot be maintained that the four cardinal virtues were set up out of conscious opposition to the four proclaimed by the Greek philosophers from Plato onwards (which will be discussed hereafter), since the book under consideration nowhere contains the remotest hint of such a contrast.—Moreover, the narrative in Tob. i. 10 sq. is much simpler than the similar one in Dan. i. 8 sq.

[2] In many MSS. the father also is named Tobias, and the book after him. The origin of this confusion is very easy to understand, and it ought to be entirely avoided. I have called the book Tobit throughout.

At the same moment, however, that they are both endeavouring to strengthen their panting souls in prayer, their requests are already granted. Raphael is sent in human form as the genial companion of Tobias; he arranges a marriage between the two young people, and proves at the same time the great deliverer of all out of every trouble; until at length he is obliged to make himself known, and then he disappears amid their united blessings. This is the framework of the elevated (i.e. divine) representation. The description of the circumstances, though in many cases only sketched in slight outlines, is nevertheless everywhere animated by the true breath of poesy. The delineation of Raphael, in particular, is of great beauty, in so far as he, having once assumed human form, behaves exactly like a noble-minded man, and achieves the highest and divinest purposes with human means, as though he were really nothing more than man.[1] It is impossible to form any conception of the religion of the Old Testament and its effect on life more gentle and genial, more child-like and domestic, than that presented in this little work. It exhibits a final glorification of many of the most beautiful and profound elements in the Old Testament, and as an instance of poetic art it shows us for the first time the perfect Epos, though some of its details are worked up no higher than the Idyllic form. For sublimity and power of pure thought, as well as for the satisfactory and complete working out of its ideas, it is certainly separated from the book of Job by an interval as wide as that which parts the ages in which they were respectively produced. It only displays a pleasing neatness and gratifying warmth in the carrying out of minor thoughts and purposes. In this it resembles the book of Ruth,[2] and it serves in the same way to prove how triumphantly and nobly the religion of the Old Testament, when compelled to retire more and more from a position of great public influence on the people and the state, still maintained itself in the private tranquillity and the indestructible sanctuary of the home, and rose here to its purest glory as the cherished religion of the heart. Moreover the complete suppression of all mention and praise of the law is as great a departure from the prevailing usage of the time as it is gratifying and instructive; it proves that the true religion can live without boasting of the sacred letter. But the outlook to

[1] It must not, however, be supposed that this was in any way an imitation of the conception of Athênê in the Odyssey; on the other hand, the original idea was already implied in passages like Gen. xviii. sq.

[2] Vol. i. p. 154 sq.

Jerusalem as the great eternal sanctuary far away reappears as a last sublime prospect. This forms in fact the proper conclusion to the book;[1] and as the poet keeps up with a firm hand the description of his hero as living in the Assyrian captivity before the first destruction of Jerusalem, he is able, in the prophecy of the dying Tobit about the glorification which is to be expected after its fall, to quicken at the same time many of the Messianic hopes of his own day.—This book, then, together with that already analysed, constitutes the fairest monument of the spirit of the Judeans in the distant east during those centuries,[2] and, as a picture of the life and activity of many of the better-minded among them, possesses a peculiar importance. Produced somewhere in those remote countries, it certainly remained there a considerable time without becoming much known in the west, until, in the course of the last century B.C., or even later still, it was translated from the semi-Hebrew in which it was written into Greek.[3] No sooner was this done than it found many readers, and, like all popular books, was speedily diffused in very different forms. In particular it was, in numerous manuscripts, more or less abridged, until at length, after the original text had been lost, it was translated back again into Hebrew as into other languages.[4] That a work produced at that period among the Judeans of the east blossomed into many not dissimilar compositions may be concluded with certainty from its own words;[5] but how much of

[1] Tob. xiii., and again in xiv. 1–6.

[2] The exact contrast to this is supplied by southern Egypt, into the deserts of which the evil spirits were to be banished, Tob. viii. 3.—The Median Rages, iv. 1, the ruins of which are still visible at this day near Teherân, and bear the name of *Rái*, is said by Strabo, *Geogr.* xi. 13, 6, to have been founded by Seleucus I.; but that it was in existence much earlier is clear from the Vêndîdâd, i. 10, the great cuneiform inscriptions of Behistun, ii. 13, iii. 1, and Arrian, *Hist.* iii. 20.

[3] No doubt the Greek usage in passages like viii. 6, ii. 6, xiii. 17 sq., points with some force to the LXX., but we can only infer from this that the Greek translation of many of the books was already well known to the translator, not that the original language of the book was Greek. In fact, the Greek translation of this book is almost too literal, and is frequently unintelligible without knowledge of the later Hebrew: and many passages quoted from the Old Testament sound quite differently from what they do in the LXX.

[4] The Greek text now most widely adopted has larger and smaller hiatuses in many passages which might be supplied from old retranslations; and a new edition of the whole book is much to be desired.

[5] The long sentence in xiv. 10 contains an allusion to a similar production of earlier date on Haman and Achiachar; and though the name and conception of the wicked Haman occur again at any rate in the book of Esther, yet of Achiachar, who is here made the relative and protector of Tobit, we know absolutely nothing further, although the indications in i 21 sq., ii. 10 (where ἐτροφεύθη is to be read), imply that many and important facts about him were narrated elsewhere. The name should probably be spelt אַחִיעָבָר, and sounds quite historical.—These traces, in particular, render it probable that the book of Tobit is older than that of Esther. The author certainly had before him the whole of our present collection of the prophets (including the book of Jonah) and the Psalter; but there is no

his materials our poet may have drawn from the domestic histories of the Israelite families, we can no longer determine in detail, and where the leading personages are pure creations of the imagination it is a matter of comparative indifference.—Both books, however, are memorable in so far as they supply us with the latest testimonies to the spirit of the true religion in those regions of the east where Nahum, Ezekiel, and many another real prophet, had once laboured.

III. The Temple on Gerîzîm—The Expedition of Alexander.

There were now in Jerusalem itself, and probably also in Samaria, which was always closely dependent on the destinies of Phœnicia, two parties formed, corresponding to the division which, as we have already seen,[1] had already taken place in Phœnicia. One of these, although for the moment cast violently to the ground by the Persian supremacy, never surrendered its secret aversion towards it, and hoped for fresh and more prosperous times; the other, after the last great Persian victory, was all the more scrupulous in its obedience. Before, however, investigating this state of things more closely, at the time of the conquest of Alexander, we must not fail to notice another important occurrence, viz. the building of the Temple of the Samaritans.

These two events are connected together by the narrative in Josephus,[2] the age of which has been already discussed,[3] in the following manner. The son of the high-priest John, Jaddûa, who died at an advanced age soon after the victorious expedition of Alexander, had had a brother named Manasseh, to whom the Persian governor of Samaria, Sanballat, had given his daughter Nicaso in marriage. The elders of Jerusalem, however, faithfully representing the views of their fellow-citizens,

proof that he wrote later than in the fourth century. The payment of the second and third tithes, on which he lays stress, p. 196 *note* 2, was, it is true, a subject of much dispute in Palestine even at the time of Christ, but in the east, where the schools of law flourished at an early period, it may have become so already at a much earlier date. It is unreasonable enough for Windischmann, in the *Zoroastrischen Studien*, p. 169 sq., to derive the book of Tobit from the seventh century, and interpret it in a coarse historical sense; but, on the other hand, it is equally perverse to place this and the book of Baruch in still later times.

[1] P. 206.

[2] *Ant.* xi. 7, 2, c. 8, cf. xiii. 9, 1, and other passages, in which Josephus always repeats the same statement. Similar to this is the Greek narrative in the spurious Kallisthenes, printed in C. Müller's appendix to Dübner's Arrian (Paris, published by Didot, 1846), cap. 24, p. 82 sq. Cf. Gemara to חמיר *ad fin.*

[3] P. 48 *note* 1.

demanded the dissolution of this mixed marriage. Jaddûa, as high-priest, declared against his brother, who in consequence fled to Samaria to his father-in-law. He was accompanied by many other priests and citizens of Judea who were involved in similar marriages and did not wish to renounce them. All these fugitives were well received by Sanballat. He supported them by assignments of land in Samaria and by other means, and from love for Manasseh and his offspring, as well as at the zealous instigation of this apostate priest, resolved to ask Darius Codomannus for permission to build a temple for the Samaritans alone on Mount Gerîzîm, near Shechem. At the same time Darius III. marched against Alexander at the passes of the Taurus. Sanballat, accordingly, resolved to lay his request before him when he should return, as it was hoped, victorious over Alexander. But when, on the contrary, Alexander proved the conqueror, and advanced against Syria, laid siege to Tyre, and, while this was going on, in vain summoned the high-priest in Jerusalem to revolt from Darius, Sanballat met him with submission and an auxiliary force of 8000 Samaritans, and secured from him the concession of the separate temple on Gerîzîm, maintaining that 'it would be also advantageous to the king for the whole of the ancient people of Israel not to be united and of one accord.' Not long afterwards the crafty Sanballat died. After Tyre and Gaza had been reduced, Alexander followed up his former threat, and advanced against Jerusalem to punish it for its previous refusal. The high-priest, however, encouraged and instructed by a vision in the temple, arrayed himself in all his splendour, and calmly took up his post, accompanied by the priests in their white linen robes and the rest of the people in white garments, on the heights of Sapha.[1] This extraordinary reception, its sacred aspect, and in particular the figure of the high-priest, which seemed to him like a heavenly vision of strange memory, so moved Alexander to adoration, in spite of the dissuasions of Parmenio and others of his nobles, that he sacrificed in the temple in accordance with the instructions of the high-priest, gladly listened to the interpretation of the prophecy concerning him out of the book of Daniel, and conceded all the ancient immunities of the Judeans (especially the exemption from taxes in the sabbatical year), allowing them to extend even to those

[1] According to the indications here given this lay south-west of Jerusalem, towards Gaza. It would be difficult to prove this place in the form צָפָה, identical with מִצְפָּה, i.e. the Skopus north of Jerusalem, vol. vi. p. 589 [Germ.]; the confusion would at least be a violent one.

who were dispersed in the east, upon which many offered to serve in his army. The Samaritans, whose numbers had constantly been increased by deserters who were unwilling to accommodate themselves to the more rigid laws enforced in Jerusalem about the Sabbath and other practices, and who were in the habit of giving themselves out either as Hebrews or Sidonians (i.e. heathen) as best served their immediate interests, were now desirous, on the arrival of Alexander, of being included among the Judeans, in order to obtain the same liberties. By his pointed questions, however, the Macedonian detected their deception; but he could not now withdraw the permission which he had already given them for the erection of the temple.

The whole tone of this narrative is obviously highly unhistorical.[1] Moreover, it is easy to detect the two constituents, originally totally distinct, by the combination of which it was finally moulded into its present form.

The Persian governor in Samaria is unquestionably the same Sanballat whom we have already seen in the full historical light of the days of Nehemiah.[2] Nehemiah, moreover, mentions quite cursorily in his memoir that he had expelled a grandson of the high-priest Eliashib, then in office, on account of his having married into the family of Sanballat,[3] and this great movement, by which a person in the position of Eliashib's grandson and many others who resisted the strictness just introduced were expelled, and the new Jerusalem fully cleansed from all the elements irreconcilable with such strictness, could not have found a place in the general historical development, except in the age of Ezra and Nehemiah. As Nehemiah does not mention the circumstance till just at the last, it probably did not occur till the reign of Darius II. (Nothus), for whom, therefore, it was all the more easy at a subsequent date to substitute Darius III.

In other respects, however, these later traditions are in sufficient harmony with the brief record of Nehemiah to give us, in combination with other facts, a clear picture of the origin of

[1] Thus, for instance, Alexander was represented as having marched back from Gaza to Jerusalem, and even to Shechem, though from Gaza the way lay open to him direct to Egypt. The only digression of Alexander from the Tyrian coast related by the Greeks is that against the Arabic populations on the Lebanon (Arrian, ii. 20, Plut. *Alex.* cap. 134 sq.). That he should have left the centre of Palestine and the north-west of Arabia unsubdued after first reducing Tyre and then Gaza is certainly improbable; but he could easily have subdued it by his subordinates, especially if these countries showed no great symptoms of hostility.

[2] P. 153 sqq.

[3] Neh. xiii. 28. According to this, Manasseh was not a son but a brother of John; not to be confounded, therefore, with the Jesus *already* mentioned, p. 205.

the peculiar state of things in Samaria. From the time when the mixed inhabitants of Samaria were forbidden to co-operate in the establishment of the new temple at Jerusalem,[1] it was inevitable that their wish to take a closer part in the religion of Jahveh should either disappear altogether or should grow in intensity until they could rival the proud Judeans. It is, indeed, a remarkable sign of the inward truth and power of this religion, which was by this time so old, that the love of it even among this hybrid population, in spite of the bitter unfriendliness displayed by Jerusalem, became stronger and stronger as time advanced, and obliterated the traces of heathenism more and more completely. Certainly the only way in which this was practically possible was through the settlement among the Samaritans of a number of respectable Judeans, carrying over with them their own higher culture. But if this took place, an extremely active rivalry might be gradually kindled between New-Samaria and New-Jerusalem, which might lead to important results. The central district of the holy land had always in earlier days been proud of its superiority, and, from the time of David, had been particularly envious of the rising prosperity of Jerusalem, and one of the first consequences of the rigidness which marked the new Jerusalem was that by the repulsion of the Samaritans the old jealousies and claims were awakened from their sleep, and continually goaded on. In this way the further developments of this tendency to extreme scrupulousness which continued to gain ground in Jerusalem soon proved more and more favourable to those who had been repudiated, and the community of the Samaritans was gradually enabled to supply the deficiencies which made themselves felt the soonest and the most keenly by means of those who entertained for it the greatest contempt. Freedom from the narrow spirit which reigned in Jerusalem was now rendered possible in Samaria, both by its ancient history and by the power of opposition, and under this banner it became the rendezvous of all who were more or less voluntarily driven from Jerusalem. Among these refugees were even men of the position and culture of Manasseh, son of the high-priest. These were able to transplant to Samaria the fully-developed science and art of holy things which were then flourishing in Jerusalem, and thus supplied the main want on account of which the Samaritans had previously desired to have their part in the sacred institutions at Jerusalem. This was actually accomplished, and

[1] P. 103 sqq.

an eminent proof of it is afforded us by the Samaritan, or, to use the shorter and correcter form, the Samarian, Pentateuch. There cannot be the smallest doubt that this was brought to the Samaritans from Jerusalem. It was for Judah alone that Deuteronomy had been intended; it was there alone that it had been generally received before the destruction of Jerusalem; it was among Judeans alone that the Pentateuch had been first circulated in its final shape, and it was only in the new Jerusalem, and particularly after the labours of Ezra, that its very letter had become a strict foundation for all conduct. But it is equally certain that it must have attained a similar position among the Samaritans not later than the concluding years of Nehemiah's administration. From this time onwards we find it regarded as the great and unique sacred book, as the subsequent history will prove; and at the period of Ezra and Nehemiah it was so generally regarded as the work of Moses that even those who disapproved of their proceedings could only seek to expound and apply it differently.[1]—When, with this book in their hands, the Samaritans gained from the Levitical priests who had gone over to them the higher knowledge and art of performing the sacred ceremonials with all the requisite exactitude and solemnity, we are at no loss for an explanation why their thoughts should soon fix themselves on a great temple of their own, which should enable them to rival Jerusalem and its sanctity in every respect.

The design entertained by the Samaritans, therefore, of erecting a great sanctuary of their own, in which divine worship might be continually solemnised in accordance with all the details prescribed in the Pentateuch, was a perfectly natural one, and when they proceeded to carry it out, they readily found many narratives and passages in the sacred book which sounded extremely favourable to their pretensions, and clear indications of places where a great sanctuary might be very properly erected, with a claim to be regarded as the true one for all Israel. It was here in central Canaan that Jacob's sanctuary had been set up; here lay many a spot of primeval sanctity which was clearly referred to in the Pentateuch, and was designated as still sacred for later times.[2] As, however,

[1] Some European scholars, after they had become acquainted with the Samaritan Pentateuch at a somewhat late date, tried to make out that it was older than the Jewish, and was in fact the work of Moses himself; but this view was as baseless as that which estimated it in every respect below the Masoretic. Further investigation, on the other hand, proves that though in many ways it has suffered more than the Masoretic, its readings in many passages are certainly nearer the original.

[2] The Pentateuch certainly contains references to Jerusalem as the sacred place, but they are not so plain and easily

the exact interpretation of ancient books was at that time by no means common, and plenty of room was left for arbitrary fancy; the learned Judean refugees among the Samaritans lighted on a passage in the Pentateuch which was least susceptible of such an application. This was the passage of the Deuteronomist in which Moses commands Israel after the conquest of the country to 'put the blessing on Mount Gerîzîm.'[1] This mountain lies south of Shechem, the ancient capital of Ephraim, where the ark may have stood in former days, though only for a brief period.[2] Opposite to it on the north is Mount Ebal, where there had certainly been an ancient sanctuary, to which the Deuteronomist refers. He represents Moses as ordaining that when the people mutually pledged themselves to keep the law,[3] which was to be done at every high festival, the first division of them was to stand on the northern slope of Gerîzîm and proclaim the blessing, as it were over the whole city, to the other division posted on the southern declivity of Ebal, and they in their turn were to proclaim the curse. In this proceeding Gerîzîm only gained the advantage of the first place from the fact that the division which appropriately began the whole ceremony with the blessing occupied the best position opposite the sanctuary, while the counter utterance resounded from the side on which the sanctuary stood.[4] But in the violent dispute which then arose for the pre-eminence of the holy place in Canaan, the Samaritans did not trouble themselves about an exact interpretation which should be faithful to the history. They plainly found in the expression 'thou shalt put the blessing on Gerîzîm,' torn as it was from the context, a sign that of the two mountains which stood on either side of the ancient sanctuary of Shechem, this was marked out before all the other mountains of the holy land as sacred and worthy

discoverable, Gen. xxii. 2–14 (see vol. i. p. 111); Deut. xxxiii. 12, in the blessing of Moses on Benjamin, and in the allusions of the Deuteronomist, see vol. iv. p. 235 sq. But they are too delicate to rest an appeal on; the Samaritans might overlook them.

[1] Deut. xi. 29 sq., xxvii. 11–13, compared with the somewhat clearer description in Josh. viii. 33.

[2] According to vol. ii. pp. 278, 413 sq.

[3] For similar remarks see the *Alterth.* p. 20. For an account of a trial of these responsive utterances in our own day, see Osborn's *Palestine* (London, 1859), p. 332.

[4] In the same way in Ps. xx. the community first sings towards the altar, from which an answer is then returned. The six tribes which, according to Deut. xxvii. 12, were to stand on the side of Gerîzîm, are certainly selected with the intention that they should represent the nobler half, but only in so far as the first division is properly the nobler too. The only trace which would justify us in ascribing any ancient sanctity to Gerîzîm is to be found in the narrative in Judges ix. 7, of how Jotham spoke from thence to the Shechemites. Even there indeed the existence of a sanctuary upon it is not expressly asserted, but it is perhaps implied that it was an asylum.

of a great temple, and this increased their confidence in selecting it to be the seat of a great sanctuary which might rival that at Jerusalem. The next step was but a little one and was soon taken, and in the passage of the Deuteronomist where Ebal is specified as the place of the altar, the name was changed into Gerîzîm.[1] Thus easy and rapid was the degeneration of the larger freedom of which the Samaritans boasted. Even the Pentateuch was not on the whole maintained among them in its antique form so conscientiously as among the Judeans; and a community which grows up outside an ever-progressive culture, and then suddenly turns against it, can only with difficulty guard against violent ideas and changes.

The real source of the strength of the Samaritans lay in the mistakes committed by the leaders of the community in Jerusalem, which proceeded from their scrupulousness and their strict tendency towards the hagiocracy. Larger freedom formed the basis of this new disruption in direct antagonism to the spirit which now came to predominate more and more in Jerusalem; and this greater liberty and facility remained amid every subsequent change the prevailing feature of these 'enemies of Judah and Benjamin.' Moreover, this new community of the ancient religion of Jahveh had its partial justification in its opposition to the one-sidedness in vogue at Jerusalem, and this for a time secured to it honour and power. The first centuries of its existence were those of its greatest brilliance, when its rivalry with the Judeans was not unattended with success, as we see from many indications, and in particular from the bitter jealousy which was now established in Jerusalem more firmly than ever.[2] But its want of a historical position was the cause of its deeper imperfections. In opposition to Jerusalem, it desired to go back right into the primitive age of Israel, and prided itself on being the continuation of the real ancient people. But it broke loose from the continuous culture which had gone on without interruption in Judea and Jerusalem from the time of David, except during the half century of the exile; and while it contended against the Judeans, it nevertheless derived from them alone all its best spiritual possessions. It was not possible for the Samaritans, therefore, to produce any great development of their own. The brilliance of their early period

[1] In the now famous passage, Deut. xxvii. 4, where not even do the LXX. agree with the Samaritan text. Some modern writers have vainly attempted to defend the Samaritan reading.

[2] Cf. the bitter expression of it even in a didactic book, where, moreover, it stands next the subscription, which gives it just the same importance as if it were placed at the opening of the book, Ecclus. l. 25 sq.

was followed by increasing disorganisation and weakness, until step by step they sank into that condition of almost total extinction, in which they at present exist, after more than twenty-two centuries.[1]

At what time the temple on Gerîzîm was actually erected, and whether its construction was begun by Manasseh, with the powerful aid of Sanballat, we do not exactly know. It is true that even in the Persian times, and still more in the Greek, the Samaritans, like the Judeans, certainly had their historians. In particular, they possessed trustworthy records of the succession and fortunes of their chief-priests, who, like the high-priests in Jerusalem, constituted the only continuous links in their history.[2] Special mention is made of a chief-priest named Hezekiah, who composed sacred songs, and was still alive at the time of Alexander.[3] But it is much to be regretted that the only works which we now possess from the Samaritans treating of their own ancient history are of very late date and extremely unsatisfactory.[4] So far as we can see from the traces which still survive, a small sanctuary at any rate seems to have been in existence on Gerîzîm before Alexander, chiefly under the zealous interest of Manasseh of Jerusalem, whose name continued to be honoured among the Samaritans for a long time afterwards to a quite remarkable extent.[5] A larger sanctuary, for which fresh permission from the supreme government was requisite, in consequence of the necessary cost of building and the continuance of large expenditure, was probably not erected there until the Greek supremacy. It is undeniable that the old city of Samaria was still the capital at the time of Zerubbabel;[6] and the greater fame which Shechem very soon acquired[7] could

[1] The most recent information about the Samaritans, their sanctuaries, and the ruins on Gerîzîm, besides what is contained in Bargès' book (cf. the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. vii. p. 124 sq.), is to be found in Grove's *Nabloos and the Samaritans* (London, 1861), and Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. i. p. 513 sqq. Of the first Samaritan temple and the points in which it differed from that at Jerusalem, we have no definite knowledge; it was often subsequently destroyed and then rebuilt; the figure of it which has been preserved on coins of the time of Antonius Pius (see Mionnet, *Description des Médailles*, vol. v. p. 500, suppl. viii. pl. 18) only represents it as it was restored after the war of Hadrian.

[2] As we may see clearly from Abulfatch's Chronicle. These dates of the succession and duration of the chief-priests (Arabic *Imâms*) probably contain the most important portion of the genuine historical traditions in this Chronicle.

[3] See Paulus's *Memorabilien*, vol. ii. p. 54, and the brief extract from a fragment of Abulfatch, hitherto unprinted, in the *Acta Eruditorum*, Lips. 1691, p. 169, cf. p. 173.

[4] The Chronicle of Abulfatch is far more deserving of being completely edited and translated than the now published *Liber Josuæ*; but if so, it must be better done than the fragments from it published by Schnurrer. The London Oriental Translation Committee announced a translation of this work; but I do not know whether it has been executed.

[5] See Paulus's *Memorab.* vol. ii. p. 120; *Lib. Jos.* cap. 47.

[6] Ezr. iv. 10; comp. with 2 Kings xvii. 24.

[7] The Samaritans were already called 'Shechemites' in Ecclus. l. 26, as well as

only have been due to the temple on Gerîzîm. When the new Greek period dawned in Canaan, and the relations of the two communities of the 'people of God' which had so long been hostile, were suddenly unchained, they showed their real nature openly for the first time in their respective endeavours to get the start in the favour of the conqueror, and this paltry little drama became from this time more and more frequent. Nor was there anything that proved more destructive of any further expansion and invigoration on the part of Israel than the increasing difficulty of reconciling the opposition between the two communities, both of which laid claim to the ancient rights and honours of the people of Israel, while neither of them could completely annihilate the other either by justice or force. With growing susceptibility and hostile feeling each employed every weapon to persecute the other, starting from views so entirely antagonistic that they forgot the elements common to them both. And if on some occasions a great common danger or any other circumstance caused them unexpectedly to work side by side, their co-operation was speedily dissolved again into still keener enmity. Such was the bitter but also the righteous punishment of the first wrong step into which the new Jerusalem was led immediately after its foundation[1] by the obscure purpose which was lurking in it.

In other respects, however, the narrative in Josephus only supplies us with a picture of the wonderful character of Alexander and his expedition in the vivid form in which it was long after preserved by tradition. It contains also a reminiscence, which is far from obscure, of the fact that no hesitation was displayed in Jerusalem about exchanging the Persian supremacy for another, and no one ventured to strike a blow in its favour, even though an endeavour was made to proceed at first somewhat prudently, which is sufficiently explained by the events[2] which had taken place not long before.[3]

in the narrative already referred to, Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, 6. It might certainly be conjectured that the transformation of the name Shechem into Συχάρ, John iv. 5, was one of the ways in which the hatred of Judah towards it was expressed, perhaps occasioned by some play upon the word, which we can no longer recognise in its original form, as though the name did not mean 'shoulder,' i.e. point or height, according to Gen. xlviii. 22, but 'drunkenness,' for which reference might be made to Is. xxviii. 1; but the correct explanation is given in my *Geschichte Christus'*, [vol. v. of *Hist. of Is* in the German,] p. 273, and in the *Johanneischen Schriften*, vol. i. p. 181.

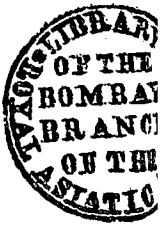
[1] P. 103 sqq.

[2] P. 206.

[3] The stories in the *Chron. Arab. Samarit.* (published at Leyden in 1848, but very incorrectly translated), cap. 45 sq., about the history of Nabuchodrozzor (to whose expedition against Jerusalem it actually applies literally the words of Gen. xiv. 1 sq.), and the destruction and re-erection of Jerusalem, about the dispute of Zerubbabel and Sanballat before the Persian king (where their relative ages are reversed, and Sanballat is made

Of the subjugation of Jerusalem or Samaria by the Greek army and the overthrow of the Persian power, we no longer possess any accurate information; but since they were at that time merely dependencies of larger cities and countries, it is a matter of comparative indifference. Our ignorance, however, increases the importance of the consequences which speedily developed themselves, and which we must now examine with more attention.

much the older), and about the expedition of Alexander, are all the mere romancing of much later history. The only thing we really learn from them is that the Samaritans in their one-sidedness still continued even in later ages exactly to reverse the historical narratives which came to them from other books, and that this one-sidedness of theirs only became more and more blind and hardened. Thus does an uncorrected error actually pass current amid a whole community for thousands of years.



SECTION II.

THE HAGIOCRACY UNDER THE GREEKS AND MACCABEES DOWN TO THE OMNIPOTENCE OF ROME.

THE conquests of Alexander and the varied government of his ambitious successors effected a rapid and wonderful transformation in the relations of the nations of Asia. Those which had once experienced a fairer youth had become aged and languishing. Only a few in this hour of trial remembered the fame of their ancient greatness with the desperate courage of the Tyrians; and Israel alone, under the oppression of the Persian government, regained so much strength in its own immortal possessions as to enable it to look forward in the midst of this great change to a new and better future. But the Greco-Macedonian storm was powerful enough to convulse them all to the very depths and hurl them against one another, and, if they were not instantly dashed to pieces, to rouse them violently to assume new forms; yet its action was not pure or continuous enough to create any pure or healthy results, or even to secure the permanent success of any new advantages which might spring from it. All the youthfulness and beauty which peculiarly distinguished the Greek spirit, was finally combined in the person of Alexander with the rarest intensity and power to produce the most marvellous daring; but the incurable corruption already lurking in the fair youth of this spirit of humanity was exhibited strongly enough in his own case, and to a much greater degree by the majority of his successors.[1]

In Israel, also, at once so old and so young, far more violent changes were speedily produced by this storm and its after effects than by the Persian supremacy. On the soil of its ancient fatherland it had again acquired sufficient strength and

[1] The biographies of Alexander the Great hitherto produced, even the most recent, are all composed too exclusively from the purely Greek and heathen point of view to give a correct estimate of the hero in his connection with the history of the world. Even in the case of the greatest of all the military and royal heroes of antiquity we ought not to forget those features in his career which made it a prolific source of injury and wrong. I consider that every biography of Alexander takes a wrong view which does not point out that in him were prefigured not alone Seleucus I. and the three first Ptolemies, but all the other Ptolemies and Antiochuses and Seleucids, together with the Antigonids.

firmness to take a more active part in the mighty efforts and new destinies of the world. The past had secured to it enough preparatory culture, and recent vicissitudes had sufficiently excited and strained its attention, to prevent it from remaining unaffected by the peculiar characteristics of the Greek spirit, to render it susceptible to the powerful attractions of its charm, and to enable it speedily to rival it in everything. Besides this it had been for a long time yearning after a greater freedom of national development, of which Alexander brought the promise to the nations which he subdued, and the Greek dawn of which even his successors could not wholly hide. Long ere this it had attained sufficient flexibility to enable it to enter with ease on all the arts and sciences and customs of its new sovereigns; but at the same time it had preserved enough of the spiritual blessings which had descended to it from the past, and had been trained with sufficient earnestness during the last years of its history, nay, even under the growing hagiocracy, had been disciplined with sufficient severity, to prevent it from falling a prey without resistance to the new charm of the Greek character. When the Israelite and the Greek were first brought into contact it was inevitable that the union and fusion of the two should appear easy. Israel had saved enough from the high culture of its ancient days. Activity of mind and a readiness to learn were common to both nations; and there were in addition many purposes for which the greater purity of morals that distinguished Israel among many Asiatic nations could only be acceptable to the Greek rulers. But the growing fusion only brought the deeper-seated antagonisms between the nationalities and religions on either side into sharper collision. In breaking, therefore, the heavy shell which still covered Israel, and bringing in the largest amount of activity and freedom possible at the time, the Greek age forced the whole spirit which prevailed in this third stage of the history into the most violent labour and an attitude of the most energetic decision. If it was still possible for a great independent nation to arise out of Israel, and a government prosperous at home and respected abroad out of the hagiocracy, this was the crisis at which it must make its appearance. It was at this stage in its history that the requisite opportunity and conditions were supplied.

A. THE GREEK AGE DOWN TO THE DECLINE OF THE PTOLEMEAN SUPREMACY. B.C. 332-200.

I. THE PREVAILING FEELING AGAINST THE HEATHEN AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FEAST OF PÛRÎM.

The first decades of this period passed away amid the continuous wars of Alexander and the still more devastating campaigns of his successors, which were little favourable to the fusion of the two nationalities. Beneath the tinsel of Greek culture the times were extremely disordered, and all the nations of Asia had much to suffer from the craving for new dominions and the perpetual wars of the successors of Alexander, whose own thirst for conquest was only quenched by death. This was the case, in particular, with the numerous petty nationalities on the great highway from Asia into Egypt to such an extraordinary degree that these forty or fifty years are an almost total void in the memory and the history of Israel. During the whole of the time which intervened between Nabuchodrozzor and Antiochus Epiphanes, it was, indeed, so far from independent, and its fortunes were so closely interwoven with the many-coloured changes of foreign potentates, that it is not a matter of wonder if in a period of such length and yet such incessant confusion and so little serenity many separate spots in its recollection should have become extremely obscure. Nor, in the absence of any clear and continuous thread, were the materials for any copious or coherent representation to be found, until Josephus attempted to fill up the interval as well as he could by a narrative of the most broken and unsatisfactory character, derived from dim and scanty sources. But in no case is the deficiency in Josephus so surprising as in this half century. It seems as though in the ceaseless change of the masters who had suddenly come upon it from a great distance, the nation had at length lost all heed for the names of the generals, satraps, and kings who invaded it. Even the accounts which we now possess from other quarters leave many points in this period in great obscurity, although in default of an accurate knowledge of the events of the first fifty or sixty years after the Greek conquest much of the subsequent history, as it emerges into the light, remains far from intelligible.[1]

[1] Cf. *Numism. Chron.*, 1865, ii. pp. 126 sqq., 131 sqq. That the fragment attached to the book of Baruch belonged to this period, and that the Psalms of Solomon may also be ascribed to it, is explained in the *Proph. des A. Bs.* iii. p. 267 sqq. The language of Bar. v. 7 sq. is in reality an echo of Ps. Sol. xi. 5-7;

Immediately after the fall of Perdiccas, in the year 320 B.C., Ptolemy Lagi obtained possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria by expelling the satrap Laomedon. His next step, as a very abrupt statement informs us, appears to have been to seize Jerusalem by cunningly making a sudden attack on a sabbath.[1] Both Judeans and Samaritans hesitated to submit themselves to the Egyptian sway, and not without reason, as at that time the empire of Alexander was still fairly in existence. In punishment for their resistance, however, the victor transported large numbers of captives and hostages from all parts of the country, some to Egypt and some to Phœnicia; and besides these many seem to have been sold as slaves of war into wealthy Egypt.[2] Had the country remained from that time under the power of Ptolemy, it might, like Egypt, have enjoyed the wise and mild government of the century of the three first Ptolemies; but Antigonus must soon have obtained possession again of the whole of Syria, until, in the year 312, after his victory near Gaza over Demetrius (Poliorcêtes), son of Antigonus, and his reconquest of Tyre, Ptolemy occupied Jerusalem also a second time. On this occasion he seems to have acted with much greater mildness, so that many of the most highly respected and learned Judeans accompanied him voluntarily to Egypt, among whom was a member of the high-priestly family named Hezekiah, with whom Hecatæus had much intercourse there.[3] Still, however, the sovereignty of southern Syria remained in dispute, which still continued in the year 302 B.C., when Ptolemy made another attempt to gain possession of the whole of Syria, but, before the battle at Ipsus, again retreated to Egypt. For a considerable time afterwards Demetrius, son of Antigonus, seems to have held his ground in

and the piece in question may have been written only a little while after this book of Psalms, and then translated into Greek.

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1, following Agatharchides. According to Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 458, Agatharchides mentions the same thing again in another passage; but no precise dates are supplied anywhere, so that we might conjecture that this treatment of Jerusalem by Ptolemy was subsequent to his victory at Gaza in 312 B.C., since Diodorus, at any rate, *Hist.* xviii. 43, and Appian, *Syr. Hist.* lii., say nothing about it. But the words of Hecatæus, which will be adduced immediately, make it appear that he was, on the contrary, very well disposed on that occasion; and Eusebius, *Chron.* ii. p. 225, also places the event at this point.

[2] According to the book of Aristeas at the end of Haverkamp's Josephus, ii. p. 104, and Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1; of the transportations to Phœnicia we learn from Hecatæus, cited in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 456. When we reflect in addition that every previous disaster of a similar kind, even in the latest years of the Persian period, had been followed by the transportation of a number of Judeans to Egypt (p. 206), it is easy to understand how Ptolemy Philadelphus could have liberated a hundred thousand Egyptian Jews; see the book of Aristeas, p. 165, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2, 2 sq.

[3] See the extracts from his work in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 455.

Jerusalem and the Phœnician cities,[1] but at length his power gradually declined. Encouraged by their connection with him, the Seleucidæ were the next to put in a claim to the whole of southern Syria, which they were never subsequently willing to give up. The Ptolemies, however, got possession of it before them, and, in order to confer greater security on their Egyptian dominions, made protracted and successful efforts to maintain their occupation. This appears to have caused a very serious war, in which Ptolemy destroyed the walls of Jerusalem,[2] to prevent the Syrians from establishing themselves there. As soon, however, as the country was permanently attached to Egypt, it began to enjoy under the Ptolemies, down to the days of Ptolemy IV. (Philopator), a freedom from disturbance, a happy tranquillity, and a beneficent and indulgent treatment, which gave a fresh impulse to its prosperity and individuality.[3]

The fortunes of Jerusalem appear to have been almost invariably shared by Samaria; but there are many signs that it was far less tranquil and more inclined to take the part of one master or the other, which can hardly surprise us, with a population so very mixed and so little consolidated. Isolated statements taken from the history of Alexander inform us that a Macedonian governor named Andromachus was cruelly burned to death by the Samaritans in a popular rising, for which Alexander, on his return from Egypt, took an equally cruel revenge.[4] Perdiccas is then said to have restored the city of Samaria again, which of course he may have done on his expedition against Egypt in 321 B.C.; but Demetrius Poliorcêtes (so we learn from another equally fragmentary account) destroyed it again about the year 297 B.C.[5] The details of these events

[1] At this point our extant accounts are entirely silent; strangely enough, however, in the midst of all the confusion, Ben-Gorion (ii. 23, p. 154 Breith.) inserts Demetrius Poliorcêtes into the series of sovereigns of Palestine between the two first Ptolemies.—There is no reason whatever for inferring from the language of Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 17, that Seleucus I. occupied Judea and received from it a yearly tribute of three hundred talents. Into pre-Christian history this writer has no clear insight at all: in this case he confounds Seleucus I. with Seleucus IV., as is shown in part from ch. xxi. and 1 Macc. xi. 28, and in part from the fact that in the passage referred to he passes over the Ptolemies entirely, and proceeds direct from Alexander to the Seleucidæ as sovereigns of Judea.

[2] According to the statement in Appian, *Syr.* cap. 1. See below, p. 274.

[3] How firmly southern Syria remained in the undisturbed occupation of the three first Ptolemies may be inferred from the many coins bearing their names which were struck in Syrian mints; see Huber in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, pp. 160 sqq., 169. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that Jerusalem does not occur amongst them.

[4] Curt. Ruf. iv. 8. Euseb. *Chron.* ii. p. 223.

[5] The passage in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* ii. p. 228, is not correctly translated; the true meaning is preserved by G. Syncellus, *Chronogr.* i. p. 519, 522. There is a very curious story in Abulfatch's *Chron.* (Paulus' *Repertorium*, i. p. 120 sqq.) of a certain Orodus who was sent in the third year after Alexander's death by his brother

are now beyond our cognisance, but the general truth of these bald statements is confirmed by a proof drawn from an entirely different quarter. In the Maccabean period we hear a great deal about three Samaritan districts, which, together with another from Galilee, were attached to Judah, but might still be separated from it again.[1] They were named, respectively, Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathem,[2] and were, in fact, the most southern districts of the former territory of Ephraim. Their situation made the Judeans very desirous to possess them, as Aphærema, or rather Ephraim or Ephron, lay north-east, Lydda and Ramathem north-west and north, of Jerusalem. Many had been the struggles for these border districts between the ancient kingdom of Judah and the kingdom of the Ten Tribes;[3] but there could be no contest of that kind in the times of the Maccabees. We have, on the other hand, every reason to suppose that Alexander or some other of the earliest Greek kings took away these districts from the Samaritans by way of punishing them for some revolt, and attached them to Jerusalem. A special question also arose about the heavy expenses of the temple service, to which these districts, and, for another reason (as may be readily gathered from our previous remarks),[4] a district of considerable extent in Galilee, were to contribute. By an easy exaggeration, this would justify Hecatæus in saying that Alexander had made Samaria tributary to Jerusalem.[5] A new and powerful impulse would thus inevitably be given to the national enmity between Jerusalem and Samaria; and all the Greek rulers who acquired power in these regions had a convenient means always at hand for threatening Jerusalem with a loss and enticing Samaria with a promise.

The Greek revolution, then, in spite of all its rapid changes, brought with it no freedom to Israel, and the nation was obliged to accustom itself more and more to the idea of serving foreign kings and the necessity of accommodating itself to the various fortunes of distant rulers, as the Judeans dispersed outside the

Philip Ptolemy (he ought to be named Arrhidæus) to plunder the Samaritan temple, but his intention was frustrated.

[1] 1 Macc. x. 30, 38, xi. 28, 34, 57; but these passages must first be made mutually to explain each other.

[2] 1 Macc. xi. 34. Lydda is well known; Ramathem is the place named in vol. ii. p. 421, the exact situation of which has not hitherto been discovered (for the present Ramlah lies too close by Lydda); Ἀφαίρεμα, i.e. 'consecrated gift,' has been formed out of a Hebrew proper name by a Greco-Jewish word-play (as though it were a sacred present for the New Jerusalem); see vol. iv. p. 48 *note* 3.

[3] Cf. vol. iv. pp. 2, 3.

[4] P. 97 sq.

[5] Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4, p. 472; this is at least the meaning of the words. The compulsory contribution to the temple at Jerusalem imposed on the Samaritans, and transferred by later writers (p. 121 *note* 2) to the age of Darius, finds its first explanation here.

holy land had long been in the habit of doing. The intrigues and the generally artificial and petty business which occupied the royal and vice-regal courts under the Persians flourished still more under the Greeks, and numbers of those who were brought into connection with the courts were initiated into them. This inflicted great injury on the free and upright spirit which had characterised Israel's past; and threatened gradually to develope a nation which looked for salvation rather from propitious circumstances and the crafty acquisition of the favour of earthly potentates than direct from the hand of God himself. But this was counterbalanced by the proud consciousness peculiar to Judaism, which descended from an earlier time, and was now maintained with all the greater strength, of belonging to a higher race in this world, which had no need to submit to heathen follies, and ought not to do so. With this was combined a lively feeling that the nation was really destined for something better, which in its turn begot a deep sympathy for all the suffering inflicted by the heathen on the separate members of the community. As the worldly anxiety to bow as far as possible beneath the ruling powers increased even among the more conscientious and those who were in other respects quite prosperous, the higher (it may even be said the Messianic) consciousness of the people hardened the more in its one effort to hold fast with the utmost tenacity to some at least of the leading marks of the ancient true religion, and if necessary even to display them openly in public; and the longer it was dispersed far and wide among the heathen, the more it was threatened, and the oftener it was oppressed, so much the warmer was the sympathy for all sufferings, which were considered unmerited, and so much the deeper the longing for ultimate revenge on the oppressors, which established themselves in many even of the noblest minds. Thus was formed a race of believers which grew up among the heathen, stiff and rigid in all the marks which were regarded as indispensable for a Judean, but in other respects adapting themselves to them in their intercourse with them, and eagerly availing themselves of their weaknesses. They endured much at their hands, but bent their thoughts craftily and continuously to mutual help and revenge in every way. Dispersed among them, they kept to themselves all the more tenaciously and warmly. They professed to humiliate themselves before God alone, they fasted and lamented profoundly before Him, but in reality they lost sight more and more of His living word, and submitted themselves to the chances of the world. They suffered much grave anguish and

persecution; but at times, whenever any great and unforeseen good fortune befel them, they grasped it all the more greedily, and strove to forget all their woes in extravagant joy. Some, it is needless to say, were otherwise disposed; but on the whole this became the prevailing tone of the nation, and determined all its views and purposes.

Of this popular temper, which tended from this time forth to establish itself among the great number of those who endeavoured to remain loyal to the ancient religion, a striking monument is found in the book of Esther. This is the first production which attempts quite openly to glorify and perpetuate this temper; and it leaves us doubtful which to wonder at the more, the candid frankness or the enchanting art with which it effects its object. Both features, however—the almost shocking nakedness and the beautiful and easy art of the representation—find their explanation in the new joy of growth with which this disposition could develope and exhibit itself without disturbance in the cheerful dawn of Greek freedom. That the book could not have been written earlier than the opening years of the Greek age is obvious. The author was still well acquainted with many of the customs of the Persian court,[1] and evidently derived the various Persian names which he inserts, from authentic sources.[2] The knowledge necessary for this, however, he might quite well have acquired even in the period immediately succeeding the overthrow of the Persian empire; but the description of the empire of Xerxes himself is such as to imply that it has long ago disappeared, and it is here delineated with the earnestness and sympathy with which, in the early days of the Greek supremacy, men were fond of looking back to the splendour and glory of the flourishing Persian empire, 'from India to Ethiopia,' as a wonder that had already passed away. As to the particular fragment which this book places before us from the general history of Xerxes, or rather of his court, we must wait to see whether any documents are hereafter discovered which will confirm and elucidate this isolated court-story, with all its various details,[3] and, if so, to

[1] We cannot affirm more than this, for we know too little of them outside the book of Esther.

[2] If Haman is called an Agagite (Esth. iii. 1, 10, ix. 24) in the sense of 1 Sam. xv., i.e. (vol. iii. p. 37 sq.) an Amalekite, as Josephus supposed, this would supply unmistakable evidence of invention. It cannot be proved, however, that the author had any such idea of descent in his mind; besides, in the case of this, as of most of the other proper names in the book, the readings are very various, the LXX spelt it sometimes Βουγαῖος, sometimes Γωγαῖος. On the other hand, it appears from the remarks already made (p. 212 *note* 5) that the name of Haman had been merely transferred into this narrative out of an older one.

[3] The king Ahasuerus is certainly identified in the majority of the MSS. of the LXX, and hence by Josephus also, with

what extent. At present the only testimony which we possess about this court episode is this solitary little book, which was not written until about one hundred and fifty years after Xerxes. There may have been an enemy of the Judeans high in power at the Persian court; there may have been a Judean named Mordecai living at Susa, in the neighbourhood of the court, a strict believer, but with much worldly wisdom, who may have got into favour with Xerxes, and averted much evil from his co-religionists (Ezra and Nehemiah, as we have seen above, stood high in the favour of the son of this Xerxes), and his ward Hadassah-Esther may have afforded in the palace of the great king a pattern of a Judean woman who did not forget her oppressed and pious people—all this is intrinsically possible. And it is quite certain that the Feast of Pûrîm, i.e. the Feast of Lots or the Destiny-feast, really did take its origin among the Judeans in Persia, and was probably celebrated at first in Susa only, to commemorate the happy destiny of an unexpected deliverance from great danger through which the community there had formerly passed. This feast has even continued to bear its Persian name,[1] and without some such occasion as this our extant narrative could never have arisen or assumed its present form. It may further be clearly recognised that it was originally celebrated on the thirteenth of a month, though this did not perhaps correspond exactly with our March.[2] At first purely local, it must, however, at an early period in the Greek age, have acquired a far wider significance, as though it might

Artaxerxes, but clearly without sufficient reason. The name would rather suggest to us the Median Cyaxares (pp. 72 *note* 3, 105 *note* 4); and many modern scholars have thought it necessary to have recourse to a Median king, because the book of Esther nowhere mentions the Judeans in Jerusalem and Judah, as though the Judeans were all of them still in exile. But it is clearly the Persian, not the Median, empire which is described, and the absence of all allusion to Jerusalem causes no surprise when it is remembered that the special object of the narrative was simply to bring out strongly the relation of the Judeans to the heathen. If the king was Xerxes, the name of his consort Vashti, whom he divorced for her pride, reminds us somewhat in sound at any rate of the proud Amestris, Herod. ix. 108 sqq. That the Medo-Persian name Mordecai was borne by Jews is clear also from Ezr. ii. 2.

[1] The Persian بهر, *bahre* (connected with the Lat. *pars*) might be pronounced dialectically *bôre* or *pûre*, and this in the plural form, according to Hebrew usage, *Lehrb.* 177*e*, might easily pass into פּוּרִים. In the majority of MSS. of the LXX the word is transformed into the semi-Greek *φρουραί*, out of which Josephus makes *φρουραῖοι*.

[2] Everything comes back to the thirteenth of the twelfth month, Adâr, and this is everywhere brought into the sharpest prominence, iii. 7 (where the LXX still retain the clear and complete reading), *ibid.* 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, 17. Another important transaction, also, which is connected with the last decisive day, is placed on the thirteenth day of the first month, iii. 12, and a third on the twenty-third of the third month, viii. 9. If the thirteenth had not been fixed by genuine old tradition, the fourteenth would certainly have been named at once; for the preparatory 'fast of Esther' which the modern Jews place on the thirteenth, following ix. 31, cf. iv. 1, 3, 16, is nowhere clearly required by the book to be kept on that day.

be appropriately kept by all Judeans, wherever they might reside, as a feast of joy which might now almost take the place of the ancient Passover. The rejoicings over the deliverance from Egypt in their early days now gathered round their redemption from the distresses of Persia; and while the venerable festival of the spring was necessarily left in undisturbed dignity, as the ancient religion and the sacred law ordained, it still seemed fitting to solemnise a similar feast with reference to the recent events more intimately affecting them, which should harmonise more closely with the disposition and feelings of the present. The Pûrîm thus grew into a sort of preliminary celebration of the Passover. Occurring exactly a month earlier, it was placed on the same days, the fourteenth and fifteenth, which ancient usage had consecrated for the purpose.[1] Even before the composition of our book, it must have been kept with great interest in this light,[2] though it is plain that however high it may have stood in general favour, its celebration was purely popular and voluntary, and without the intervention of the priests, which our book, moreover, nowhere prescribes.[3] The story, then, might easily arise that on the thirteenth of the last month of the year, the same day which Haman, after long and scrupulous calculation, had superstitiously fixed upon, by casting lots in his heathen fashion, as the proper day for destroying the Judeans, the double lot had suddenly turned against him and in favour of Israel; and that at the special request of Esther in Susa, and as a special act of grace, Xerxes had permitted the people to celebrate a festival of revenge, which did not come to an end till the fifteenth; and this was the reason why the annual commemoration was fixed to begin on the fourteenth and conclude on the fifteenth. All these materials then the author had before him. What must be ascribed, however, individually to him is the working up of these scattered materials into a whole which accomplishes in the most beautiful and captivating manner its prescribed design, viz. to compose, in the new spirit

[1] This connection between the Pûrîm and the Passover I explained as early as 1835; see the *Morgenländische Zeitschr.* iii. p. 415. The fact that it is not brought into prominence in this book of the feast only proves that the Pûrîm had been celebrated on the fourteenth long before it was written, a conclusion which other circumstances also enable us to arrive at.

[2] This important fact may be inferred with certainty from the cursory mention of the village Judeans who in their simplicity limited the feast to the fourteenth, without carrying it on to the fifteenth, ix. 19; comp. with vv. 1–18, 20–32.

[3] J. D. Michaelis once expressed surprise that in the account of the great victory over Nicanor, which, according to 1 Macc. vii. 40–50, was won near Adasa on the thirteenth of Adâr, no mention was made of the feast of Pûrîm, and even threw out the conjecture that possibly the whole story of Esther might only have arisen out of that event. He did not, however, consider that it was only the fourteenth which was then regularly kept, and that even with this the priests had nothing to do. Cf. 2 Macc. xv. 36.

of the Greek age, a little book explaining and recommending the general celebration of this festival.[1] In reality there is still much creative genius, even in this late work. If there were no Persian or Indian tales which might serve the author as patterns of charming representation,[2] he must himself have created a style of narrative which certainly is as different from the old-Hebrew as night from day,[3] but which in its peculiar way cannot be more perfect. And if it is possible to glorify a disposition which finds its noblest utterance in Esther's words:—

> 'Oh! how could I endure to see it?—the evil which is coming on my people!'
> 'Oh! how could I endure to see it?—the destruction of my kindred!'[4]

but whose actual glory is a violent and bloody revenge on the heathen enemy, and even on his children, accompanied by scrupulous abstinence from all baser gain,[5] it cannot be done more beautifully and candidly than it is in this little book. It is in fact the marvellous freedom and frankness with which this wholly new form of the old national spirit suddenly stepped forth in all its completeness, which constitute its most notable and instructive features. But it proves that all the great men of old had disappeared, and a new race had grown up who seem to have inherited nothing from their predecessors but the national name and the pride which was inseparable from it.[6]

When this feast, although celebrated without the priests, had thus established itself in the popular favour, and the little book of Esther had so charmingly glorified the disposition appropriate to it, it was natural that the work should be very widely read, and gradually also enlarged and altered. There are many signs that this process must have begun at an early

[1] This notion of a little Pûrîm-book is actually found in the oldest of its names which we can point to historically, ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῶν Φρουρίμ, in the subscription of numerous MSS. of the LXX; the term 'letter,' like رسالة (*risâlet*), certainly means nothing more than a short treatise on a particular subject; in the same way, the second book of Maccabees also is designated Ἰούδα τοῦ Μακκαβαίου πράξεων ἐπιστολή (where Valckenär needlessly proposed to correct to ἐπιτομή).

[2] The present state of our knowledge does not enable us to express any decided opinion on this subject.

[3] Vol. i. p. 196 sq.

[4] Esth. viii. 6.

[5] The thrice repeated addition 'but on the spoil laid they not their hand,' ix. 10, 15, 16 (in noble contrast to Haman, iii. 9–11), reminds one forcibly of the inscription 'property is sacred' on the shops of the Paris, Berlin, and Frankfort revolutionists.

[6] As the book still exhibits so much creative power, there are hardly any readily discernible echoes from earlier writings to be found in it; only the strange expression וְלֹא יַעֲבוֹר, i. 19, ix. 27, sounds like an echo from one of the latest songs, Ps. cxlviii. 6. The origin of the book cannot, however, be placed later than the period assigned in the text, as is proved by the very different spirit exhibited by the later reproductions of it, which themselves certainly belong to the last century *before* Christ.

period;[1] it was simply the common fate of all favourite popular books. Many later writers only thought well to elaborate single passages of the narrative;[2] others preferred investing it with a wholly new and still more brilliant grace.[3] The chief reason why many readers seem to have desired the book to be recast at a time when grave disasters had again habituated men to think more of God, was that they objected to the entire absence of his name from one end to the other.[4] This feeling gave rise to repeated additions and changes; and it was probably about the year 48 B.C. (judging by an old Greek subscription),[5] certainly not later at all events, that a copy of a Greek redaction was taken from Jerusalem to Egypt, and there extensively circulated: a similar redaction was followed by Josephus. All these alterations, however, destroyed its original design and simple beauty, and thus betrayed their relatively much later age. In the meantime it was easy to transfer the idea of the festival whose celebration it glorified to any other foreign nation which subsequently ruled over the Judeans; and in one of these later recastings Haman was transformed from a Persian into a Macedonian, doubtless because after the Maccabean wars the Macedonians were identified with 'enemies of the Judeans.'

But the way was being gradually prepared for a change of a very different kind from any which the book of Esther leads us to anticipate. Powerfully favoured by circumstances, the intrusion of Greek culture and art could not be averted, and now demands our attention.

[1] This may be gathered particularly from the M. S. of the LXX and the Itala. O. E. Fritzsche has endeavoured to restore two different Greek redactions in the book of ΕΣΘΗΡ, Tur. 1848. The MS. which Josephus used also had many details of its own. The larger additions separated by Jerome and Luther do not exhaust these later changes, which sometimes extend still further and can still be recognised. To these must be added finally the many kinds of paraphrasing and enlargement which the book underwent at a still later period, as may be seen from the Targums and other later Jewish books. The only peculiarity of the Chaldean fragments of the book of Esther published by De Rossi (in a second edition at Tübingen, 1783) is a later addition of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther. Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 221 sq.

[2] The royal decrees in particular were given in full.

[3] The chief instrument for this purpose was found in the vision of Mordecai, with which everything was to begin and conclude.

[4] As the above-named Chaldean fragments show.

[5] This Greek translation and redaction proceeded according to this from a certain Lysimachus in Jerusalem, and was carried down to Egypt in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra (that is, if the last Cleopatra is meant, about 48 B.C., which, however, was the year when this Ptolemy died) by a Levite Dositheus and his son Ptolemy. The tenor of this subscription is remarkably circumspect, and there seems no reason to doubt its historical character. If it could be proved that Ptolemy Philomêtor was intended, as Hody and Valckenär, *de Aristobulo*, p. 61, suppose, the subscription would fall in the year 178 B.C.; but this can hardly be established.

II. The Influx of Greek Culture and Art.

This was promoted by the Greek dominion itself, whether its centre was in Egypt or in Northern Syria, and its force was increased by the proximity in which Alexandria and Antioch now lay to Jerusalem and Samaria. But a host of other important causes contributed to the same result.

First among these must be placed the Macedonian thirst for glory and power, combined with the Greek industry and love of colonising, which covered Palestine,[1] like other conquered countries, with new cities erected in the most attractive localities, restored many which had fallen into ruin during the previous destructive wars, supplied them more or less with Greek manners and institutions, and, through every fresh opening for its extensive commerce, spread the Greek spirit too. A survey of the Greek dominion, which lasted for nearly three centuries from the conquest of Alexander, shows us at length the whole of Palestine sown with Greek names of cities, places, and streams, due in no small degree to the Greek craving to perpetuate its memory in public names. Many of the original names have been merely Grecised with easy changes arising out of various kinds of word-play, which, in the case of names in the district of Judah, clearly exhibit the desire to convey the idea of their peculiar sanctity.[2] The special circumstances under which various Greek settlements were established are in many cases extremely obscure; moreover, this branch of the subject finds a more appropriate place in general history. It is clear, however, that many of these erections and restorations belong to the early days in which the Macedonian-Greek passion for founding new cities was at the height of its energy. Many things seem, it is true, to have been ascribed to Alexander

[1] This name, evidently originating in Egypt, becomes from this time the general designation. In spelling it, the Greeks probably had in their minds the word παλαί, *old*, but the full name was originally *the Syrian Palestine*, i.e. the Philistine land belonging to Syria, as the Egyptians in the Persian age naturally described the whole of southern Syria by the name of the country of the Philistines immediately adjacent to themselves. Herodotus certainly heard the name used in this sense in Egypt, and applies it in the same way for the first time in i. 105; cf. ii. 106, iii. 5, vii. 89.

[2] Cf. the formations Ἱεροσόλυμα, Ἰεριχώ, the river Ἱερμάξ, and Ἀφαίρεμα, p. 228. The stages of this progress may be estimated from the fact that Ἱεροσόλυμα does not occur in the LXX or Aristotle, but is found in the fragments of Hecatæus, Eupolemus, Lysimachus, and Agatharchides, as we now have them, and sometimes one name is used sometimes the other in the Apocrypha and the New Testament (in which latter their use is frequently determined intentionally by delicate differences). And yet the LXX have Ἱεροβάαλ for Jerubbaal, vol. ii. p. 380 sq., and Philo always calls Jerusalem simply Hieropolis.

merely by the presumption of a later time. The important city of Gerasa, for example, on the east of the Jordan, which certainly has no historical existence till this period, was said to have been founded by the old men (Greek *Gerontes*) whom Alexander left behind there.[1] We have already, however, adverted to the restoration of Samaria by Perdiccas.[2] In the extreme north the ancient Dan[3] gave way to a new heathen Paneas.[4] In its neighbourhood a city named Seleuceia, at the northern end of the Lake of Jordan, was subsequently inhabited also by Judeans.[5] Another, Philoteria, unknown to us at a later date, at any rate under this name, flourished in the third century on the lake of Galilee.[6] Pella and Dion, on the east of the Jordan, betray their origin by their purely Macedonian names, the former, among others, being ascribed to Antigonus.[7] In the same region the ancient Rabbath-Ammon was rebuilt as Philadelphia by Ptolemy II., and in the south Ar-Moab, as Areopolis. Hippus, Gadara, Scythopolis, all with Greek sounding names, lying together in the southern district of the Lake of Galilee, are subsequently reckoned entirely as Hellenic cities,[8] and must, therefore, have been essentially transformed by Greek institutions. In Ptolemais, which subsequently occupied so important a place in Jewish history, one of the first Ptolemies revived the ancient Accho, the important harbour south of Phœnicia. Still further south some one erected Stratônos-Pyrgos, which was afterwards destined to become so celebrated as Cæsarea-upon-the-Sea; and between this and Joppa, also upon the coast, lay Apollonia, which boasted of having been founded by Seleucus.[9] In the far south, after its conquest and destruction by Alexander, Gaza again rose in glory as a Hellenic city;[10] and at no great distance, Anthedon[11] on the coast, and Arethusa[12] in the interior, disclose by their names their entirely

[1] See the *Etymol. Mag.* under the word, and a MS. passage in Reland's *Pal.* p. 806.

[2] P. 227.

[3] See vol. ii. p. 289 sq.

[4] Or Paneion, from a temple of Pan, subsequently Cæsarea Philippi: it is still called Bânjâs in the Arabic pronunciation of the present day, and probably lies at some distance east of the ancient Dan.

[5] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 6, iv. 1, 1.

[6] Polyb. *Hist.* v. 70.

[7] G. Syncellus, *Chron.* i. p. 520.

[8] On the two first see Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, 3, *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4, and *Vit.* 65. On Scythopolis see above p. 89, and Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* iii. 439. This place even boasted of a descent from Bacchus, and in fact all Palestine was proud of its wine; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16; Solinus, *Polyhist.* cap. 45; cf. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 6.

[9] The situation of the city is more accurately stated in Pliny, v. 14 and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4 than in the *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 4; according to Appian, *Syr.* cap. 57, Seleucus I. founded it, unless some other town of this name is intended, for Appian expressly omits Phœnicia from among the countries occupied by Seleucus.

[10] According to Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4; cf. xiii. 13, 3; Arrian, *Hist. Alexandria*, ii. 27, *ad fin.*

[11] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, 3; 15, 4; xiv. 5, 3; Plin *Hist. Nat.* v. 14.

[12] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 7, 7, *Ant.* xiv. 4, 4.

Greek character. It is only within the narrower limits of the Judeans proper that we fail to find in these centuries any such Greek settlements, in any case a notable sign of the time; but the purely Judean districts are surrounded by others which had experienced the Greek transformation, and their own inability, also, soon afterwards to resist the same influences will appear further on.

Whilst Macedonian-Greek civilisation was thus shutting up the ancient Canaan more and more closely in its venerable centre, and pressing upon it more and more severely, the violent convulsions which accompanied the storm of Alexander and even continued to vibrate long after it, drove the remnants of the ancient people of Israel more vehemently than any other outside the bounds of Greece into the disturbances which led to the confused intermingling of the nations, far and wide. By this time Israel had learned,[1] like the Greeks, to live an unsettled and wandering life on the earth, and to travel in any direction whither gain or necessity summoned them; and it is remarkable to observe how the wide diffusion of the Greeks was now followed by a similar dispersion of the Judeans and Samaritans; nay, it may even be said that the earlier shocks were now suddenly succeeded by one of far greater violence, which tended to scatter Israel over a wider and wider area. Fresh masses of the posterity of Israel were constantly being driven out into the wide world, which was then becoming wholly Greek; and the inhabitants of the mountains of Israel, and even the Judeans settled in the east, still maintained enough strictness of character, as well as aptitude for war, to render them useful in many ways to the Greek kings. Alexander is said to have transported some eight thousand Samaritans as a guard to the Thebais,[2] and to have employed Judean soldiers also in his armies.[3] Ptolemy I., who carried so many prisoners to Egypt,[4] is said to have placed thirty thousand of them armed as garrisons in the fortified places, and conceded to them the Macedonian Isopolity (equality of rights).[5] About the same time, and under almost the same conditions, Seleucus I. Nicator removed a number of Judeans who had served their time under him into several of the many new cities founded by him, particularly into his new capital of Antioch, where the subsequent history

[1] P. 4 sqq.

[2] According to Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, 4, 6.

[3] Ibid. xi. 8, 5, and Hecatæus, in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 457.

[4] P. 226.

[5] See the book of Aristeas and Josephus, as cited above, p. 226 *note* 2. According to the statement in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4, Ptolemy removed a portion of these Judean troops into the fortified posts of Cyrene.

always points to a large community of Judeans.[1] On most of these points our information is extremely scanty, and derived almost entirely from later writers, and we might, therefore, be tempted to question its trustworthiness, since at a later period (as we shall see by-and-by) the Judeans made strenuous efforts to obtain exemption from all military service under heathen rulers, and had already, under the Persians,[2] shown little inclination for it. It is, however, to be considered that weariness of the Persian dominion and the new Greek liberty might make them at first strongly disposed in favour of it, and it will appear further on that under Greek rulers in later times also, whenever they discerned any advantages in military service, they eagerly sought for it. Antiochus the Great transferred two thousand Judeans from Mesopotamia and Babylon, because he could count upon their loyalty, into the seditious countries of Lydia and Phrygia.[3] Numbers, however, as the passion for trade grew far stronger than it had ever been before, speedily emigrated voluntarily into Greek cities; and the new Alexandria, in particular, by the extremely favourable combination of circumstances which it presented, attracted at an early period, under Ptolemy I.,[4] nay, according to one statement,[5] under Alexander, immediately after its foundation, a constantly increasing multitude of Judean immigrants.—The Samaritans seem to have spread still more rapidly, as is shown by the tradition about the eight thousand Samaritans in Alexander's army.[6] Large bodies of them settled in a very short time in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, and there they maintained themselves in exclusive communities with considerable numbers till late in the Middle Ages.[7] But both Samaritans and Judeans carried with them their mutual enmities and perpetual disputes even there.[8]

It is somewhat difficult to survey all the foreign cities and countries to which the Judeans, with the Samaritans often close at their side, spread during these centuries, and where they made themselves settled homes. Even before Alexander,

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 1.

[2] P. 118.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 4.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1; Hecatæus in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 455.

[5] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, 7, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4; cf. Curt. Ruf. iv. 8. Philo and Josephus certainly speak of the relations of the Judeans to these first Greeks with some grandiloquence, but they do not invent simple traditions.

[6] P. 237.

[7] On this point our most satisfactory information is derived from the Arabic writers, who minutely describe the condition in which they were in their day, see Makrîzî, &c.

[8] According to Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, 4, cf. xii. 1, neither side carried its mortal enmity so far as the royal judgment seat until Ptolemy Philometor, while Abulfatch's Samaritan Chronicle represents Ptolemy Philadelphus as deciding their disputes.

many were already living dispersed among the heathen in all quarters.[1] From the countries beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, where large numbers had continued to reside ever since the Assyrian and Babylonian days, and had long been naturalised, they spread one by one, very soon after the victorious expeditions of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus the Great, into the remoter regions of the east, as far as India and China. At the present day, however, it is difficult to trace these movements historically, and they were certainly not undertaken by any large numbers. The main stream of the dispersion ran on this as on other occasions through the dominions of the ruling nation, first of the Macedonian-Greeks and then of the Romans. Many settled in Phœnicia and northern Syria, particularly in the numerous towns founded or renovated in these regions by the Greeks. The most attractive place was the Seleucian capital, Antioch;[2] but Damascus and the districts dependent upon it subsequently gathered in a great many.[3] In Asia Minor, which was then rapidly becoming almost wholly Greek, numbers of Judeans were to be met with in almost every part, but their principal places of resort were the wealthy and, for the most part, very independent commercial cities on the western coast, such as Ephesus, Pergamus, Miletus, Sardis, Laodicea, Adramyttium (Hadrumetum) and Halicarnassus.[4] From Asia Minor, however, it was easy to pass northwards and westwards to the countries on the Euxine as far as the Tauric peninsula, to Thrace, Macedonia,[5] and further still.[6]

[1] Some merely cursory and very general lists of such countries may be seen in Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* cap. 36, ii. p. 587, Acts ii. 9–11, vi. 9, and also in 1 Macc. xv. 22 sq.—The youthful essay of John Remond on the history of the spread of Judaism from Cyrus to Titus (Leipzig, 1789) has no longer any scientific value.

[2] See p. 237; 2 Macc. iv. 36–40; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 1, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3, 3; 5, 2; Acts xi. 19 sqq. According to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5, 2, the rights of the Judeans in Antioch were publicly recorded on bronze tables, and this was also done in Alexandria and elsewhere.

[3] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 1 sq., vii. 8, 7; Acts ix. 22. It is certainly these Judeans who under subsequent circumstances are called *Arabians*, Acts ii. 11.

[4] See the decrees referring to such cities in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 2, xiv. 10, 11–25, xvi. 6, 1–4, 6–8; Cic. *Pro. L. Flacc.* cap. 28, and the well-known passages in the New Testament.

[5] Especially to the new commercial cities of Thessalonica, Philippi, &c. In most cases nothing is known of the exact time at which any community was formed; there was one even in Panticapæum, on the Tauric peninsula, as the words προσευχὴ and συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, *Corp. Inscrr. Graec.* vol. ii. p. 155, cf. p. 1005, conclusively prove (cf. E. Curtius in the *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1864, p. 161). In such cases our knowledge is confined to the general fact that Judean-Greek inscriptions, at any rate when set up by Judeans themselves, cannot possibly be later than the war of Titus, still less than that of Hadrian.

[6] On the early dispersion of the Judeans in the most northerly Greek cities on the Black Sea, cf. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1860, pp. 244 sqq., Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschr.* 1866, p. 353, and Chwolson's *Krimische Grabinschriften*, pp. 59 sq., 71 sq., 93, 123 sq. [Also *Theological Review*, Oct. 1868, pp. 463 sqq.—Transl.]

Many settlements, also, were certainly formed at a very early date on the islands between Asia and Europe, as on Cyprus, Eubœa, and Crete, on Delos and Cos, to which last the Babylonian Judeans once removed their treasures for security in troubled times;[1] and in Greece itself such commercial cities as Corinth possessed special attractions. Nowhere, however, did they settle in such large masses as in Alexandria. At the time of Philo[2] the Judeans residing in Egypt were estimated at about a million: in the new Greek capital, however, they formed almost two-fifths of the vast population, which was continually on the increase.[3] From Egypt they also spread at an early date further westward along the coasts of Africa, and settled in peculiar strength in Cyrene[4] and other cities of the Pentapolis, such as Berenice.[5] The Arabian countries, as far as Ethiopia,[6] received many, some of whom came from Palestine and Syria, and some from Egypt doubtless under the first Ptolemies. In some of the cities, however, where Greek civilisation prevailed, the Judean population became at length so abundant that, according to the somewhat exaggerated expression of Philo,[7] it seemed almost to fill the whole Roman world, and rival in numbers its native inhabitants.—In Rome itself, which originally lay outside the Grecian world, it was not until later that a community gathered together, a special impulse being given to it by the removal thither of a large body of captives after the wars of Pompey and other generals. Once formed, however, a hundred other causes made it grow with very great rapidity, so that it comprised more than eight thousand Judeans, quite independently of the Samaritans, who settled there also in great numbers.[8] And this formed a starting point for further extension to the west.[9]

But wherever the Judeans went, they carried with them their ancestral faith, and the peculiarly tenacious and inflexible pride which was so closely knit with it. They were conscious of being raised above the thousand forms of heathen superstition, and accordingly felt themselves everywhere impelled among the

[1] According to the view of Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2; on Delos and the surrounding islands see xiv. 10, 8. It is curious that few Judeans seem to have resided in Rhodes, as was also the case with Carthage; yet this is not more surprising than that they should fail to make any show in modern times in England.

[2] Philo, *Contr. Flacc.* vol. ii. p. 523 sq.

[3] This can at any rate be inferred with tolerable certainty from the description in Philo, p. 525.

[4] Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4, 6, *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2, xvi. 6, 5, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 11, 1; cf. Acts xi. 20, xiii. 1, Mark xv. 21.

[5] Cf. the decree of the elders of the city of Berenice, published from an inscription in Maffei's *Museum Veronese*, p. 325 sq.

[6] Cf. Acts viii. 27.

[7] Vol. ii. pp. 523 sq., 577 sq., 582.

[8] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, 1; Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* cap. 23, ii. p. 568 sq.

[9] Cf. Rom. xv. 24, 28.

heathen to maintain or aspire after a certain elevation of life, especially when they came to be sought for by so many potentates of the time. When the Judeans serving in Alexander's army were set in Babylon to assist in restoring the temple of Belus, they obstinately refused; and those who lived in Palestine destroyed all the altars which the first Macedonians tried to erect in their country.[1]—With this pride, however, was combined a sort of scrupulous industry and assiduous labour natural to all who enjoy a higher civilisation or religion, as soon as they find themselves isolated among strangers and thrown almost exclusively on their own activity;[2] and the desire to make rapid gains by the freest and most extensive commerce visibly increased among these scattered Judeans to a greater degree than we have already observed it.[3] If, in addition, they wished to maintain their ancient national customs, so far as they appeared inseparable from their religion, such as the celebration of the sabbath and other days, the choice of particular kinds of food, &c., they were obliged always to strive after a certain freedom and singularity of life among the heathen. The tendency of these very different impulses and wants was to make the scattered Judeans among the Greeks, and in the same way at a later day among the Romans, strain every nerve to secure the utmost civil liberty and respect, in which to a great extent they actually succeeded. As the immigrants at this time attached themselves closely to the ruling Macedonians, they acquired in Alexandria from the very first the Isonomy or Isopolity, i.e. equality of all civil rights with the ruling people, and they strove jealously to maintain this under all circumstances.[4] They thus stood above the mass of the people of Egypt, and possessed liberties and honours denied to the latter.[5] Their position in Alexandria served as the type for other cases. In Antioch, on the Orontes, and in all the larger Greek and Macedonian cities, they always sought for the same privileges, and succeeded in obtaining them so generally and so early in

[1] Hecatæus, in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 456.

[2] The position of the Armenians has been very similar since ancient times, so also of the Bannians, and the Chinese outside China. It is foolish to suppose that the Jews have been the only people who have preserved their peculiar characteristics throughout a wide dispersion.

[3] P. 8.

[4] The opposite to Isopolity is Laography, admission among the *plebs* by mere counting of heads, 3 Macc. ii. 28, 30, iii. 21; on the ἀπογραφή or *census*, cf. iv. 14 sq., vi. 38 sq., vii. 22. Alexandrian, i.e. higher, rights were strictly distinguished from the ordinary Egyptian, and the same was the case in other cities; cf. Philo ii. p. 525; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, 7, *Ant.* xvi. 6, 1, xix. 5, 2, xx. 8, 7, 9. Those who were thus privileged were also called ἐγγενεῖς, *ingenui*, Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2, 5.

[5] An instance of this which, though insignificant in itself, implies a great deal, is given by Philo, vol. ii. p. 528,

this new phase of universal history, that they were not altogether without ground for their subsequent boast of the *Symmachy* (alliance) which had from the first subsisted between them and the conquerors.[1] In consequence of this they endeavoured in every city to secure a magistracy of their own, to form an exclusive community not merely for their religious duties but even for everything relating to taxes and property,[2] and to have all their internal disputes, whether about sacred or civil matters, adjusted within their own limits. In each town of any size, accordingly, they constituted a *Politeuma*, i.e. an organised community with a large body of *Gerontes* (senators), a smaller number of *Archons* (executive officers),[3] and a chief who in a country of importance might even bear the title and dignity of an *Ethnarch*, or national prince:[4] in Alexandria he was generally designated Alabarch.[5] The honourable privileges in a Greek city included in particular participation in all public celebrations, plays, games, exhibitions of gladiators,[6] &c.—This struggle on the part of the Judeans resident among the heathen for higher respect, liberty, and independence, was so vigorous, and the air of the Greek age so mild, that even those who had been at first transported as prisoners or slaves almost everywhere regained their freedom, just as at a later day the community at Rome was formed chiefly out of the *liberti* settled on the further bank of the Tiber.[7]

As, however, the unity of the worship of Jahveh was now maintained in the strictest manner by the one great sanctuary in Jerusalem, the Judeans, who were thus dispersed everywhere, were united by a very close tie to their original fatherland and its great capital as their true metropolis.[8] Wherever there was

[1] 3 Macc. iii. 21, v. 31, vi. 25, compared with the narratives already quoted about Judean troops under the first Greek kings. Even Antiochus II. (Theos) favoured them, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 2.

[2] How the synagogue put in its claims on the civil property of the separate members is also shown by the inscription of Panticapæum, which will be discussed further on. [In the German ed.]

[3] This is most clearly recognised from Philo, ii. p. 527 sq., 534. In consequence of the Isonomy Judean Archons could of course be chosen for the general city magistracy. Thus, according to the inscription above referred to (p. 240 *note* 5), among the nine Archons in Berenice one at least was a Judean.

[4] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3, 3, *Ant.* xix. 5, 2, and Strabo, xiv. 7, 2.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6, 3, 8, 1; xix. 5, 1; xx. 5, 2, 7, 3. The name in this form seems to imply that he was also responsible to the king for the correct raising of the taxes, and is also found in inscriptions, as in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* vol. iii. p. 146; the spelling Arabarches in Cic. *Ad Att.* ii. 17 (though it is doubtful) and Juv. *Sat.* i. 130 sounds as though the Judeans and other petty nations in the east were reckoned among the Arabians, which at first perhaps seemed very ingenious, but can only be a misconception. The word seems to have been of Carian origin.

[6] Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 9–20, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 6.

[7] Philo, ii. pp. 533, 568, Acts vi. 9 (which is to be explained in this way), Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85.

[8] Vol. iv. pp. 225 sq., 237 sqq.

a sufficient number of them to bear the expenses they could erect what in Egypt and elsewhere among the heathen were called prayer-houses, or, as they were ordinarily termed in Palestine, meeting-houses (synagogues).[1] Here they might assemble for united prayer, and be edified by instruction from the holy scripture. For this purpose they might appoint speakers and teachers among themselves, and organise all their proceedings with great independence; but the sacrifices and gifts of all descriptions required by the law could only be offered in the sanctuary at Jerusalem. The close connection established between the hagiocracy and a school of trained interpretation of the Bible and teaching of the law, which from the time of Ezra had its principal seat in Jerusalem, rendered this the sacred centre from which all the minuter ordinances and decisions concerning religious duty were constantly issued into all heathen countries; and this bond of union was necessarily tightened, and a stricter watch kept over the remotest Judeans, to counteract the danger to which every Judean element was exposed of evaporating when it was so widely dispersed. Thus, in a certain sense, there now arrived an age when, as one of the most ancient prophets had foretold,[2] the 'law and justice' of the true God went forth from the hill of Zion into all the world; and the pilgrimages of foreign Judeans to the feasts at Jerusalem, which were evidently regarded with great satisfaction and favour by the priests, afforded on a small scale a prelude to the universal dominion of this religion over the whole world.

These relations, it is true, when they had assumed a more settled shape and subsisted for some time, might lead in many ways to the most injurious complications with the heathen; and we shall see further on how destructive was the final issue of the germs implanted now. Those who did not stand on the

[1] The name *Proseuchê* in ordinary Greek, and hence also in Hellenistic usage (as in the decree of the Halicarnassians, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 23, cf. 24; in Philo, ii. pp. 568 sq., 591 sq.; Jos. *Vit.* cap. 54; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296), denotes what is otherwise called a synagogue. Corresponding to the word בֵּית תְּפִלָּה this name occurs for the most part only in the New Testament. But among the Hellenists and heathen the only name for the community itself as a legitimate association was *συναγωγή*, as is clear from the inscription in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 1005, where *προσευχή* first of all occurs twice to denote the place, and then *συναγωγή* is used for the community (in the second passage we ought probably to read *ἡ προσευχὴ θωπείας τε καὶ προσεταιρήσεως*, i.e. the holy place for prayer as well as for friendly meeting). In fact, the name 'place of prayer' is a common one, used consequently for the most part among heathen and in heathen countries, not in Palestine. It is, however, clear from Acts xvi. 13 compared with xvii. 1 sq., that places which had not the usual appearance or importance of synagogues were designated as Proseuchæ. Compare also vol. iii. p. 210 *note* 1.

[2] Joel, see Is. ii. 2–4, Mic. iv. 1–4.

same footing, for instance the native Egyptians, soon began to envy the privileged Judeans, and this jealousy was increased by the fact that they did not, like the Greeks, maintain their power by the sword.[1] The contributions for the temple, to be paid annually by every male,[2] and the more voluntary offerings besides,[3] were collected in every foreign country as carefully as taxes, and stored up in a safe place until they could be conveyed to Jerusalem in solemn procession (by Hieropompi).[4] This naturally aroused the complaints of the heathen, who regarded it as a taxation of their country by foreigners, especially as the wealth of the numerous merchants of Judean origin still went on increasing.[5] It must, however, be observed that it was not till later that complaints of this kind broke out with any vehemence, when other causes of a very different character had embittered the feelings of both parties. In the first century of Greek rule Judeans and Greeks lived very peaceably side by side; and this rendered the influence of the civilisation of the latter on the former all the more powerful and uninterrupted.

Moreover, the humanity of many of the ruling princes, and the high culture of their principal servants and friends, contributed not a little during the same period to spread the love of Greek art, language, and culture, among the Judeans. Foremost among these was Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, whose long, peaceful, and prosperous reign, whose love of wisdom, and whose goodness, Judeans no less than Egyptians and Greeks had reason to extol. The story related by Josephus that on the advice of his powerful court officers, Aristæus, Andreas, and Sosibius, he set free at the public expense more than one hundred thousand Judeans who were scattered on Egyptian estates, and were in part the descendants of slaves carried captive long before, rests only on the fanciful descriptions of the book of Aristeas;[6] but the fact itself, independent of the form in which it is presented there, is not improbable, for subsequent history contains no further mention of Judean slavery in Egypt. Even in the Roman period Philo of Alexandria allowed no opportunity to pass in all his voluminous writings for praising the goodness as well as the greatness of this prince.

[1] This appears glaringly enough from Philo's writings, *De Leg. ad Cai.* and *In Flacc.*

[2] P. 166.

[3] Philo includes them all under the very innocent and general name of *first-lings*, ἀπαρχαί, ii. pp. 568 sq., 578, 591 sq.; elsewhere clearer language is employed by Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 9, 1; and very violent language by Cicero, *Pro L. Flacco*, cap. 28, who gives some curious details, as also by Tac. *Hist.* v. 5.

[4] Cf. the description in Philo, ii. p. 578.

[5] Cf. Philo, ii. p. 564, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2.

[6] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2, 2 sq

A further cause which, it seemed, ought to bring the ancient city of Jerusalem, so recently restored to its position, into closer connection with separate Greek states, was to be found in a kind of international intercourse. The traces of it which we can still recover are certainly very feeble and strangely concealed, yet closer investigation brings them to light clearly enough. During this period, Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcêtes, subjugated Macedonia, and united with the Seleucidæ to oppress Greece. Sparta, however, under its enterprising king Areius,[1] was desirous of regaining its freedom with the support of the Ptolemies, and, by despatching a special ambassador, Demoteles, further sought the friendship and alliance of the high-priest in Jerusalem. This intercourse of the petty nations which turned towards him, and were more or less dependent on him, Ptolemy Philadelphus seems to have regarded favourably. A similar alliance must have been sought at the same time by the kingdom of Pergamus, then rising in the struggle with the Seleucidæ. Smaller nations which desire leagues of this kind for mutual help are fond of trying to establish their 'brotherhood' on a historical basis. In those days discovery of such primeval connections was treated as a very easy task, and so somehow a relationship of the Spartans and Pergamites to the Judeans through Abraham must have been made out, and employed as a pretext, although it is difficult for us to specify the reasons on which it was supported.[2] This intercourse must at any rate have been developed far enough to allow of an attempt being made to resume it under the first Asmonean princes after it had been long interrupted; and it is not until this period that we know any particulars about it.[3]

[1] According to Diodorus, xx. 29, he came to the throne B.C. 309, and reigned forty-four years; among his enterprises was a war in Crete.

[2] As the Kittim, who were not connected with Shem and Abraham, Gen. x. 4, Num. xxiv. 24, were now interpreted, according to 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5, to be Macedonians, they perhaps found the Pelasgi in Eber's son Peleg, Gen. x. 25, xi. 16, and referred the name to separate Greek nationalities, like the Spartans or Pergamites—to the former because the whole Peloponnesus had formerly been called Pelasgia (Nicolaos Dam. apud C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 374, cf. 378), to the latter, among other reasons, because of the similarity of sound. Still more violent applications of the Biblical names of nations may be read in great numbers at the beginning of Ben-Gorion. According to Steph. Byz., under Ἰουδαία an ancient reader conjectured that this name was derived ἀπὸ Οὐδαίου Σπαρτῶν ἑνὸς ἐκ Θήβης (Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 4, 1; 6, 7); but that is probably only a very much later conjecture to explain the connection.

[3] This explains the stories about the Spartans, 1 Macc. xii. 1–23, xiv. 16–23; cf. xv. 23. The Onias mentioned in xii. 8, 20 is Onias II. (to be described further on), then in his minority; in xii. 7, 20, the name of the Spartan king should be read Areus, or rather Areius, as is proved by Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, 10, xiii. 5, 8. Of the relations with Pergamus our present source of information is the Pergamite decree in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 22, but this evidence is very important. Herod received a Spartan with distinction 'on account of his country,' Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 26, 1; cf. also 2 Macc. v. 9. Similar

Lastly, another main cause of the rapid and permanent ingress of Greek civilisation is to be found in its own beauty and perfection. Though as yet by no means complete in its scope, it nevertheless presented itself to foreign nations with its inner aptitudes, grace, and attractiveness, entirely matured, and was by no means dependent for its diffusion merely on the outward power of a dominant nation. But on the other hand, the ancient community of Israel had also much to offer to the better and wiser Greeks, which they, it seems, if we correctly interpret one of the leading endeavours of their philosophy, had for centuries been seeking, but had not yet discovered in actual national life; namely, the truths of a religion aspiring after the highest perfection, and the actual beginning of their realisation in the national life. During the centuries of the supreme development of Greek wisdom this national life had, it is true, been thrust back into an obscure corner unobserved in the great world, so that Herodotus could travel along the coast from Gaza to Tyre without visiting Jerusalem or receiving a clear impression of the noteworthy characteristics of the Judeans; nay, without even calling them by their right name when he has anything to tell.[1] The expedition of Alexander, however, necessarily led to a continuous and very close contact between Greeks and Judeans, and it was to be expected that in spiritual things the former would have as much to impart to the latter as the latter to the former, and

transactions took place in those times, for instance, between the Teians and the Etolians, Romans, &c., of which the original documents have been preserved and may be found in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* ii. p. 631 sqq. Cf. Chwolson's *Krimische Grabinschriften*, p. 55.

[1] He names them, as according to p. 235 *note* 1 he might, 'Syrians in Palestine,' ii. 104, iii. 5, thus distinguishing them, at any rate, from the Phœnicians, but he also confuses them with the latter in vii. 89.—Whether a somewhat closer knowledge of the religion of Israel may not have reached some of the Greek sages, especially through the Persian campaigns against Greece, in which many Judean soldiers were engaged, it is now very difficult to ascertain; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 111 sq. There is a strange story preserved in G. Syncellus, i. p. 471, about a female Hebrew philosopher, Maria, who laboured in Egypt with Democritus of Abdêra during the Persian age; the source of this story is unknown. We must, however, at this point observe that the question why the ancient Greeks were silent concerning the sacred books of Israel was raised sufficiently early to be investigated in the book of Aristeas. Hecatæus of Abdêra is said to have averred that it was because the ideas which they contained were too sacred (p. 107); others (adds the book at its conclusion, p. 131), like the historian Theopompus and the tragic poet Theodectes, had attempted to handle subjects taken from these books, but their intentions had been wrecked on the difficulty of execution, as is farther described in the same passage and in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2, 14. But although we no longer know what is the ultimate basis of these traditions, it is nevertheless clear that such reasons as these would not be accepted everywhere. We find, accordingly, traces of the opposite endeavour to make out that the great Greek poets and sages were really acquainted with the principal elements of the religion of Israel, or proclaimed truths similar to it.—On the question whether Ephorus (about 336 B.C.) mentions Moses see the passages in Klügmann, *De Ephoro Hist. Gr.* (Gött. 1860), p. 36.

thus new results of equal advantage to both sides would gradually appear. In fact we are still able to recognise with tolerable clearness what a deep and favourable impression was produced on many Greeks by closer acquaintance with this community in its first freshness. The great master of all the peculiarities of nature and of men, and the eager investigator of all the rarities then pouring out of Asia, Aristotle, lived sufficiently long to hear enough of the strange people in 'Syria.' A quotation has been preserved from a work of his pupil Clearchus, in which Aristotle speaks of having on one occasion met a Judean (probably before the expedition of Alexander), and expresses his admiration for his wisdom, comparing the nation with the Indian Calanos-philosophers, first made known by Alexander's expedition, and even deriving it from them.[1] Nor have we any reason for doubting this as unhistorical, as we see here in all their freshness the first errors which the wisest man in Greece did not escape in his representation of this people, and which were only possible during a short period. His pupil Theophrastus also wrote[2] of the sacrifices which seemed to him so strange, but his information was far from being exact. If Aristotle, however, began to regard the Judeans in this way, knowing them only at a distance, it was still more natural for other Greeks who became more intimately acquainted with them to come to admire them, for the first feeling produced by the unusual appearance of moral elevation is always one of admiration; and if the Indian sages filled them with wonder, it was equally natural for many of them to investigate more narrowly the Judean character, which was now for the first time emerging clearly into view, and conceive for it a high respect. Attempts were not wanting on the part of the Greeks to give their countrymen some correct ideas about the estimable qualities of the Judeans and their ancient history. Of this nature seems to have been the work of Hecatæus of Abdêra, a contemporary and perhaps a companion of Alexander. He lived far into the reign of Ptolemy I., whom he appears also to have accompanied to Palestine. Unfortunately, however, only a few fragments of his book have been preserved, which do not enable us to discern its general purport and design; but the author was so full of admiration that at the beginning of the

[1] See the passage *in extenso* in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 454 sq.

[2] Cited in Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, ii. 26 (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 1 sq.). He still designates the people as the Judeans among the Syrians, or the Syrian Judeans, which sounds almost the same as the phrase of Herodotus, p. 246 *note* 1 (Megasthenes, in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 6, 5, uses a similar expression). The genuineness of the passage admits of no doubt.

second century after Christ, at a time, that is, when the Greeks and Romans had long felt nothing more towards Israel than contempt and hatred, Herennius Philo actually expressed a doubt whether the work was really written by him.[1]

But if this closer contact between the ancient Judean and the new Greek civilisation was to be permanently beneficial and rich in blessings to the two nationalities, it was necessary to endeavour to bring about a mutual understanding and maintain it with continuous zeal. The Greeks, however, were even then almost entirely destitute of any deeper knowledge of the antiquity and the spiritual treasures of foreign nations; while the Judeans also, on their side, had never examined their own past sufficiently deeply, or scientifically mastered its eternal stores. They soon attempted to impart their spiritual possessions to the Greeks in a literary form, and willingly translated their own Hebrew books into their language, so that the contents might become known to the wise heathen;[2] but the want

[1] See Origen, *Contr. Cels.* i. 3, 2. In modern times these doubts have been repeated by Eichhorn, Scaliger, Rich. Simon, Hody and Bentley; even Valckenär, *Diatr. de Aristob.* p. 18, regards Hecatæus' book as absolutely suppositious. I must, however, say first of all that the extant fragments do not enable us to reconstruct from them the object and plan of the work; this is one of the principal obstacles to any safe judgment on its genuineness. From the passage in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4 it might be conjectured that it was intended to prove how favourably disposed Alexander had been towards Jerusalem in contrast with the Samaritans; but the observations contained there are too cursory, and their historical truth receives confirmation from the remarks already made, p. 228. The descriptions of Jerusalem and the Temple, and of the high-priest Hezekiah (probably only the chief-priest in Egypt), who removed to Alexandria under Ptolemy I., and to whom Hecatæus was indebted for the greater part of his acquaintance with Judean affairs, the statement that Alexander released Judean soldiers from assisting in the reconstruction of the temple of Belus in Babylon, the description of how Hecatæus fell in with a Judean soldier in Egypt named Mosollam (מְשֻׁלָּם is not a proper name in frequent use, but it certainly belongs to that period), who ridiculed the heathen superstition about the flight of birds (see the passage in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22), are all in the simple style of a heathen writing about 300–280 B.C.; and the mistaken assertion that the *Persians* had transported many Judeans to Babylon might easily have come from his Judean instructor, as we find later writers gradually putting the Persians in place of their predecessors the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and *vice versâ* (see above, p. 107 *note* 2). Besides this, it is to be considered that the work is quoted in the book of Aristeas and in Diodorus of Sicily; and the great fragment in Diodorus has not the slightest appearance of being the unauthentic interpolation of a Judean (vol. ii. p. 91 sq.). There are certainly a few passages, particularly those quoted in the book of Aristeas, which have a rather strong Judean appearance, so that we might conjecture that the work of Alexander's companion had been subsequently worked up and enlarged by a Judean, and that this was the book read by Josephus and Eusebius, under the name 'concerning the Judeans,' or 'concerning Abraham and the Egyptians'; cf. Jos. *Ant.* i. 7, 2, Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 14, Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 12. Moreover the later editor must have had some reason for choosing Hecatæus among the numerous companions and historians of Alexander. That Hecatæus, however, ascribed quite a superstitious value to the customs of foreign nations, may be seen from his descriptions of the Hyperboreans, Diodorus, ii. 47, Ælian, *Hist. An.* xi. 1. I have already shown (vol. ii. p. 91 sq.) the impropriety of doubting the genuineness of the whole work.

[2] This may be seen clearly from the genuine preface to the book of proverbs by Jesus the son of Sirach.

of fuller knowledge made a satisfactory adjustment of the truths on either side extremely difficult. The result was that the influx of the dominant Greek culture and art predominated, and the ancient people of God had nearly reached the end of its history before its spiritual counter-influence on the Greeks and other nations of kindred civilisation assumed any large proportions. There were soon plenty of Judeans and Samaritans who, by adopting Greek or Greek-sounding names, betrayed their preference for the new culture. Nor was this intrusion of the Greek spirit by any means limited to Alexandria and other Greek cities: it spread quickly and powerfully even to Jerusalem, and particularly to Samaria, as many indications enable us clearly to discern.

1. *The Greek Bible.*

Of the early date at which Greek language and literature were in this way diffused, the oldest proof of importance is afforded by the so-called translation of the Seventy. There cannot, it is true, be the smallest doubt that the grand narrative contained in the book of Aristeas[1] of the origin of this translation of the Old Testament books, which acquired such immense importance, grew up out of the notions of the later age to which this work, ascribed to Aristæus (or Aristeas), one of the courtiers of Ptolemy Philadelphus, belonged. But it would be equally perverse to suppose that the whole representation, down to its ultimate basis, was nothing but the invention of the author; for although the work has its name to-day from relating the origin of this translation, yet this was assuredly not by any means its actual object, nay, when the outward scope of its contents is considered, it is almost the most insignificant among them. It was written, it seems, in

[1] This has at length been printed in the appendix to Haverkamp's edition of Josephus; it is partly given in a very abbreviated form in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2; cf. procem. 3, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 4. It was this far less intelligible representation of the contents of the book of Aristeas which the Fathers followed, and it easily led them astray into further misapprehensions.—The later Talmudic stories, Gem. to *Megillah*, fol. 9*a*, *b*, Mishnah, *Sepher Torah*, i. 8 sq., *Sôpherîm* i. 7, supply us in part with nothing but extremely scanty and obscure traditions, and in part mingle up much that is wholly unhistorical. Thus it was related that in the laws about unclean animals, Lev. xi. 6, Deut. xiv. 7, the reason why the Greek Bible rendered אַרְנֶבֶת not by λαγός but by שְׁעִירַת דְּגָלַיִם, i.e. δασύπους, was in order not to give offence to the Lagidæ as the sovereigns of Egypt. This, however, considering the offence which a hare might give on other grounds (*Alterth.* p. 167), is probably entirely groundless, and was only a later joke which Aquila for instance may have made, who certainly often employed λαγός in his translation, and whose words were gladly followed by the Rabbis. Further we must first of all know whether δασύπους and λαγός are identical. The LXX do not employ the word outside the Pentateuch, and if we have here anything more than a mere joke of Aquila's, it would simply supply another proof that the Greek Bible arose at the most flourishing period of the Ptolemean monarchy.

the last century before Christ,[1] at about the same date as the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which it resembles in its essentially didactic aim, as will be shown in more detail further on. Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 284–286), then, it was said, on the advice of Demetrius Phalêreus, who was as desirous of knowledge as he was politic, sent an embassy to the high-priest in Jerusalem, and procured from him a trustworthy copy of the book of the law of the Judeans, with the view of having it translated and placed in the great royal library at Alexandria. This representation had long been current, and was merely employed by the author of the book of Aristeas as the external foundation for the further representations of a very different character which he intended to produce. It is in fact difficult to conceive how this simple basis of the whole tradition of the origin of the translation, which was afterwards so elaborately developed, could have been invented, since everything combines to vindicate its historical credibility. It speaks of nothing more than a translation of the book of the law (Pentateuch) prepared under Philadelphus by public interest. It is not said that it included all the books of the Old Testament[2] to which the Fathers gradually extended the story. The manifest absence of intention which marks this limitation to the book of the law in the tradition, makes its coincidence with evidence from other sources all the more important. Aristobulus, also, the only writer prior to the book of Aristeas who makes any mention of the origin of this translation, and who may have flourished about 150–145 B.C.,[3] in his very simple words on the subject limits the translation which arose 'through the great zeal of Philadelphus and the guidance of Demetrius Phalêreus' to the book of the law; and a closer

[1] Not merely because Josephus treats it as having been long in use, but also because Philo, *De Vit. Mos.* vol. ii. pp. 138–140, relates the origin of the translation in a manner which proves that he must have read it. This last fact no scholar in modern times ought to have denied. That he should relate everything as it is told in the book of Aristeas it is unreasonable to require; but the statement that Philadelphus put learned questions to the translators fetched from the high-priest at Jerusalem is unmistakably drawn from the substance of the book of Aristeas.

[2] Philo, also, *loc. cit.*, only speaks of the book of the law; the essential uniformity of the Greek, however, seems to me to prove that the book of Joshua was translated at the same time with the Pentateuch, a hypothesis which also agrees well with what is stated in vol. i. p. 63 sqq. Moreover, Aristobulus, also quoted in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 12, limits the translation of Philadelphus to the law, and Valckenär's proof, *de Aristob.* p. 47 sqq., that the words of Aristobulus and the book of Aristeas are to be understood as a translation of the sacred books, in the larger sense, is not convincing.

[3] The genuineness of the work of this Aristobulus (which will be discussed at greater length further on) has certainly been denied by Hody, and by others after him, in particular by Eichhorn (*Biblioth. der Bibl. Lit.* v. pp. 252–81), but on untenable grounds; it is well defended against Hody by Valckenär, *de Aristob.* p. 22 sqq.

examination easily proves that the translator of the Pentateuch was very different from those of the other books of the Old Testament. Moreover, the character of the age and of the ruling Greeks was in fact of such a nature that an undertaking of this kind might easily receive public support. Even if the two first Ptolemies had not founded the great library in Alexandria, and endeavoured to enrich it with the works of non-Greek nations,[1] the expediency of paying closer attention to the peculiar laws and customs of his various Judean and Samaritan subjects might well have stimulated the love of knowledge of the humane Philadelphus, and led him to pay special attention to the Mosaic law; and that Demetrius Phalêreus was in some way concerned with the production of a trustworthy translation of it, may very possibly be a correct tradition.[2] The translation of the law is, for the most part, advantageously distinguished above that of the majority of the other books by its fidelity, intelligibility, and uniformity, and there are many signs that the translator must have been well acquainted with the language and antiquities of Egypt. These facts receive their easiest explanation on the assumption that the translation was produced under public auspices, and was destined from the commencement to possess a higher importance, so that an attempt was made to secure the best authenticated manuscripts and the most competent translators. It may, therefore, further be historical that Philadelphus sent an embassy to the high-priest Eleazar to obtain the best manuscripts and information as to qualified translators. In an undertaking of this kind it was only wise to establish a good understanding with the spiritual power in Jerusalem; and the first Ptolemies always endeavoured in the same way to maintain friendly relations with the old Egyptian priesthood. That the answer to the royal embassy should be returned from Jerusalem with every possible honour, was the natural result of the position then occupied by Jerusalem and its priesthood at the

[1] On this point see the testimonies of various kinds collected by Valckenär in the *Diatribe de Aristobulo*. If there had been a community of Indians or Persians residing in Alexandria of the same size, and, in particular, of the same increasing importance in later times, I have no doubt that there would still have existed translations of Indian and Persian writings dating from that period.

[2] That this Demetrius, although, according to the statement of Hermippus in Diog. Laert. v. 78, removed from the court at the very beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, may nevertheless have long continued to indulge his zeal for knowledge, is correctly proved by Valckenär in opposition to Hody, p. 52 sqq.; but he has no ground for following Hody in the assumption that because some of the Fathers place the translation of the LXX as early as Ptolemy I., its origin must therefore be referred to the years 286–284 B.C., when the two kings reigned together.

Egyptian court. The selection of twelve men for a solemn embassy or any other public business was a custom of primeval antiquity in Israel, which still remained quite usual even in these later times;[1] and the multiplication of this number two, four, or even sixfold, under suitable circumstances, was not without a precedent.[2] Thus far, then, we might find an explanation even for the number of the seventy-two (or more briefly, seventy) deputies sent by the high-priest; and the varied play on this number in the book of Aristeas[3] shows that it must at that time have been long established, just as it was certainly an ancient tradition that the king's translators completed their work on the island of Pharos. But that these seventy-two prepared the translation together under the supervision of Demetrius, agreeing on the correct meaning of every single word, and then dictating it to Demetrius, is evidently (in the manner described by the book of Aristeas) an obscure representation of a later date. This book, however, again corrects its royal exaggeration in a significant manner by stating in conclusion that Demetrius had the translation read aloud to the whole assembled community, and that it was only when freely accepted by them that it was invested with public authority. This only implies that this translation of the law acquired among the Egyptian Judeans a respect in general equal to that paid to the original itself; and this, moreover, we know from other indications. But this respect led to the supposition that it emanated from the power resident in the Supreme Council at Jerusalem,[4] as though these seventy members at Jerusalem had entrusted their power to execute it to seventy equally competent deputies selected out of their midst as their representatives. It was this idea which first won for the number seventy its significance in this connection. It gives us the briefest and most vivid representation of the high respect which was at an early period acquired, and for centuries afterwards maintained, by this translation of the sacred law.[5]

[1] Pp. 86, 138 *note* 3.

[2] It is sufficient to recall the twenty-four priestly families, p. 113, and the forty-eight cities of the Levites, as well as the fact explained on p. 170 *note* 4; compared with the *Alterth.* p. 287 sq.

[3] The translation is completed in seventy-two days; the king puts seventy-two sage questions to the seventy-two, and this is done in seven successive days. For this reason, if it is to be properly judged, the book of Aristeas must be read as a whole.

[4] P. 167 sqq.

[5] After the number seventy-two became so famous through the Synedrion, the later Judeans supposed that there were also seventy-two nations and languages on the earth, as they thought they could find this number also in the great catalogue of all the nations of the world in Gen. x. (on this see Clem. *Hom.* xviii. 4; Mishnah, *Shekalim*, v. 1; *Liber de Morte Mosis*, p. 62, *Gaulm.*), and this idea might easily give rise to many further variations to the effect that as there were in all seventy-two nations and languages, so the Synedrion with its seventy-two had in fact translated

The fact that a large number of Samaritans also settled in Egypt at this time naturally gives rise to the question whether this Greek translation of the book of the law, executed under the royal auspices, was recognised by them also, or whether it stood in any closer connection with their peculiar body. The Arabic-Samaritan Chronicle of Abulfatch[1] does indeed relate that under the Samaritan high-priest Daliah Ptolemy had sent for Samaritan as well as Judean scholars to come to Alexandria. Among the former were Aaron, Sumalah, Hodamakah;[2] among the latter was Eleazar, evidently the same personage who, according to the book of Aristeas, despatched the Seventy-two. By the king's orders they were domiciled in separate residences in the Rivâk quarter of Alexandria,[3] and when they had translated their sacred books, they laid them respectively before the king, who convinced himself, by the questions which he put to them, of the superior claims of the Samaritans. But this is plainly nothing but a late perversion of the tradition of Aristeas[4] in favour of Samaria, and resembles many other attempts of the same kind. It is true that the frequent agreement between the readings of the Samaritan-Hebrew and those of the Greek Pentateuch has in modern times suggested the inference that the translator must have been a Samaritan. In the decisive passage, however, already mentioned,[5] this agreement does not appear, while, in so far as it exists at all, there are other ways in which it may be explained equally easily;[6] and the single

the Bible for them all, and was further destined by this means to reign over them all (see a somewhat similar notion in Enoch lxxxix. 59 sqq., xc. 22); but of this the book of Aristeas knew nothing, and it does not suffice to explain the origin of the name of the seventy-two interpreters. —In Islam there has been a favourite jest about seventy-two divisions (sects) into which Judaism and Christendom have broken up. To what period we are to ascribe the seventy-two regions of the earth enumerated by the Egyptians (Horapall. *Hierogl.* i. 14, p. 28), and their thirty-six parts of the body and spirits (see Orig. *Contr. Cels.* viii. 8, 6 sq.), needs further investigation.

[1] In the *N. Repert. für Bibl. und Morgenl. Lit.* vol. i. pp. 124–142; the *Liber Jos.*, edited by Juynboll, says nothing about it.

[2] Whether these names have been correctly transcribed is very doubtful — especially in the case of the last.

[3] Since اصحاب الرواق are the Stoics, this is probably intended to denote the same learned quarter of Alexandria, which in the tradition of Aristeas is called the island of Pharos.

[4] In the same way the representation of the dispute between the Hebrews and Egyptians about the vessels of the Temple, found in Tert. *Adv. Marc.* ii. 20, probably belonged originally to the book of traditions about Alexander already mentioned, p. 213 sq.

[5] P. 219.

[6] The essential feature of this agreement is this, that the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX have many readings in common, some of which are nearer the original than those in the Masoretic Pentateuch, while others (and they are very many) are simply due to the arbitrary changes of ancient readers. Both these facts, however, are completely explained on the assumption that the manuscripts then generally diffused and accepted, although in many respects they retained the original reading more faithfully, had nevertheless not yet acquired the more precise and, in numerous details, more correct arrangement which

circumstance that the book of Joshua was evidently translated by the same hand,[1] suffices to prove that the translator was no Samaritan. The extant indications, accordingly, compel us to admit that if the Samaritans did at that time have a Greek translation of their Pentateuch for themselves, it must have perished at a subsequent period. The Samaritan tradition contains nothing else, except a reminiscence of the fact that there were at one time many Samaritans residing in Alexandria who shared the Greek culture.

Assuming, however, that this translation of the sacred books, the best of all the Greek versions, was effected under royal auspices, and that the king who promoted it was Ptolemy II., it is still not impossible that it was preceded by other less complete attempts, undertaken without public authority. We have, therefore, no reason to reject, as wholly groundless, the statement of Aristobulus[2] that there was at a still earlier period a Greek version of certain of the more important portions of the book of the law. The other sacred books, also, were no doubt translated one by one, without any royal assistance, after the translation of the book of the law had supplied a brilliant example and established an important precedent. It is difficult for us to pursue the history of the versions which successively appeared, nor do their details possess any great significance for our present purpose. Closer investigation of them, however, enables us to say briefly that the other books were rendered by very different hands, and only by degrees, until, in the second half of the second century B.C., they had all been translated, without exception, and were much read in various favourite versions.[3] In times like these, moreover, when everything was new, and an active zeal was kindled for translating into Greek, the same book was rendered by different persons, and became current in two, three, or even more versions, which were in some cases quite divergent, while others were only altered in certain passages. This we might naturally take for granted,

subsequently characterised what is known as the Masoretic text. We know, however, from other indications that it was not till a somewhat later period that the Judeans began to pay closer attention to the accuracy of the readings of their sacred books.

[1] P. 250 *note* 2.

[2] In Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 12; cf. ix. 6. It is true that Aristobulus supposes that this translation was made even before the Persian sovereignty, and was used by the ancient Greeks; but though this is clearly a pre-conceived opinion, yet it is difficult to suppose he could have invented the actual existence of the translation, inasmuch as he even gives a detailed description of some of its parts (according to which it only contained an abstract of Exodus—Joshua). Valckenär, p. 47 sqq., chooses, without reason, to alter both the reading and the interpretation of this passage.

[3] According to the preface to Ecclus. in *Cod. Vat.* (on the age of which see below), 1 Macc., &c.

but we may further discern closer proof of it in the many various renderings which are sometimes found even in a single verse or in the same book,[1] and in the great diversities in the different manuscripts.[2] In the books of Chronicles[3] an important example of two different versions is still preserved.[4] We must pay no regard in this connection to the wholly new ardour for translating into Greek which was excited at a subsequent period by quite other causes and accompanied the diffusion of Christianity.[5]

2. *The Judean Hellenism.*

As soon as these Greek versions began to circulate, they naturally became known by degrees, even without special effort, to the heathen philosophers, poets, and scholars, of the day. In this way the first tolerably trustworthy medium was supplied them for making a closer acquaintance with Israel, and it could not fail to be instructive if we could trace in detail the impression produced on the heathen by these strange books, especially in the period when they first appeared.[6] The increasing numbers of Judeans and Samaritans, on the other hand, who settled in Egypt and other countries of Greek civilisation, found in these translations a firm basis for a peculiar culture, which approached the Greek more closely without being able wholly to disown its Hebrew roots, and which, from the style in which it blended various elements,

[1] Especially in the version of the Proverbs, but elsewhere also, even in the Pentateuch.

[2] From which it is sometimes possible now to restore two versions of the narrative throughout whole passages, as in Esther, according to p. 234 *note* 1.

[3] P. 127 sq.

[4] I suppose it to be capable of proof that in these books the translator of the LXX already had the so-called Ezras Græcus before him, and has preserved some of his expressions; but in this assumption there is no difficulty whatever. Cf. also *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, p. 373 sqq.

[5] Cf. vol. vii. p. 350 sqq. [Germ.], also *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. iv. p. 16 sq.; as to the groundless conjectures of Grätz, it suffices to say that I have never given a one-sided preference to the LXX.

[6] Valckenär, *De Aristob.* p. 125, tries to show that the Alexandrian poet Callimachus probably derived some of his peculiar ideas and images from the Old Testament. Similar conjectures have been made by others about some fragments of Theocritus (see Ständlin in Paulus's *Memorabilien*, vol. ii. pp. 162–70). All attempts of this kind, however, are too remote from our subject to detain us here. Hermippus, a well-known pupil of Callimachus, who wrote towards the end of the third century B.C., thought that Pythagoras had borrowed much from Moses, Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22, p. 453, Orig. *Contr. Cels.* i. 3, 2; and the Pythagorean Numenius (according to Orig. *ibid.* iv. 6, 4, and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 6) in many places in his writings discussed passages from Moses and the Prophets.—That many Greek authors at an early period after Alexander mentioned circumstances connected with the Judeans, for the most part (as Josephus thinks) without much knowledge of the subject, and consequently in an unfavourable manner, is clear from the remarks already made, p. 246 sq., and from the distinct references of Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 23. Unhappily, however, most of the passages in these writers which Josephus had in view, have now been lots.

may be most easily described as the *Hellenistic*.[1] No one who understood Greek was now obliged any longer to have recourse to the original Hebrew documents. The feeling which prompts a resort to first-hand sources in all historical questions was still for the most part very imperfectly developed in antiquity; moreover, the translation of the great book of the law, at any rate, presented itself from the first invested with the splendour of a king's authority; and the book of Aristeas proves clearly enough how soon it came to be highly esteemed by the whole community of Greek Judeans. The culture of the Hellenistic Judeans could now, therefore, enter on a path of greater independence; and it depended upon the further development of events whether or not it was finally to assume a direction contrary to the culture and the moving spirit of the parent community.

The demolition of the barrier of the literary language rendered all the more easy the removal of every other obstacle which stood in the way of the influx of the whole of Greek literature and the philosophy and art which were so closely connected with it, and enabled their charm all the more speedily to obtain the mastery of many of the boldest and deepest minds of the 'People of God.' There was at that time no great and new subject for the most intense thought and aspiration within the limits of the ancient community which might have seized and occupied the fresh minds of the age. They therefore turned with the greater craving to the new and strange charm of the Greek culture; and the great centre at which the Greek philosophy of the time gathered and settled, the new Alexandria, with its treasures, living and dead, of every kind, which was further the capital of their rulers, was in every respect as closely linked with the Judeans as though it had become their own second metropolis. It is no longer possible for us to trace with sufficient detail the steps by which the Greek culture became infused and blended with the Hebrew;[2] because after the Maccabean period, and still more after the destruction of Jerusalem, this tendency of thought sustained so severe a shock that, with the exception of the Greek translation of the Bible, all the other works composed under its influence gradually ceased to be read.

[1] The name is found with this meaning unmistakably in Acts vi. 1, ix. 29; the Hellenists are distinct both from the Hellenes, i.e. Heathen, xi. 20, and from the Hebrews, i.e. the pure Judeans, although the Proselytes were probably generally reckoned among them.

[2] Biet's book, entitled *Ecole Juive d' Alexandrie* (Paris, 1854), is as unknown to me as C. Boon's *Historia Conditionis Judæorum religiosæ et moralis inde ab exilio Babylonico usque ad tempora Jesu Chr. immutatæ* (Groningæ, 1834).

The chief points concerned, however, lie clearly before us with more or less ample proofs.

There were many Judeans and Samaritans who were readily inclined to taste in the Greek philosophy the kernel of all Greek wisdom and culture. By this time, however, it had split up into very different schools, and we observe, therefore, that individuals attached themselves to one school or another according as their doctrines and tendencies respectively suited them. The majority, however, followed the Platonic school, as the one most kindred in spirit to the Old Testament; many also adopted the tenets of the Peripatetics and Stoics, scarcely any those of the Epicureans. None of the Greek schools, however, had enough philosophy to show the way to the rigorous and profound investigation of the past of the various nations; their tendency was to sink more and more into arbitrary interpretations of the antiquity, the religions, and gods, of the Greeks as of other races. A Mosaic philosopher who abstained from passing over entirely into heathenism could only direct his efforts for the most part to the employment of the weapons of Greek culture for the defence of the Mosaic precepts, traditions, and ideas, against the gathering objections of the heathen. In the difficulties which presented themselves, however, no weapon lay so ready for the purpose as that of the allegorical interpretation of the ancient words of the sacred books. An inclination to allegorise traditions and writings which have become sacred, whether simply by way of applying their meaning to new ideas and institutions, or more artificially, so as to render what has become objectionable or obscure in them more acceptable and intelligible, naturally springs up in every nation at a later stage of its history. The Greek philosophers, also, at this period, dealt much in allegory; and the tendency was all the stronger in Alexandria, as the Egyptian priests had led the way with their ancient arts of allegorising their myths.[1] Nowhere, however, was the temptation to it so great as in the case of the Old Testament. Exalted, as it were, to heaven, it possessed a sanctity and divinity transcending everything else, and at the same time the present exerted a most powerful impulse to make a vivid and direct application of its contents, and left no proper opportunity for its historical investigation and explanation. Hence the beginnings of this method may be very clearly traced even before the Greek age, and in entire independence of it, e.g. in

[1] See Orig. *Contr. Cels.* i. 2, 4; 4, 2; iii. 4, 4; iv. 4, 8; *ibid.* 5, 5, 6.

the last prophetic writers.[1] But it certainly cannot be denied that the style in which it now appears, especially among Greek Judeans, as a kind of art and knack was stimulated and supported by Alexandrian culture.

Special objection was taken to the strong expressions of the Bible about the appearance and action of God, and it was sought in many ways to soften them by paraphrasing them, by explaining them, or even substituting others which appeared more tolerable, the fact being overlooked that they were only explicable from that primitive vivacity of the true religion, from which they involuntarily sprang.[2] Another large class of allegoric interpretations referred to prescriptions in the book of the law which were no longer applicable in their literal meaning, or of which the grounds were obscure. Of the former kind an example is found in the jubilee year, of the latter in the laws relating to food and sacrifice. But almost the whole of the ancient history as it was found in the Pentateuch, beginning with the narrative of the creation—nay, this narrative itself in particular—could now be rendered of living and fruitful interest only by means of allegorical interpretation.—The greatest development of allegory in all these relations does not appear, it is true, if we may judge from the extant works, until the writings of Philo, towards the end of this whole history; but many of the acceptations which occur there were adopted from previous writers, and he himself sometimes refers to the earlier originators of such explanations, without specifying them by name.[3] Even in the LXX some early traces of allegory present themselves sparsely scattered here and there.[4] We also possess a few fragments[5] from the

[1] I showed as early as 1840 that Ezek. iv. and Dan. ix. give genuine allegories, the former, however, in the sense not of a definite reference to words of the sacred book which are to be allegorised, but rather of a simple typical application. That the author of the book of Daniel, however, was in any way subject to Alexandrian influence, it would be wholly impossible to prove.

[2] The same effort to spiritualise the strong expressions of the Korân, and remove from God everything apparently corporeal, afterwards arose in Islâm also, and caused great disturbances: while the essence of the Vedic hymns, as the permanent basis of all Indian religion, was at a very early period completely evaporated by allegory.

[3] Opp. vol. ii. p. 211, where he even designates them as θεσπέσιοι ἄνδρες, 475. In many other passages, such as ii. pp. 15, 22, 63, he simply cites in passing various allegorical interpretations which he either found in earlier works of different authors or had heard propounded by his own teachers.

[4] As in Is. vi. 1, where the 'skirts' of Jahveh are avoided. The strongest instances are in passages like Ex. xix. 3, xxiv. 10 sq., xxv. 8. And in these all our MSS. agree.

[5] In Eus. *Præp. Ev.* vii. 13 sq., viii. 8–10, ix. 6 (this is taken from Clem. *Strom.* i. p. 342 Sylb.), xiii. 11 sq., and *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 32. Aristobulus is also mentioned in Clem. *Strom.* i. p. 305, v. p. 595, vi. p. 632, and by Origen, *Contr. Cels.* iv. 6, 4; this shows that he was still read by Origen. That Josephus nowhere mentions him cannot surprise us, if, as is very possible, he had not a copy

work of one of those who may be designated the founders of this method, the Peripatetic Aristobulus. Belonging to a priestly family, he lived in Egypt in the first half of the second century B.C., and, as a teacher of Ptolemy Philomêtor, who acceded to power at a very early age, he was held in special remembrance, so that he was called in brief 'the teacher.'[1] The general position of the Judeans in Egypt about this time renders it by no means incredible that an accomplished member of their nation should have admission to the court and possess authority there. He wrote a work entitled 'Explanations of the Mosaic Law,'[2] in several parts, in which he addressed himself to Philomêtor, who was then evidently still very young (and who continued one of the best of the later Ptolemies). His object was, before the eyes of the king himself, to dissipate certain prejudices against the law. The fragments which remain prove the work to have been an elegant and subtle composition; and in the treatment of such questions as how hands, arms, face, and feet could be ascribed to God in the holy scriptures, how the descent of God on to Sinai in fire and other symbols of the same nature were to be understood, how God could have rested on the seventh day—we observe in fact the earliest and tenderest attempts at connected allegorical explanation placed as far as possible on a philosophical basis. In the book of Aristeas already mentioned[3] allegory appears as a matter of course and in a highly developed form.

Another object, however, soon called forth further efforts. It was sought to prove that the truths of the sacred books reappeared also in the greatest Greek sages and poets, a Homer and a Hesiod, an Orpheus and a Plato, and thus received con-

of his book. It is true that Eichhorn, following Rich. Simon and Hody, has attempted (*Allgem. Biblioth. der Bib. Lit.* v. p. 253 sqq.) to prove the suppositious character of the whole work, but his reasons are not really satisfactory. Valckenär, whose *Diatrib. de Aristob.* was probably written previously, maintains its genuineness, on grounds for the most part quite adequate. The two writers named Agathobulus, whom Anatolius, in Eus. *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 32, has associated with Aristobulus, are otherwise wholly unknown.

[1] He is placed under Philomêtor by Clement, *Strom.* i. p. 342, and Eus. *Chron.* ii. p. 239, *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 337. Elsewhere he is placed by the Fathers (and even by Anatolius before Eusebius) under Philadelphus or even Lagi, and is added to the LXX themselves: but such confusions are easily explicable. The oldest passage now known to us in which he is mentioned is found in 2 Macc. i. 10; the letter quoted there is certainly fictitious, but it shows us at any rate in what high esteem Aristobulus stood, so that he was considered in Palestine as the most eminent Judean in Egypt. At the same time, if with two MSS. we read the 148th instead of the 188th year of the Seleucidæ, this passage also places him under Philomêtor; the general connection also makes this reading necessary.

[2] According to Anatolius in Eus. *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 32, in connection, however, with his incorrect representation (already mentioned) of the two Ptolemies, in whose time he places him. According to the version of Rufinus he came from the well-known Paneas (p. 236).

[3] P. 249.

firmation at their hands.[1] This comparison was not without foundation; and as soon as the confessors of the true God who had acquired Greek culture obtained a nearer insight into the treasures of the ancient Greek literature, they could not fail to be surprised to find there so much which came so near many of the finest utterances of their own sacred books. If this comparison had been carried through with historical thoroughness, it might have shown how the higher minds of all nations meet freely on the pure heights of truth, and how it is in the last resort the truth of things itself which moves the soul, and draws all better minds even involuntarily into more or less agreement. But the prevailing want of the historic spirit, and the rigid notions of the Judeans of that period, early led these efforts to quite other results. It was thought that the ancient Greeks must have borrowed such truths from the sacred books, either by an older translation,[2] or by journeys to Palestine;[3] and no one so much as inquired more closely how far this opinion was even conditionally true. Such assumptions, therefore, were soon pushed much further, just as one false step easily leads to a second, and one predilection that is not quite sound gives an impulse to another.

The activity with which Greek poetic art was then pursued in Alexandria and elsewhere, merely as an instrument of intellectual culture, led many of these Hellenists to devote themselves to it with increasing zeal, and they acquired such aptitude and ease that they even entered into competition with well-known Greek models, and handled subjects from their own history and religion in great poems. Thus, an Ezekiel composed a Greek drama on the 'March out of Egypt;'[4] an otherwise unknown Philo sang of 'Jerusalem' in epic strains;[5] a Theodotus (perhaps a Samaritan) celebrated in epic style the history of the ancient Shechem;[6] all three having certainly flourished in the second or even the third century B.C.[7] From

[1] Cf. Aristobulus as cited above, and also Josephus in his last work, where he expresses himself most cautiously; *Contr. Ap.* ii. 16, 36, 39.

[2] P. 254.

[3] The Fathers, who often used similar language, were in so doing only following the path laid in these centuries by the Judeans, and it was the more completely open to them because after the second destruction of Jerusalem the Judeans abandoned it entirely, so that the steps they had already taken upon it had been almost forgotten again.

[4] See the tolerably long extracts in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 28 sq., and Clem. *Strom.* i. p. 344 sqq.

[5] According to the shorter extracts in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 20, 24, 37. To identify this Philo with Philo Presbyter, as Viger strove to do, and as other writers have done after him, is impossible for this reason alone, that the latter, according to what we know of him through Josephus, *Contr. Ap.* i. 23, was a heathen.

[6] According to the extracts in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 22.

[7] Because Eusebius only knows and cites all three through Alexander Polyhistor; but traces of the use of the LXX

this, however, it was but a small step further, in the freedom of literary practice in that age, to the attempt to teach the truth of the sacred books in the name and costume of the old Greek poets and prophets themselves, or even to transform by easy changes ancient sayings of celebrated Greeks into the same meaning.[1] Out of this imitative art, accordingly, with hues that alternated between the two nationalities and religions, there arose a complete poetic literature, which ran on into the earliest ages of Christianity. For longer poems old Greek names like Orpheus and Phocylides were most frequently chosen, until it became more and more the practice to compose under the veil of Sibylline voices, which admitted of so much mystery, and seemed to stand nearer to the east, in order to bring home to the heathen the great truths of the unity and righteousness of God as well as the Messianic hopes. At what an early period all these attempts took shape among the Greek Jews, we learn most clearly from the work of Aristobulus already mentioned.[2] Closer researches, however, have now established that the oldest Sibylline work preserved with tolerable completeness falls in the year 124 B.C., but other poems, such as that in the name of Phocylides, are much older, and by the early ages of Christianity the whole of this department of composition, which was once so flourishing, had passed through a most various development. It was quite in accordance with the general unfolding of the mind that in the third century, under the mild sun of the earlier Ptolemies, this hybrid literature should be still tender and shy, recommending to the heathen the truth of the higher religion, even without its own name, or the names of Israel or Judah. At a later stage, in the oldest Sibylline utterances now extant, it rose in open contest against heathenism, only hiding its growing boldness under the most ingenious veil, until, at the approach of the ultimate fall of the nation, it served simply as the vehicle of the dark anticipations and sighs of distracted souls, and finally found its only refuge in Christianity.[3]

are found in Ezekiel, as in Ecclus. xxxvi. 29 [24], compared with Gen. ii. 18, 20.

[1] As in the verse falsely cited from *Od.* v. 262 in support of a proof of the sabbath, ἕβδομον ἦμαρ ἔην καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα, in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 12; and the Sophoclean lines on the unity of God in the passage in Athenag. *Presb.* v., Clem. *Strom.* v. 14 (quoted above, p. 248 *note* 1), though probably only derived from the Jewish redactor of the Hecatæan work.

[2] Valckenär, indeed, supposes that Aristobulus had himself composed the verses quoted by him, and his whole *Diatribe* proceeds from this point of view; but appearances are against this assumption, and at the time of Philometor their true authors might have long since become unknown.

[3] On this subject see further the essay *Über Entstehung, Inhalt und Werth der Sibyllischen Bücher*, Göttingen, 1858; to which may be added the passages from

The most unassuming and innocent attempts were those made by some Judeans and Samaritans, in the third and second centuries B.C., to open up to the heathen the comprehension of the ancient significance of their nation by historical delineations and researches. Unfortunately, our only knowledge of these works is derived from a few fragments in later writings, and with others our acquaintance is still more imperfect; moreover, this period was little favourable to deeper historical investigations into antiquity.[1] Nevertheless, a beginning was thus made of a more methodical treatment of the remote and obscure past, which could never again be entirely abandoned.

3. *The Progress of Culture in Palestine—The Son of Sirach.*

In Palestine, and particularly in Jerusalem itself, there was far too stout a kernel of the ancient people to allow the influence and intermingling of Greek culture to acquire such rapid and general predominance. Moreover, the temple service, in which the sacred usages of old were still kept up with scrupulous inflexibility, opposed a strong barrier to all deeper innovations; and the study of the law, which had flourished uninterruptedly from the time of Ezra, together with the increasing reverence for the other works of the ancient men of God and for the whole of Israel's mighty past, powerfully promoted continuous perseverance in the old national customs and pursuits.

How tenaciously the previous style of national life sought to maintain itself up to the beginning of the second century, and how little Greek culture was able to interrupt the steady course even of national literature, may be seen very clearly from the great book of the Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach. This is the only really Palestinian work belonging to this Ptolemaic period which has been preserved; it supplies us, however, with abundant evidence on many points about the state of affairs in the great centre of the people. It is true that we are only acquainted with this very comprehensive book through the

Melito in Cureton's *Spicil. Syr.* p. 24, 5, Verecundus in Pitra's *Spicil. Solesm.* iv. p. 153 sq., and Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, v. 16. Cf. also vol. vi. p. 374 [Germ.], the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 299, x. p. 226, xi. p. 233 sqq., and Jac. Bernay's essay *Über das Phokylideische Gedicht*, Berlin, 1856. A fragment of an old and probably Samaritan-Egyptian Sibyl has been preserved in the latest portion, *Sib.* xi. 239–42, where λιμὸς καὶ λοιμός are prophesied to the Judeans in Egypt, with the later addition that this should take place during the 293 years (in ver. 244 τρεῖς καὶ τριστριάκοντα should be read) of the eight (Ptolemean) kings of Egypt.

[1] Cf. vol. i. pp. 198, 212.

translation which the grandson of the author executed in Egypt, some years after his arrival there in the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes (also known as Physcon), i.e. 133 B.C.[1] But, as the translator remarks in his preface, written in excellent Greek, his work was performed with great industry, exactness, and care. At any rate, it is very faithful, and often literal, even to wide departure from Greek usage,[2] although he gives sufficient proof in his preface of his ability to write, when necessary, without any Hebraisms. It is quite possible, therefore, that the work was written before the beginning of the Maccabean struggles; and it nowhere contains the smallest allusion to the peculiar characteristics of their times, for the Messianic hopes, which are expressed with plenty of force[3] in various passages, constitute rather the permanent ground of all the deeper and genuine Judean philosophy through all these centuries. Closer examination, however, of the different divisions and maxims of the whole book further proves that Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem, who, at the close, designates himself with sufficient clearness as the writer,[4] was by no means in the strictest sense of the word the original author of all that it contains; on the other hand, he combined two older books of proverbs, and published them again several times with some important additions of his own.[5] These earlier works seem only to have been from fifty to a hundred or a hundred

[1] According to the genuine preface, towards the end of which εὑρών must be read for εὗρον. Euergetes I. cannot be referred to, as he only reigned for twenty-five years.—The other preface, which is found in the Complutensian Polyglott and in a very few MSS., contains nothing but the conjectures of a tolerably late and indeed Christian reader on the contents and value of the book, and particularly on the relation of the author to the translator. It should be noted that the statement that the author only left his book 'almost perfected,' and the translator finally arranged it, is a mere surmise on the part of this learned reader, based on certain marks of a want of order still easily perceptible in the work, but it is in itself without foundation.

[2] Hence this book also requires a complete knowledge of Hebrew for its proper comprehension. That all its divisions, moreover, were equally Hebraic may be seen from the sentences which allude to the meanings of Hebrew words, and which are to be found both at the beginning, vi. 21 [22], and at the end, xliii. 8. Moreover the translator occasionally misunderstands the Hebrew.

[3] Cf. especially Ecclus. iv. 15, x. 13–17, xi. 5 sq., xxxii. [xxxv.] 17–19, xxxiii, [xxxvi.] 1–12, xxxvi. [xxxiii.] 11–17, xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 23, xlviii. 10 sq.; even to the pre-eminence of the house of David there is significant allusion, xlv. 25 sq., xlviii. 15.

[4] Ecclus. l. 27 sq. That his grandson, the translator, should bear the same name is certainly quite possible in accordance with ancient usage, but the statement rests only on the second preface referred to above, which is not in itself a very trustworthy authority.

[5] On this see the essay in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 125 sqq. The use of *οὕτως* there noticed, p. 136 (cf. also xviii. 15 [16], xx. 3 [4], 17 [18], xxxiv. [xxxi.] 26, and read xxxi. [xxxiv.] 25 sq.), is certainly to be found also in the last author, xxxvi. 24 [19], 31 [26], xli. 10; but in his case, as we may safely assume, it is the result of imitation; see further xi. 28 [30], xiii. 16 [17], 18 [19] sq.; but these few passages may also have been inserted by the last author.

and fifty years older, so that in the large book which has come down to us we possess at the same time documentary evidence of the style and manner in which the genuine Hebrew art of proverbial composition spun its continuous thread from the date of the book of Koheleth [1] to this later age. Gentle and soft, with a warm but hidden glow, this method of composition frequently settles down towards the end of a great national development of literature and art as a permanent deposit on the rising soil; particularly if it is dexterous enough to collect in a compact and agreeable form the most important results of earlier investigations and experience, and can add to these some new ideas to meet the latest requirements of the day. This had been already shown in Israel by the history of the later proverbial composition from the seventh century. As years went on, however, it grew in favour and importance, especially after prophetism had completely ceased, and what was merely instructive and capable of being propounded in the schools came to occupy the foremost place. As in earlier and better times with the comprehension or proclamation of utterances of God (oracles), so now to understand or produce utterances of wisdom became one of the highest requisites of life and sources of fame; [2] and the scholarship, which was now boldly rising to be the mistress of the people, was more naturally associated with the practice of proverbial composition than with any other among the older species of art and literature. Hence, even in these later centuries, it undergoes a new and in its way a vigorous development, of which the book of the son of Sirach affords us the most striking evidence up to the beginning of the convulsions of the Maccabean period.

The first portion of the work appears to consist of a book of proverbs, which in an attractive but still easy and level manner endeavours to embrace the whole sphere of wise maxims for the conduct of life. In short and simple sayings it dispenses the most true-hearted counsels and still more abundant warnings. It does not shun the higher considerations on the nature of all wisdom, for which the way had been paved in earlier books, but it generally prefers to dwell on the golden mean, without carrying away the reader into regions more and more remote.[3] It is in its way a work of great beauty; and so far as regards its somewhat depressed tone and the recommendation of the contented enjoyment of this brief life, made all the more earnest

[1] P. 188.
[2] Cf. Ecclus. iii. 27 [29], vi. 34 [35], viii. 8, xiv. 20, xviii. 28 [29], xx. 19 [20], xxxix. 2 sq.
[3] Ecclus. i.–xvi. 21 [23].

in its violent reaction,[1] it follows closely on the book of Koheleth. From this, however, it is distinguished quite as forcibly by its limitation to the simplest and most child-like advice, as well as by the proposal to give a summary of wisdom for young people; while on the other hand it makes none of the pretensions which its predecessor advances by its name and form. It was thus an excellent school-book for its time, and we may reasonably assume that it was written at no distant date after the book of Koheleth, probably before the end of the fourth century.—The second work which has been employed by our author is of a very different kind.[2] As though to compel the recognition of the new impulse which, through the Greek movement, seized even involuntarily the Judean minds of the third century, this writer rises to bolder heights than any of his predecessors, without on that account, however, denying the peculiar characteristics of Israel. Nay, he gives to these elements a prominence which no earlier proverbial writer had allowed them, and shows what wisdom is both for the whole earth and its nations, and for Israel in particular. As in these later days the various branches of poetry and art became more and more blended, he mingled with his discourse the charm of songs of praise and of prayer, so that we possess in this work the finest compositions in continuation of the Psalms which the Apocryphal books contain. The whole style is more artistic; single maxims are often extremely pointed; the language is full of images and flowers, and while the writer seeks to describe with great detail the whole compass of morality, he depicts certain special moral relations with peculiar care.[3] The prevailing tone is less scrupulous than that of the preceding book; as though it had been observed that the nation was beginning to acquire more independence and self-government.—In employing these two works as the basis of his own, the last author has made additions here and there, and also, in the case of the second especially, considerable abbreviations and transpositions. But he has further appended, for the most part at the end, a large number of proverbs, reflections, songs, and

[1] Only in this way can we rightly understand the great prominence given to the mortal and transient elements of human life, ix. 12, x. 9–11, xiv. 11–19, cf. xvi. 28 [30] sq., xvii. 22–27 [27–32]; in vii. 17 there is an allusion to hell; but none of these writers pursue the more enlightened ideas of immortality and recompense, which (according to *vol. iv. p. 212* sq.) had arisen in Israel at an earlier period. The depressed and timorous tone of the time finds special expression in the references to external power and dominion, viii. 1 sq., 14, ix. 13, xiii. 2; although, on the other hand, very suitable remarks are found in vii. 4–7, ix. 17 sq., x. 1–20.

[2] Ecclus. xvi. 22 [24], xxxvi. 22 [17], xxxix. 12–35.

[3] As in the proverbs about slaves, xxx. 33–40 [xxxiii. 24–31]; the canonical books contain none of equal boldness.

prayers, of his own composition, and has treated his materials with still more freedom and laxity. In particular, as an entire novelty, he introduces a celebration of the great saints of old, from Enoch to Simon, that the combined work may serve as a general book of reading and instruction, and on the historical side also may satisfy all the claims of readers in quest of knowledge. But the scrupulous spirit from which the pious minds of all these later ages are never entirely free, at least in religious matters, reappears here with only too much strength, and penetrates the whole book with only too much intensity,[1] in spite of the wealth of its glorious continuations of the eternal truths which had been long maintained in Israel. It is in harmony with the spirit of the age that there should be constant reference to the 'law of God' and the 'commandments';[2] but there is nowhere any attempt at allegory; and this alone, as well as every other sign, shows clearly how little influence was as yet exerted by the new Greek-Alexandrian learning.[3]

Many novelties, however, were making their way unobserved even into Jerusalem, and in particular special arts and accomplishments. Hence there arose a special order of learned men, whose position became more and more secure. They occupied themselves in the first place with the law and its application, and were called in consequence scribes or teachers of the law; but through their literary ability and their trained knowledge they exerted a more general influence among the people as well as in the council of the princes.[4] A very independent literary class had certainly developed itself in ancient Israel out of its native resources; but the fact that in the new Jerusalem, where the two orders of the priests and the scribes seemed to have

[1] It is sufficient to specify the proverb about 'not pressing too close or standing too far off, so as not to be either driven away or forgotten,' xiii. 10, or the exhortations to the utmost prudence against an enemy, xii. 10 sqq., or the praises of pleasure in other people's misfortunes, xxv. 7; cf. xxx. 6. There is still in the meanwhile a considerable step to the proverb about the three worst national enemies, l. 25 sq.

[2] Ecclus. ii. 16, vi. 34 [35], 36 [37], viii. 8, ix. 15, x. 19, xv. 1, 15, xix. 17, 18 [20], 21 [24], xxi. 11, xxiii. 23, 27, xxviii. 6 sq., xxix. 1, 9, 11, xxxi. [xxxiv.] 8, xxxii. [xxxv.] 1, xxxv. [xxxii.] 15, and the highest praise of the law, xxiv. 22 [23] sqq., xli. 8, xlii. 2.

[3] What finally became of the original Hebrew book of Sirach we do not know. In the Rabbinical writings there are only a few proverbs of בן סירא, Ben Sîra, here and there (at last collected in Duke's *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, Hann. 1844); and out of him the Cabbalists actually made a grandson of Jeremiah; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 236, 290. Cf. Lebrecht's *Kritische Lese* (Berlin, 1864), p. 19 sq.

[4] In this connection there is a very instructive passage in Ecclus. x. 5; cf. vv. 29 [30] sq.; see also xliv. 4, and the deliberate high praise of the γραμματεύς, xxxviii. 24–xxxix. 11. Moreover, among other Greeks, and at the court of the Ptolemies in the same way, γραμματεύς was employed in quite another aspect as a name for certain high offices of state; of this usage excellent examples are found in many of the inscriptions in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* vols. i.–iii.

been finally reconciled and blended in the person of Ezra, an order of scribes took up an independent position apart from the priesthood, won high honour, and continued into every subsequent age, was certainly a consequence of the great repute in which learning and literary power stood among the Greeks and the various Greek courts of the day.

In the same way, the influence of Greek knowledge and life showed itself in the greater prominence assumed by physicians whose practice was distinct from the treatment by the priests. Not without purpose does the son of Sirach labour to prove that the physician is to be highly honoured, and that in conjunction with proper piety and hope for divine aid his help also is not to be despised.[1]

At how early a period and with what force special branches of Greek culture gained an entrance, we may trace clearly enough in the case of an art which had hitherto been the most easily diffused of all—that of music. The book of Daniel contains the first Greek words which made their way into the Syrian literary language of the period. But these words are nothing else than the names of Greek musical instruments;[2] and we are justified in inferring from them that Greek music established itself at a very early date in Palestine. The same conclusion, however, is reached from quite another direction. The old Hebrew music must have been resumed in the new temple of Zerubbabel, and pursued with great zeal. This is plain from the superscriptions of many of the Psalms, which were then collected afresh,[3] and from the historical representations of the Chronicler. But the Greek translators of the Psalter evince only an imperfect and obscure knowledge of the technical terms of the ancient music, which clearly proves that the whole of this ancient art suffered severely through the entrance of Greek music, and by degrees entirely disappeared.[4]

III. The Ascendency of the Greeks. The Ruling Powers of the Age.

But the contact between the two religions and nationalities which had thus been set on foot could not confine itself to the

[1] Ecclus. xxxviii. 1–23.

[2] These are the names *ψαλτήριον* and *συμφωνία* so often repeated in Dan. iii.; but not סַבְּכָא, *σαμβύκη*, which must have come fro Asia to the Greeks; on the other hand, קִיתָרוֹס must have derived its form from the Greek. On this see also *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1861, p. 1094 sqq.

[3] On this more below.

[4] See the *Dichter des A. Bs.* i. p. 165 [212] sqq.

entry of these isolated arts and accomplishments, or the rivalry of merely literary achievements. It had already become too intimate for that. And, moreover, the Greek, both by its intrinsic nature and by the outward power with which it was surrounded, possessed too much strength, while, on the other hand, the Hebrew was too peculiar, and its spirit too sensitive and easily wounded. No peaceful mutual understanding, no emulous recognition and acceptance of the better and more perfect qualities which each respectively possessed, could be brought about. The efforts which had been made towards this consummation remained too weak. As the end of the first century of its dominion approached, the Greek element, it is true, chiefly through the ascendency of the most ungoverned worldly ambition and the vices of the majority of the Greek courts, underwent a rapid decline and became inwardly corrupt; yet, partly as representing the elegance, the art, and the rich knowledge, of the newest life, and partly as the imperial power of the age, it proved too seductive, and insinuated itself too easily on every side. Judaism, on the other hand, had certainly gained fresh strength in the centuries immediately preceding, but had not yet attained the perfect form to which its deepest endeavours impelled it. It had consequently appropriated as holy too much that was merely ancient and prescriptive. To the Greeks these practices were inevitably difficult of comprehension, and easily became contemptible; and although now revered with a sanctity hitherto unknown, yet in the long-run they had too slight a foundation not to become objects of suspicion in their own circle and be felt as a burthen. The two nationalities (for with these the different religions were still peculiarly allied) had each their pre-eminent advantages and strong points, but they had also their grave defects and weaknesses. The impossibility of mutual comprehension and reconciliation on a deep enough basis tended to bring them into still closer collision, and consequently into an inevitable struggle; and if this should take place, the way was prepared for the complete triumph, at any rate provisionally, of the Greek. In all the broad east the Greek was now the solitary power of the day; and consequently, in the growing severity of the friction between the hostile elements, it gained a reiterated victory by means of those who, as the ambitious and the highly cultured, or as the powerful, of their time, were most directly exposed to the charms and seductions of the age.

The blending of old Israelite and Greek literature, which we

have already described,[1] was, however, innocent enough compared with other results which were ultimately involved in the tendency of the age. Many who wished to shine as writers, as scholars, or in any other way as persons of culture, soon regarded it as very appropriate to the spirit of the age to adopt Greek names in place of Hebrew, and thus follow a fashion which was then spreading right through Asia and Egypt. This practice of bearing Greek and subsequently also Latin names, either by the side of the old Hebrew, or even alone, became more and more firmly established in the course of the succeeding centuries, and made its way to some extent also among the common people. The most obvious plan was dexterously to alter the Hebrew sound so as to make a Greek name; thus Jesus was turned into Jason, Eliakim into Alkimos, Manasseh perhaps into Menelaos, Hilkiah into Alexandros, &c.[2] Far worse, however, was the taste contracted by many of the Judeans for the brilliant Greek festivals and bodily exercises, which rendered it difficult for them to maintain the usages and principles of their ancestral religion in the form in which they were expounded and scrupulously defended by the hagiocracy. When they desired to contend with Greeks on the Palæstra they made themselves ridiculous by their circumcision, that usage derived from the most ancient times which they alone of all the nations now transformed by Greek influence still conscientiously preserved. Little by little some of them attempted to efface its sign.[3] But in so doing they ran directly counter to a prejudice about the essentials of the true religion, which the age was still much too weak to overcome in the right way; and soon there was nothing which tended more to provoke the gravest apprehensions and the most serious disapprobation on the part of all those who regarded it as their highest duty to protect the ancient true religion. It was not, however, till somewhat later that the full bearing of this controversy developed itself.

1. *The High-Priests.*

As regards the ruling powers of the period, we have little more definite knowledge of the high-priests after Alexander

[1] P. 260 sqq.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, 1; on the other names see below.

[3] The ἐπισπασμός is literally nothing more than the condition of a מָשׁוּךְ, as a man with this artificially restored growth was called. We know the fact from 1 Macc. i. 15, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, 1, and the word from 1 Cor. vii. 18. The Mishnah does not legislate upon it, since Mish. *Orla* treats of other things: elsewhere, however, the Talmud speaks incidentally of the מְשׁוּכִים.

than we have of their predecessors. In general terms, however, we may affirm that with the increasing power of the hagiocracy in Jerusalem itself[1] their position also became more and more influential and important. Josephus only supplies us in passing with their names and the order of their succession, without in each case exactly specifying the duration of their government.[2] Yet the principal outlines for our present purpose are not very obscure.

At the time of Alexander, Jaddûa was still in office, the last high-priest mentioned in the canonical Old Testament.[3] He was succeeded by his son Onias I.,[4] who ruled till about 310 B.C., and Onias was followed by his son Simon I., till about 291 B.C. This Simon, according to Josephus, bore the surname of the Just. The Mishnah also extols a Simon the Just,[5] not, however, as high-priest, but as one of the last great teachers belonging to the period of the formation of the canon, and preserves a saying of his very significant of the times, 'There are three things on which the world rests: the law, divine worship, and the practice of good works.' He belonged, therefore, to the school founded by Ezra, as was to be expected from the age in which he lived, and he carried out further the principles which it involved.

At his death, his son Onias was too young to be his successor, and his office was filled by his brother Eleazar till the year 276 B.C.; the latter was also placed by the book of Aristeas[6] in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. From some cause now obscure (probably Onias was still too young) he was succeeded first by his uncle Manasseh till 250 B.C., upon whose death Simon's son, Onias II., held the high-priesthood till about the

[1] The language about priests and sacrifices in Ecclus. vii. 29–31, xiv. 11, xxxii. [xxxv.] 1–11, still resembles that formerly employed in the Persian period, p. 173 sq.

[2] The succession of the high-priests from Onias I. to the extinction of his family may be gathered from Josephus, not without some trouble and the correction of an oversight, *Ant.* xi. *ad fin.*, xii. 2, 5; 4, 1, 10; 5, 1; 9, 7; xiii. 3, 1; xx. 10, 2 sq.; *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 2. As far as the mere succession of the high-priests is concerned, these scattered notices agree on the whole with one another, but of any closer and trustworthy chronological data there is an almost incredible lack. This great deficiency we must therefore supply as far as possible in other ways; and to what extent this can be done is tolerably clear from the explanations already made, p. 123 sq. From a mere misunderstanding of the words in Euseb. *Chron.* ii. p. 235, Georg. Syncellus, i. p. 525, places Jesus, the son of Sirach, in this series as the thirteenth, with a duration of six years; he then collects the various opinions about the fourteenth and fifteenth, and with some of his authorities assigns to the sixteenth only three years.

[3] P. 123 sq.

[4] Onias is probably not חֲנִיָּה but עֲנִיָּה, as the Pesh., throughout 2 Macc., writes; ; the magician Onias in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 2, 1 is called חוני in the Mishnah, *Ta'anith*, iii. 8. Yet later Jews also write and pronounce it חוניו, *Chônâv*.

[5] Mass. *Aboth.* i. 2.

[6] P. 251.

year 219.[1] The relations with Egypt continued still unclouded, as is evident from the fact that on one occasion Ptolemy Euergetes (246–221), when returning from his victorious expedition against the Seleucidæ, offered rich sacrifices and gifts in Jerusalem.[2] Yet under this Onias a series of events occurred which already reveals the profound moral corruption which was speedily to be the ruin of the Greek as well as the Jewish leaders. We only know the story from Josephus,[3] and it will be sufficient in this connection to touch upon it briefly. Onias became more and more indiscreet every year, until his avarice at length led him to withhold the yearly tribute of twenty talents. This drew down upon him and the whole nation the grave indignation of King Euergetes, when his sister's son Joseph, son of Tobias, contrived by uncommon adroitness and activity to arrange everything amicably. The great services rendered by this Joseph to his people are highly extolled; but the picture of the means which he employed is by no means pleasing. By attendance at the Egyptian court, by the wit and humour acceptable at such a place, but particularly by rich presents, he managed to obtain the privilege of farming the royal revenues over all Palestine. This he carried out rigorously to his own and the king's advantage, but not without severity, as in his treatment of Ascalon and Scythopolis, and thus he gave Judean pride an opportunity for boasting that in this way at any rate it again ruled over the Philistines, Idumeans, and similar small nations around! He continued thus employed for twenty-two years; but the subsequent story of his sons, also called 'sons of Tobias,'[4] unveils in the most shocking manner the further development of the deep corruption which every one underwent who entered into any close connection with an Egyptian or Syrian court at this period. Besides seven sons by one mother, he had also another, the youngest of all, named Hyrcanus, through fornication with a niece. This young man early proved himself extremely daring and crafty, but in the highest degree unprincipled, quite worthy of the Greco-Egyptian court to which he soon came as his father's representative. There he

[1] On the supposition that Onias III. was deposed in the year 175, that he himself reigned twenty-four years, and his predecessor, Simon II., twenty years. In this case, we can follow the *Chron. Pasch.*, and assign to this Onias thirty-two years.

[2] According to Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 5, he had even intentionally avoided all heathen temples on the way!

[3] *Ant.* xii. 4. Josephus probably derived it from the great work of Nicolaus of Damascus, on which see below. The wife of Ptol. Euergetes is incorrectly called Cleopatra; the Greek mediator between the king and Joseph was one Athênion. In other respects the whole narrative seems only too well founded, and it is significant enough that Josephus relates these stories as though he took a genuine pleasure in them!

[4] As we may infer from 2 *Macc.* iii. 11.

contrived by still more violent exaggeration of his father's method to secure with much success and honour the same privilege. At length the excessive wantonness of his expenditure embroiled him in a mortal feud with his brothers, and after two of these and a number of other persons had fallen in the struggle with him he was obliged to withdraw with his partisans to the other side of the Jordan. Here he carried on continuous wars with the Arab tribes for the sake of plunder, and to enable him to send all the more gold to the Egyptian court; and here, not far from the ancient Heshbôn,[1] he built a large and splendid castle (called *Tyrus*, i.e. castle), the only permanent monument of his life.[2] He was, however, cunning enough to deposit a portion of his treasures as a bequest in the temple at Jerusalem, in order to secure its safety.[3] When, under the supremacy of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Egyptian power in Palestine at length entirely declined, he committed suicide from fear of the Syrians, and the Syrian king appropriated his fortune.

Thus, then, was Palestine during the half century preceding the years 180–175 B.C. under the dominion of the money-getting serjeants of the Greeks, who certainly were very close connections of the high-priest, but were not on that account any more moral, and were even at deadly enmity amongst themselves. It was all the more praiseworthy that Simon II., son of Onias, from the year 219 to 199, maintained the ancient honour of his office. We do not, it is true, know much about him; but if, as is probable,[4] he is the high-priest whose merits the Son of Sirach celebrates at the end of his book as the last of the great ancestors of his people, and with whom, to judge

[1] Vol. ii. p. 205 sq.

[2] Modern travellers like Irby, Mangles, and Banks (*Travels*, p. 473) believe that they have discovered it in some great ruins near the present Heshbôn, but so far as I know the matter has not been pursued further.

[3] 2 Macc. iii. 11. According to Jos. *Ant.* xi. 4, 11, he only lived in this manner on the other side of the Jordan for 'the seven years during which Seleucus Philopator was king of Syria' (according to the ordinary chronology, however, he reigned from 187–176 B.C.); but the whole chronology of Josephus through this period suffers, as we have already explained, from great uncertainty.

[4] It might be conjectured that the description in Ecclus. l. 1–21, compared with xliv. 1, was intended rather for Simon I., of whose superior merit there can be no doubt. In that case the expression 'grandfather' in the preface of the grandson (see above, p. 263) might be interpreted in a more extended sense, as though the great grandfather or a still more remote ancestor were meant, not the actual grandfather, as is assumed in the *second* preface, which was added by an evidently much later hand, and does not occur in all the manuscripts. But what seems to me decisive is the fact that in the lengthy description of this Simon no notice is taken either of an important surname like that of 'the Just,' or of the credit which Simon I., according to every tradition, acquired in the departments of learning and science. We shall be safer, therefore, in fixing on Simon II., and we may then also retain the designation 'grandfather' in the first preface quite in the proper meaning. This Simon is further mentioned in 3 Macc. ii. 1.

from his vivid description, he had himself been personally acquainted, he filled the highest station with great dignity. His appearance as high-priest in the sanctuary, and the impression which it made upon the spectators, is described in detail, particularly in the following picture, which we here introduce as an example of the pompous language of the time:[1]

How did he shine in the procession of the people,[2]
in his coming out of the house of the curtain![3]
as the morning star in the midst of clouds,
as the moon when full of days;
as the sun shining on the temple of the Most High,
and as the bow[4] giving light in clouds of glory;
as rose-blossoms in days of spring,
as lilies by watersprings, as a shoot of Lebanon in days of autumn;
as fire and incense in the censer,
as a vessel of solid gold adorned wholly with precious stones;
as an olive-tree putting forth fruits,
and as a cypress reaching to the clouds.[5]
When he put on the robe of honour, &c.

Beyond the limits of Palestine, also, he seems to have been generally respected. His rule falls in the period when the Seleucidæ were struggling violently against the attempts of the Ptolemies to extend their power, and Antiochus the Great began to cast his eye on the possession of Palestine. The main object of Simon was to provide for Jerusalem. We know that by costly buildings he made many improvements and embellishments in the temple. He fortified afresh the base of the great square on which the temple stood, and by the erection of a very large basin furnished the sanctuary with an ample supply of water.[6] Nor was this all. Like a second Nehemiah, he restored the walls of the city, which Ptolemy I. had destroyed on his conquest of Jerusalem,[7] and which perhaps still lay in ruins in consequence of the jealousy of the Egyptian

[1] Ecclus. l. 5–10. A tomb of Simon the Just was shown in the Middle Ages, as at the present day, north of Jerusalem; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 443, and J. Tobler's large map of Jerusalem.

[2] I.e. on the feast-day, when the people made their solemn circuit round the sanctuary, with their eyes fixed on the high-priest, who came forth from its interior; comp. note on Ps. xxvi. 6.

[3] From the inner sanctuary separated by the curtain; thus the two members of the verse sufficiently correspond.

[4] I.e. the rainbow, thus briefly designated in the old-Hebrew style.

[5] This verse would be better placed *before* the preceding, since it alone harmonises with the one before that; moreover, it is not to be denied that the previous verse, 'as fire, &c.,' begins with a very abrupt image, which does not properly correspond to the image in the second half of the verse. Yet the MSS. do not exhibit any variation.

[6] Ecclus. l. 1–3, compared with vol. iii. pp. 231 sq., 251 sq.

[7] According to the cursory statement in Appian's *Syr.* cap. 50: at any rate we may thus limit the generality of Appian's expression. We may perhaps, however, also refer to injuries inflicted on the walls by Antiochus Theos, on which some observations will follow below.

sovereigns.[1] The expense of these and other costly works, which were further continued under his successors,[2] might be defrayed in great part out of the sums of money and gifts which annually poured into the city,[3] in a stream which seems first to have been regularly organised in the course of the Greek period.[4] This, however, also rendered the wealthy temple the constant object of the envy of numerous foreigners and the desire of the strong for plunder, as its history from this date shows; while the office of high-priest, which had certainly gone on increasing in dignity and power, and, together with the temple, was regarded as the firm centre and defence of the nation, was itself, nevertheless, destitute of proper protection against the heathen dominion, and thus might easily become the plaything of royal despotism.

The son and successor of Simon, Onias III., honourably sustained, as far as lay in his power, the dignity of the high-priestly office, even in unfavourable days and amid his own deep sufferings.[5] But the abominable character of his brothers and relations, and the manner in which already in his day the high-priesthood, just like any other powerful civil or governmental post, became the object of the most sordid desires in the frightfully rapid degeneracy of this Greek period, will soon be disclosed.

2. *The Wise Men of the Age in Judea and in Samaria.*

The Sadducees and the Pious.

The utter immorality of the aims and conduct of the leading men of this age inevitably contributed to diffuse the same wantonness of life also through the wisdom of the schools; for among nations which already prize wisdom as a special blessing, whenever this tendency has once become operative in life, it seeks to vindicate itself also in philosophy. The whole course of this history affords us sufficient proof of the great influence which wisdom had long since exerted over life in Israel, and of the position which it again attained in the new Jerusalem; and we have already seen[6] that even before the Greek period the most opposite aims had striven to get a footing

[1] According to Ecclus. l. 4, compared with Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3.

[2] According to the contents of the gracious decree of Antiochus the Great, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3.

[3] P. 244.

[4] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2, xvii. 2, 2, and elsewhere.

[5] According to 2 Macc. iii. 1, iv. 2–7, 33–38, xv. 12–16.

[6] Pp. 194, 200.

within it.[1] The Greek philosophical schools, which, through the medium of Alexandria, were now becoming well known in Jerusalem, would at the most introduce new incitements and greater keenness; they would also teach the art of demonstration (dialectic) when its necessity was once experienced.

According to old tradition,[2] the successor of Simon I. in the series of Greek teachers was Antigonus of Socho,[3] the first bearer of a Greek name. He seems to have flourished in the first half of the third century B.C. To him is ascribed the twofold maxim: 'Be not like servants who serve their lord for the sake of reward, but like servants who, without thought of receiving reward, serve their lord; and the fear of heaven be over you!' In an age when the rigid observance of the prescribed law had gained the ascendant, the first of these two precepts is very striking; and to avoid its being taken in too one-sided a manner, as though, if man were not to think of reward, he need not think either of an ultimate dispenser of rewards and punishments, the second precept was added. We can understand, therefore, how this Antigonus subsequently came to be reckoned amongst the orthodox teachers. But among his disciples, so runs the old tradition,[4] there were two named Zadok and Boëthus, who founded the widely divergent school of the Sadducees,[5] with its sad heresies. We have now no first-hand authority for any definite statements about the lives and the original views of these two leaders, particularly of Zadok; and this is not very surprising. For the school which the name of the Sadducees perpetuates passed through its most tranquil and flourishing period in the five or ten decades

[1] As had been the case in another way, long before the destruction of Jerusalem, see *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i. p. 96 sqq.

[2] Mass. *Aboth*, 1, 3.

[3] There were two cities in Judah bearing this name, Josh. xv. 35, 48, cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 1; but the Socho in the west, mentioned in Josh. xv. 35, was always the better known.

[4] In the *Pirkê Abôth* of Rabbi Nathan, cap. v. (see the Sulzbach edition of the Talmud, vol. ix. *ad fin.*). This collection of maxims by the ancients is certainly later than the *Pirkê Abôth* reckoned with the ordinary Mishnah; yet it contains many statements that are only accidentally omitted, as it were, from the earlier treatise, particularly on the doctrines of the heretical teachers.

[5] The spelling everywhere employed among the Hellenists for the common proper name צָדוֹק is Σαδδούκ; and there is no doubt that the Sadducees were so called from their leader, although the erroneous derivation from צַדִּיק, *righteous*, is already to be found in the Fathers, and in Abulfatch in the Samaritan Chronicle (Paulus, *Neues Repert.* i. 142). The Greek name Boëthus was for the most part corrupted into בַּיְתוֹס, and the Rabbis say a good deal about him and his followers, who differed little from the Sadducees; in the Mass. *Sôpherim*. iii. 5, his name is correctly written בּוֹיתוֹס, following the original spelling, but he is already designated בן זונן.—A recent and wholly groundless view of the origin of the Sadducees and Boëthusians is briefly criticised in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 103 sq., *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 1207.

immediately preceding the Maccabean wars. During that time, so far as we know, it was not designated by the name of Zadok as a party leader, for it was growing in silence, and might be regarded as the general school of the new wisdom of the day. But after its principles and views were finally altogether overthrown by the Maccabean wars and their further consequences (as will subsequently appear), so that they could only venture forth with much greater delicacy and caution, the literature which had originally proceeded from it fell into complete obscurity and disrepute. Their teachers were struck out of the list of the orthodox; and in spite of all the fluctuations of the post-Maccabean times, by which even they were occasionally brought into prominence again, their last remnants fell into a more and more general neglect. We have not, in consequence, any work, even of the smallest kind, which represents their views with first-hand certainty; and the scanty and scattered statements about them which have come down to us are derived solely from their opponents.[1]

Yet the general nature of this school can be recognised with tolerable confidence. It was the school of freedom of life, thought, and action; but it was a freedom which sprang out of the Greek age with its deep moral degradation, which corresponded with it, and was acceptable to it. Unquestionably the scrupulous and rigid tendency which had been particularly developed from the time of Ezra with growing one-sidedness and stringency, had its dark side, and involved more and more sensible disadvantages. The Judeans who gave themselves up to it with the full faith of their whole souls were obliged to plunge so deep into its demands as to leave no course open to them but to turn away with horror from the heathen element prevailing in the great world, from which in the end they had to withdraw altogether. Many of the national and ancient usages, on the reobservance of which the greatest stress was laid, were now wholly inappropriate; and the hostility to the

[1] It is almost ridiculous to see how often Josephus announces his intention of describing the 'three sects of the Judeans,' while what he has to say about the Sadducees and Pharisees is scanty enough, and is almost always repeated in the same words, *Bell. Jud.* i. 5, 2; ii. 8, 2 sqq. (to the latter passage he always refers afterwards); *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; 10, 5 sq.; xvii. 2, 4; xviii. 1, 2 sqq.; yet the particulars which he supplies here are the most important to us. The great want in Josephus is that he does not distinguish the periods in which each of the three divisions arose, and took no trouble to find out; but it would be very perverse to imagine that they all three came into existence at once. In the days of the Fathers this distinction was still less understood, and other schools which were of still later origin were all mixed up together; just as in the short but very obscure descriptions of the Judean sects which occur also in Arabic writers; see Shahrestâni, ed. Cureton, i. pp. 163–71, and Makrîzî, in De Sacy's *Chrestom. Ar.* i. pp. 99–117.

existing condition of things, which increased with the continued delay of the Messianic salvation, only augmented the bitterness of the feelings of the scrupulously faithful. Freedom, however, even of the most perverted and corrupting character, was the watchword of the Greek period, with its thousand seductions and allurements. He who took part with the least concern in its impetuous chase of seductive pleasures, who was freest to move in it with the greatest craving for enjoyment and the most selfish intent, who was acute enough to seize its advantages in a moment without restraint or fear, was regarded as the most fortunate of men. It is very remarkable, if also very natural, that during this period the Samaritans, who had from the first maintained a larger liberty, were far more prosperous, eminent, and wealthy than the Judeans who lived in and around Jerusalem.[1] They knew better how to make use of the age from a worldly point of view, while the residents in Jerusalem found themselves more and more at a disadvantage, and many recognised the cause of it in their rigid separation from the life of other nations.[2] Such isolated examples, however, as the worldly fortune of the sons of Tobias[3] were powerless to change the general feeling, as it was perceived that their success was only attained by their unrestricted alliance with the heathen powers. What was there, then, to prevent the endeavour after wisdom, which includes everything within its aim, from striving to vindicate a greater freedom for Judean thought and life? To make such an effort was simply to meet one of the desires and aims of the age. What Sadducaism attempted had never been attempted since the foundation of the new Jerusalem, and in the abstract was by no means to be rejected, and hence, when left to itself, it prospered for a long time comparatively undisturbed. Its purpose was, in short, to blend in doctrine and principle the Greek wisdom and freedom of the time with the Judean character, not in order to destroy the latter, but to raise and advance it; and if the attempt had proceeded from the inmost impulses of true religion, it might

[1] Of this there are many signs: see in particular Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, 1, 3. The bitter hatred expressed in Ecclus. l. 25 sq. against the Idumeans, Philistines, and in particular 'the Amorite (i.e. Canaanite) people that live in Shechem,' i.e. the Samaritans, is to be explained most easily from the peculiar relations of the age, for such feelings could only be directed against the powerful and those in enviable circumstances. At the beginning of this passage we must follow the Vulgate, and read ἐν ὄρει Σηείρ, instead of ἐν ὄρει Σαμαρείας, and subsequently, for ὁ λαὸς μῶρός, read with the Ethiopic version ὁ λαὸς Ἀμωραῖος; see *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1846, p. 14.

[2] Of this the simplest and most striking evidence is to be found in 1 Macc. i. 11, 'since we separated ourselves from the heathen we have had much sorrow.'

[3] P. 271 sq.

have been able to achieve much which Christianity at length in reality accomplished.

But from its very beginning the movement was marred by the want of perception of the learned founders of the school. They simply started from opposition to the scrupulousness which was becoming more and more powerful and more and more injurious, without recognising the deeper sores which were eating into the existing Judean and non-Judean world. Greek wisdom indeed might render them aid in many ways; and, what was still more important, in the whole compass of the ancient history and religion of Israel they might find much which they were justified in opposing to the school of Ezra. But they could not properly apply either the one or the other; and consequently their attempt to elevate Judeanism and free it from its defects contributed powerfully to pervert it further, and led to the melancholy result which has been already briefly indicated.

The main principle of the Sadducees was that there was no higher destiny which unchangeably limited and predetermined all human things; and, in particular, God could do nothing evil, nor could he sanction it.[1] Good and evil, human weal or woe, depended solely on man's own choice, and on his wisdom or ignorance. This almost Stoic-sounding principle, which they could easily set themselves to prove by detached passages of the Pentateuch, involves the sharpest contrast with the rigid system which had prevailed from the time of Ezra; but not less so with all true religion. At the same time, it quickens the impulse of human freedom and activity, places the whole world of sense within its reach, and, while it flatters able minds, seems harmless so long as the conception of God derived from ancient faith remains unimpaired, and the hereditary morality of the mass of the people is but little shaken. From this point it was but one step further to the denial of the immortality of the soul and eternal retribution, and therefore of the actual existence of angels and spirits;[2] so that in this the Sadducees consciously repudiated what was by no means disclaimed in the book of the law,[3] even if it was not sufficiently clearly asserted, and fell into the very doubts from which

[1] This maxim, that 'God neither does evil nor inflicts it upon men,' may have been the first and most certain from which Zadok started, as he supposed that every one would necessarily concede it through the idea of God. Moreover, there is no reason for departing from the MS. reading ἢ ἐφορᾷν, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14. How the Sadducees were encountered at the time when they first flourished may be best seen from Ecclus. xxiii. 18 sq., xxxii. [xxxv.] 17 sq.

[2] Besides the passages in Josephus, see Matt. xxii. 23 sqq., Acts xxiii. 8.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 133 sqq.

Koheleth had with difficulty escaped.[1] Moreover, though they accepted the authority of the law, yet they would only maintain a very independent position with respect to it,[2] and they rejected all the further interpretations and statutes of which the dominant school was so fond.[3] This was the natural result of placing their fundamental principle in the merely human resolve to allow no power to determine or hinder their conduct save the civil laws.

That the native Samaritans, also, should come under the influence of the Greek schools of wisdom, and that similar innovations should arise among them, is both in itself quite credible, and may be inferred clearly enough from scattered traces, at all events in general terms. It is true that our sources of information with regard to them are far more scanty than in the case of the Judeans. The very brief and cursory statements about the founders of peculiarly Samaritan views and tendencies which occur in later works (particularly about Dositheus, the most important of them, from whom a somewhat permanent division of the Samaritans took its origin), do not appear to refer to any earlier time than the last period of greater activity amongst them shortly before and after the birth of Christ.[4] Besides the later historical works above mentioned,[5] no properly Samaritan writings have been preserved, except some translations of their Pentateuch, partly in their Aramaic dialect,[6] partly at the time of Islâm into Arabic, some late books in explanation of their Pentateuch and their prevailing principles and usages,[7] and a great mass of church songs of different dates, few of which have been published, and still fewer correctly understood.[8] From all this evidence, however, one fact clearly

[1] P. 194.

[2] How far Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 11, 1 (i. 49), associates the Sadducees with the Samaritans in regard to the acknowledgment of the Pentateuch only, is indicated in vol. vii. p. 438 [Germ.]. Boëthus (p. 275) is said, in the Mass. *Sôpherim*, iii. 5, to have made use of *eight prophets* collected into *one* volume. This number, which is in itself almost unintelligible, points at any rate beyond the Pentateuch.

[3] P. 196 sqq.

[4] If no error has crept into De Sacy's extracts from Abulfatch's Chronicle (*Chrestomathie Arabe*, i. p. 333, comp. with p. 337, 2nd ed.), Abulfatch would place Dositheus before the expedition of Alexander. This, however, could only be through oversight, since, according to other data, he places him after Simon the Maccabee. The question when he really lived will be discussed in a later volume on the Roman period. According to Shahrestâni, i. p. 170, he lived *almost* one hundred years before the public appearance of Christ.

[5] Pp. 220–22.

[6] P. 182.

[7] See the most important described in Nicholl's *Catalog. Codd. Arab. Bodlei.* pp. 3–5, 491 sq.

[8] They ought to be made known by-and-by with much more completeness and correctness, and much better understood and elucidated in every point, than has been done by Gesenius in the *Carmina Samaritana*, 1824. They are obviously of very different dates; the more recent have quite the Arabic rhyme, and the question whether any of them could be traced to the Hezekiah already mentioned, p. 220, deserves further investigation.

results; namely, that in all their thought and language about divine things, the later Samaritans still uniformly cherished a special reserve about expressions that were obviously too anthropomorphic, and preferred representing the divine greatness by mediators whenever it had to quit the mysteries of its eternal secrecy, and operate upon the visible world. This practice, which arose, as we have seen,[1] among the Judeans also, but in their chequered life gradually disappeared again in after-times, plainly survived among the Samaritans from the Greek period—the era of their own development—as a memorial of the apparently more refined style of thought which then sprang up among them.[2]

While the Samaritans thus proceeded for a while in the same track as the Judeans, they yet remained, on other still more important points, at a considerable distance from them. Nay, they could not but separate themselves further and further, in proportion to the rapidity and freedom with which the age developed the consequences of the different opposing principles laid down in the beginning. In Jerusalem, where a long past embraced a many-sided ancient culture, it soon came to be felt that the Pentateuch, whether considered historically or in reference to the requirements of life, was inadequate as a holy book; and in the later Persian and then in the Greek period a movement was begun, which became more and more distinct and general as it went along, for adding to it a tolerably comprehensive series of other similar books. It was to this very just feeling that the complete Old Testament, with its many-sided and inestimable treasures, owed its formation.[3] Of this larger series of sacred books the Samaritans were the less likely to approve, as they laid all their stress upon the primitive history of Israel and the sanctity of the centre of the ancient land alone; while the history of Judah, with which the other books chiefly dealt, with all its peculiar superiority, instruction, and hopes, was repulsive to them. They therefore determinedly rejected all the rest of the books in a body, although even the Sadducees, whose practice on this point was the most particular in Judah, could not wholly withdraw themselves from their influence; and they restricted

In recent years, M. Heidenheim has commenced a further publication of these songs in the *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Englisch-Theolog. Forsch. und Krit.*, Gotha, 1861 sqq.

[1] P. 258 sqq.

[2] That the Samaritans have much in common with the Sadducees and 'Greeks' is observed even by Epiphanius, *Hær.* ix. 14; hence they were also subsequently credited (but without good reason) with denying angels, the resurrection, &c.

[3] The collection and closing of the Canon cannot be described with sufficient clearness till we come to the history of the second century after Christ.

themselves all the more stringently to the Pentateuch.[1] But the rigidness with which they adopted only this single book as holy, and the pride with which they boasted that they alone were the genuine disciples of Moses and the true 'keepers' of the law,[2] necessarily limited their view more and more, and in fact their whole aim, life, and hope also; while subsequently, in order to satisfy the requirements of all religion, they were obliged to exaggerate to an almost infinite extent certain points of faith left open to them,—such as the dignity of Moses, the sanctity of the Sabbath, the sacred origin of the law,—as we may see clearly from their church songs. It is noteworthy and often surprising to see how exactly they continued to observe many of the prescriptions in the Pentateuch entirely in conformity with the spirit of the higher antiquity.[3] In the long course of history, however, they could pass through no more great changes; it was inevitable that the greater freedom and independence of the scrupulousness and narrow-mindedness in matters of faith now becoming dominant in Jerusalem, which had characterised them in the beginning, should in the end be transformed into a still greater bondage, differing only in its complexion, and that their national self-consciousness, like their further development, should become stagnant. These results did not, however, make their appearance so rapidly, and until the Roman period the Samaritans continued to show much activity and freedom.

In Jerusalem, on the other hand, where everything was placed on a much deeper foundation, the founders of the school of the Sadducees might regard the continued existence of Judeanism as entirely compatible with the principles already described.[4] But they overlooked the fact (which history proved soon enough) that they were only paving the way for the heathenism of their time, by not properly limiting the objections which they might justly make to the school of Ezra. One of the immediate consequences, therefore, was that the old believers, partly because they already saw the evil effects of such perverted freedom, partly from an obscure fear of the

[1] Even the book of Joshua, which was originally connected with the Pentateuch, but was early separated from it, vol. i. p. 63 sqq., was not received by them; but they subsequently borrowed from it a few particulars for their own *Liber Josuæ*.

[2] As, at a tolerably early date, they were fond of explaining their own name as שֹׁמְרִים.

[3] Thus I have since observed, to my surprise, that they celebrated a yearly round of seven feasts precisely in the manner which I recognised in the *Alterth.* p. 385 sqq., and indeed earlier, as corresponding to the meaning of the Mosaic institution.

[4] Hence the period when they flourished was called that of 'the *mingling*' (syncretism), 2 Macc. xiv. 3; *comp.* the contrary expression, ver. 38.

further development of these opinions, finally took up an attitude of more abrupt and determined oppposition, and closed up their own ranks within narrower and more rigid bounds. They banded themselves together under the name of Chasîdîm,[1] i.e. the godly (or pious), which they certainly borrowed from the Psalter, and seem also to have called themselves 'the Faithful';[2] for in the last centuries even of the earlier history of Jerusalem the more conscientious had often been obliged to separate themselves strictly from the influx of heathenism, and had adopted a position apart under similar names.[3] The free-thinkers, however, were not yet called Sadducees, but simply 'the lawless,' or 'ungodly,' and sometimes in stronger language, 'sinners.'[4] It need scarcely be said that the opinions of the schools on either side were in equally rude opposition.

3. *The Greek Rulers.*

While the entry of Greco-Egyptian frivolity, and the rise of a philosophical school favourable to it in Jerusalem itself, inevitably produced by degrees embarrassment enough, the still greater immorality of the struggle between the Greco-Syrian and the Greco-Egyptian powers was involved more and more deeply in the coil. In this way a vehement fire was kindled which necessarily caused all the hidden impulses and powers of the day, both evil and good, to rush forth and assail one another with the utmost impetuosity. The incessant wars between the Syrian and Egyptian Greeks, with the equally endless lying negotiations that intervened, which followed one upon another with increasing violence after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the object of which was the possession of Palestine, with the whole Phœnician coast, inevitably stifled among its inhabitants all respect for such ruling houses, and produced extreme uncertainty in the administration of justice. Among the first events which could never be forgotten in the lurid

[1] According to the Greek spelling, Ἀσιδαῖοι, 1 Macc. ii. 42 (where the Vat. and most other MSS. erroneously read Ἰουδαίων), vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6. That in their most flourishing time they formed an exclusive association is clear from the designation συναγωγή, 1 Macc. ii. 42, as well as from vii. 13. The name is derived from Pss. xii. 2 [1], xvi. 10, iv. 4 [3], xxxii. 6, and many other passages in the Psalter; nowhere else is it found so frequently and with so much significance.

[2] 1 Macc. iii. 13, after Pss. xii. 2 [1], xxxi. 24 [23], &c.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 209 sqq.

[4] 1 Macc. i. 11–15, ii. 42–44, vi. 21, vii. 5, 9, ix. 23, 58, 69, 73; cf. x. 14, 61, xi. 21, 25, xiv. 14. The expression ἁμαρτωλοί is certainly chiefly from the Psalter. In the same way the Son of Sirach draws a sharp distinction between the ὅσιοι and ἄνομοι, xxxix. 13, 24, xl. 10; cf. xxxi. [xxxiv.] 18. In the second and third books of Maccabees there are many violent expressions about degenerate Judeans.

glare of this infernal fire was the frightful murder of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 246.[1] For the sake of concluding peace, she had been given in marriage to Antiochus Theos. Her death, which was coincident with her father's, was followed by the great expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes, already mentioned,[2] against the Syrian kingdom; and the shameful flight of Seleucus Callinicus after he had just recommenced the war against victorious Egypt, B.C. 226, was a fitting end to the first act of the horrible tragedy which lasted more than a century.[3] His sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and, after his early death, Antiochus the Great, made immediate preparations for further wars, and the latter soon overran all southern Syria, at length reconquered Seleuceia on the Orontes from the Egyptians, and stood on the borders of Egypt, when the indolent Ptolemy Philopator bestirred himself, and by his victory at Raphia compelled him again to give up Palestine, B.C. 217.[4]—It must have been at this time that Ptolemy Philopator, when he was not allowed to penetrate into the sanctuary at Jerusalem, resolved to give the rein to that frightful fury against the Egyptian Judeans which the third book of Maccabees recounts,[5] if, indeed, its account had deserved any historic credit.

Under a Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 221–204), truly, there could be little prosperity for Palestine. When, therefore, Antiochus the Great, in the year 203 B.C., overran it in conjunction with Philip, King of Macedon, he nowhere encountered any serious resistance. On the other hand, there are several traces that many powerful persons in Jerusalem anticipated him in the revolt against Egypt,[6] a proceeding which the author of the

[1] Hence it is with this that the celebrated description of all these circumstances in the book of Daniel begins, xi. 5–8.

[2] P. 271.

[3] Dan. xi. 9. The last clause in ver. 8 alludes to the armistice of ten years mentioned by Justin, *Hist.* xxvii. 2, 9, to which Euergetes had to agree. Hence these words, Dan. xi. 9, cannot refer to the flight narrated by Justin, xxvii. 2, 5, but must allude to a later inroad into the Egyptian territory; but of the twenty years' reign of Seleucus Callinicus we do not possess many particulars.

[4] Dan. xi. 10–12. The passage in 3 Macc. i. 1–7 may also be borrowed from an older source. But the fortress mentioned in Dan. xi. 10 is (according to ver. 7) the city of Seleuceia, finally reconquered after twenty-seven years.

[5] See pp. 470 sqq. The words in Dan. xi. 11 sq. contain no allusion to the events narrated in 3 Macc., suitable as it would have been to introduce them. According to Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 7, it would seem that a king surnamed Theos once made his way by violence into the temple, as conqueror of Jerusalem. The statement there, however, is too cursory, and the name Theos too little distinctive: nor have we the passage in the original Greek. The name would suggest Antiochus (II.) Theos, and the story brings to mind his rupture with Egypt in the year 247; but of his having then seized Palestine we know nothing from any other sources, although from the extracts in Jerome, *Comm. ad Dan.* xi. 6, about his wars with Ptolemy Philadelphus, it would not be impossible, and would agree with the observations already made, p. 273 *note* 7.

[6] According to the representation in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3, this did not take place

book of Daniel severely blames. The Syrian king, who was ready everywhere to play the part of magnanimity, in the meantime rewarded this opportune anticipation of his further plans with large donations and concessions to the sanctuary, and strict orders for the complete restoration of the holy city, and the defence of its outward dignity.[1] The Egyptian general Scopas,[2] on reconquering Palestine in the year 200 B.C. for Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was too young to conduct the campaign himself, seems to have taken severe revenge upon Jerusalem.[3] Antiochus the Great, however, soon marched again to meet him, defeated him at Paneas, by the sources of the Jordan, and in the year 198 shut him up within the fortifications of Sidon. It was probably soon after this that he retook Jerusalem, on which occasion the inhabitants voluntarily assisted him to expel the garrison left in the citadel by Scopas.[4] After he had completely established himself, however, in Palestine, he thought it undesirable, considering his projects and cares in other quarters, to proceed at once to attack Egypt itself. He therefore attempted to make as advantageous an agreement as was possible for the time being with the young Ptolemy. He promised him his daughter Cleopatra, in the hope that if she really got to Egypt she would embarrass the country and play into his hands.[5] As her dowry, he undertook to restore Palestine again, but he arranged provisionally that the taxes should be divided between the two kings.[6] Even the garrisons of the country seem to have been half Syrian, half Egyptian. Jerusalem was certainly occupied by Syrians,

till after the victory over Scopas, that is, several years later. But the order observed in Dan. xi. 13–15 seems to be the more correct. Moreover, the two gracious decrees of Antiochus inserted by Josephus do not allude to Scopas and his times.

[1] These two decrees, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3 sq., were certainly not in any case fabricated by Josephus himself. He does not say, however, that he derived them from Polybius, whom he here otherwise follows, and whose narrative, cited from the sixteenth book, has not been preserved in full. He must, therefore, have drawn it from some older Judean work; nor is there any reason why its contents should not be genuine, especially when the statement in 2 Macc. iii. 2 sq. about Seleucus Philopator is compared with it. These kings were ready enough with such decrees when they expected any advantage to themselves from them; little attention was afterwards paid to keeping them. In this, the John, father of Eupolemus, mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11, perhaps took an active part.

[2] On these Etolians and other Egyptian court personages of the day, see Polybius and also C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. pp. xxvii. sqq.

[3] From the allusion in Dan. xi. 14 *ad fin.*

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3.

[5] That this was his purpose in the negotiation is indicated most correctly by the words in Dan. xi. 17 sq., 'He shall seek to enter into the strength (the possession) of his whole kingdom, and an agreement with him—that shall he conclude and give him the daughter of the women (the young daughter) to destroy it (the country); but it shall not stand, and shall not become his.'

[6] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, 1. The two first sentences of cap. 4 ought to be added to cap. 3, as the present introduction to the chapter is extremely confusing.

while the Egyptians were posted on the east and perhaps also on the western coast.[1] Thus there was now the amplest opportunity for the internal disruption and the spread of hostile feelings among all conditions and classes in the country.

In the last place, also, the position of the Babylonian Judeans seems to have been not without influence on the favourable disposition entertained by their fellow-countrymen in Judea towards the Syrian kingdom. According to a narrative which in its present form is extremely abrupt, and by no means clear, but is certainly not without foundation,[2] eight thousand Babylonian Judeans fought with lofty courage and wonderful success against a far superior number of Gallians (Galatians), whose valour as mercenaries made them at that time much dreaded in Asia, and gained the victory, while three thousand Macedonian troops (Syrian Greeks), who were engaged with them, were already giving way. From this triumph, moreover, they derived great advantage. This event, thus clearly distinguished by the names of the Gallians and Macedonians, must have fallen in the first years of Antiochus the Great, during his campaign against his faithless governor Molon in Babylonia; and as there is no appropriateness in referring to any Judeans but those who were resident there, the statement affords us an insight into the otherwise obscure history of their fortunes during this period. If, during the calamitous season about 220 B.C., they remained faithful to the Syrian king, and assisted him to gain a victory, an explanation is afforded of the special privileges which he conceded to them. They were probably of the same nature as those which the Judeans in those countries subsequently continued to enjoy under the Parthian government also until the first century of the Christian era. The gain of these advantages (*privilegia*) must have been all the more welcome, as they appear, from certain indications not altogether obscure, to have suffered from neglect since the time of Alexander.[3] In fact we have already seen[4] that Antiochus the Great was glad to avail himself at that time in other quarters

[1] That Egyptian troops were at any rate posted on the east (for there was no power in those days without soldiers) is clear from the history of Hyrcanus, p. 272 sq. On the other hand it is perfectly clear that Jerusalem continued to be occupied by Syrians.

[2] 2 Macc. viii. 20 sq. The narrative of the event which the author of this book had before him was evidently already highly coloured. The exaggeration of it is clear from the fact that it makes troops numbering 8,000 and 3,000 fight against 120,000.

[3] According to Arrian, *Hist.* vii. 17, and Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 1, 5, the Babylonians drew down upon themselves the anger of Alexander in reference to the temple of Belus, which he proposed restoring; but, according to p. 241, they seem to have thrown the blame of it with some justice chiefly on the resident Judeans. Such a conjunction seems a very natural one.

[4] P. 238.

also of the help and good-will of Babylonian-Judean troops. The fame of the good fortune of their compatriots in Babylon may have been loud enough to reach Jerusalem, and have rendered the feelings of many all the more inclined to the new Syrian power in proportion to the promise of prosperity which would of necessity seem to result from a closer alliance with their numerous brethren in the east.

B. THE SUPREMACY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ; THE MACCABEES; AND THE ASMONEANS, B.C. 200–106.

I. General Position of the Judeans under the Syrian Government.

With their gaze directed towards the grandeur and magnificence of Antioch, the hagiocracy in Jerusalem had in fact only substituted unawares one Greek supremacy for another; but it cannot be denied that this change was by no means unwelcome to the larger number and the most important of the inhabitants. The last decades of Ptolemaic rule had very much cooled down their partiality for it. For subject nations which, like the Judeans, are aspiring to fresh power, a change of government has many attractions. The kingdom of the Seleucidæ, like that of the Ptolemies, was imbued with Greek civilisation; but, for the moment, the former appeared to promise a considerable balance of advantages. As the true successor of the Persian empire, the government of the Seleucidæ was from the beginning more inclined to tolerate side by side the very different nationalities beneath its sway, and thus, like the power which preceded it,[1] allowed far more internal freedom to the separate nations and great cities; while the Egyptian kingdom was founded on a much more rigid unity, and the one country was always dominant. At the time when Antiochus III. first subdued Palestine, the Syrian kingdom appeared to be established sufficiently firmly to be able to keep all its promises. Accordingly, the advantages and inducements which the Syrian government now so freely held out in its struggle with Egypt, were eagerly laid hold of in Jerusalem. The tributes for the temple, the immunity from taxation of all residents more closely connected with the hagiocracy, and the privileges of Jerusalem and the district belonging to it as a sacred city of asylum, were

[1] P. 75.

all confirmed and extended. From the time that it came under heathen supremacy, its efforts were always specially directed to obtaining such royal concessions, and securing the recognition of its difference from all heathen cities, at least by the special sanctity and inviolability of its temple, and, when possible, of its territory also. The Syrian government bestowed privileges liberally upon other cities through its wide dominions,[1] and still more amply upon Jerusalem. This could not fail to increase the self-confidence of Jerusalem to a considerable degree; but its discontent was all the more bitter when (as appeared soon enough) its expectations from the new government were deceived. And in addition to this, the country was for a long time divided in an uncertain manner between the two powers—a situation well calculated to annihilate all higher regard for Greek supremacy. If the country, however, fell completely under the Syrian sway, it would be drawn far more closely, and with less opportunity of escape, into the movements of the great Asiatic-European history than if it had remained only an appanage of the Egyptian power, which, as its history till Augustus shows, continued in spite of its fall to maintain its territorial isolation. The whole of Palestine lies within easy reach of Antioch on the Orontes; and the rulers of northern Syria have always placed the greatest stress on the possession of its southern division.

The history of the nation which was thus gradually regaining its strength around Jerusalem enters in this way with more and more significance into the history of the contemporary powers of the world; and, in so doing, through the notices of foreign writers, it likewise becomes clearer again.[2] The Maccabean age, also, which rises as a final glory out of the night of the struggle developed between the Greek and Judean elements, again drew forth from Israel itself works which contained a new and peculiar power, and which, with all their weaknesses, reveal to us in the clearest way both the night which now followed and the glory which at length broke out from it, and lighted the whole of the last stage of the history of Israel.[3] Throughout its long course every period of greater

[1] Cf. examples of this in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* vol. ii.

[2] Among them may be mentioned the well-known histories of Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Appian; of the two first some fragments have been recently made known in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 1849, or in Fedler's *Excerpta Escurialensia.*

[3] The great Maccabean rising early became the subject of a very varied historical literature, but it was soon flooded by the unhistorical spirit which, after the rapid decay of this last period of national grandeur, prevailed more and more irresistibly. On what is now called the fourth book of Maccabees numerous observations will be found below, both in general and

movement and higher endeavour produced in literature the most striking and enduring evidence of its spirit; and in the same way the last elevated age, to which everything was now tending through the midst of the increasing confusion, brought forth, after long sterility, works of which the living sap could not easily dry up. For at this juncture we are approaching the decisive centre of the history of Israel in the Greek age. And, as in the whole of its third stage the Greek period stands highest, we are constantly at the same time advancing to the loftiest point in the general period of the hagiocracy. It is of importance to appreciate correctly the hidden impulses and powers which lie within it.

It is impossible to deny on closer investigation that the relation of the Judeans to the Greeks in the form which it had assumed during the last hundred years could not permanently endure. The Judeans, and in the same way the Samaritans, had thrown themselves with the greatest eagerness and assiduity into the freer movements and aims of the Greek age, and grasped the advantages which it offered them. Those who were dispersed further and further away among the heathen made zealous use of the favourable opportunities which it afforded for the acquisition of gain by means of trade; those who remained in the holy land were enabled, in the freest exercise of their religion, to rally more firmly around the high-priestly dignity and the two centres of the hagiocracy, Jerusalem and Samaria; and the appropriation of Greek

in detail. A later extract from 1 and 2 Macc., with many additions from various sources, was supplied by a work now known only in an Arabic version, printed in the fourth volume of the London *Polyglott*, and called on that account *Macc. Arab.* It also contains the later history almost down to the death of Herod, and employs the great work of Josephus. More closely examined, however, the work proves to be a general history of the Judeans from the time of Alexander the Great, extending perhaps beyond the destruction of Jerusalem. In its present form it is much curtailed, but stands in close connection with *Ben-Gorion*, from iii. 1 onwards. Another highly unhistorical work is the *Megillath Antiochos*, edited earlier by Bartolocci, and finally published in London by Flipowski in Aramaic and Hebrew (1851). It is really nothing more than a little festival-work in the style of the book of Esther, intended to explain the origin of the 'feast of lights,' to be mentioned below, and was certainly not written before the war of Hadrian, in the second century after Christ. On the whole the disregard and annihilation of the Hellenistic literature (and therefore of the Apocrypha also) among the Jews after the war of Hadrian, was of special injury in this direction. The remains which have been preserved consist only of very brief traditions of the days of good and evil memory, such as are preserved in the *Megillath Ta'anith*, and of narratives somewhat more detailed, but the artificial products of a later age, and wholly without historical credit, like the *Megillath Antiochos* and others; cf. also Jellinek's *Beth haMidrash*, i. p. 133–46. Another and very important authority would be obtained for the Maccabean period if, besides the contemporary works to be mentioned below, our Psalter could be shown to contain Maccabean songs; but that this hypothesis rests upon grave errors has been now sufficiently proved; see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 20 sqq., viii. p. 165 sqq., ix. p. 95.

knowledge and culture seemed to put them completely on a par with the Greeks as the lords of the age. But in spite of the zeal with which, in the weakness of an inward religion lulled to sleep beneath the mantle of the hagiocracy, they might pursue outward advantages, and the activity with which they might strive for Greek culture, the nation could never wholly renounce its deeper claims to the universal dominion due to it as the godly people, and, the more its general prosperity in the Greek age increased, the more proudly it held up its head. This indeed involved the most violent contradictions. Abroad, it was dispersed in all directions, while in its ancient fatherland, where it was divided into two parties, its numbers were scarcely more dense, and it was subject to foreign rulers; but yet it was untamably proud, and scarcely concealed, even out of worldly prudence, its claims to the possession of the only true religion and consequently to universal sway. It eagerly pursued the material advantages of the age. The more widely it was scattered, the deeper was it plunged into the whirlpool of rapid gain by art, commerce, and manual labour; or, if its members felt themselves capable, they obtained places by their services at the courts of princes and at other posts in the great world;[1] and yet it regarded itself as the elect and godly Messianic people. Contradictions so monstrous as these, in which the Judean (and in the same manner, though we cannot trace it so exactly, the Samaritan) element plainly tended more and more to disappear as the hagiocracy continued to develop, could only have been properly solved in one way. For this it was necessary that the true religion, after having been placed in the great world in the midst of its three divisions, should actually have issued from the nation with such power as to draw the heathen to itself in a body, and unite and reconcile them with it in a vast new universal empire; in short, that the final termination of the whole history should have already arrived. But although this was now rendered all the more easy by the powerful movement and the active connection which had marked the general relations of the nations of the ancient world since the time of Alexander, it was not yet really a possibility. The hagiocracy had not yet run its course, and the new era which was longed for, and which would at length arrive, had not come. On the contrary, by the relaxing effect of its activity within, and by its sharp corners

[1] How eagerly such court offices were sought, down to the latest times, is proved by the examples of the Judean generals of the last Ptolemies (see below), of Acmê, in the service of the wife of Augustus, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 5, 7; 7, 1; and of the Samaritan Thallus, a rich banker at the Roman Court, *ibid.* xviii. 6, 4.

without, the hagiocracy gradually alienated the nation more and more from other nations, especially from the cultivated Greeks; for it filled believers with a reverence for a mass of old and antiquated usages, such as circumcision, and with a spirit of pride in these and in the truths and Messianic promises of the sacred books, without leading them to that which alone could have been of any avail, to perfected true religion. The conversion of the heathen, which, after the re-establishment of Jerusalem, seemed as if it might so soon be effected, had at that time made a powerful if partial beginning,[1] and never entirely stood still again; yet it did not make such progress on a grand scale as was to be wished. The new and more vivid interest which many cultivated Greeks at first felt for the nation remained without any lasting effect; and the generous sacrifices and gifts with which many heathen princes and potentates[2] not unfrequently honoured the temple, only increased still further the vanity, already sufficiently great, of the 'prayerful, godly people.'[3] As this position tended to become more and more firmly established, the Judeans (and the Samaritans), both in foreign countries and in the fatherland, felt themselves constantly injured, provoked, and insulted by a thousand hindrances and vexations, small and great; while the heathen soon found themselves no less repelled by the zeal and pride of a people who were 'entirely unlike any other nation, and kept themselves to themselves.'[4] Thus in the course of a few decades the relation between Israel and the Greek lords of the age was gradually dissolved again in the same way as its relation to the Persians had been dissolved almost two hundred years before; but its more intimate and confidential character necessarily imparted all the more severity to the inevitable breach which at length arrived. And certainly the variance and alienation between Israel and the heathen would have now become just as generally and incurably pernicious as it actually did become at the close of this whole history, had not a great party in Israel, which we have already mentioned, rendered extremely influential by its culture and outward dignity, devoted itself at this time to Greek philosophy and thought, and believed itself able to effect a reconciliation between the two incompatible religions and nationalities. This immediately

[1] The progress of proselytising may be inferred from the remarks already made, pp. 101, 173, as well as from Zech. ii. 15 [11], Ezr. vi. 21, Neh. x. 29 [28], Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 10, 39.

[2] P. 173.

[3] To use Philo's expression, *Ad Cai.* ii. pp. 546, 562; cf. above, pp. 23 sq.

[4] How this gradually became the prevailing opinion of the heathen, see in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 3, and in many testimonies elsewhere.

produced a complete dislocation of all the more deeply established relations. The despotism of the Greek princes and the self-seeking of their base-minded courtiers provoked and misled the people, even in their ancient fatherland, more and more; but the powerful party of those who tended towards heathenism, and who were more or less clearly conscious of the weaknesses of the hagiocracy, came to their aid. The ancient true religion was in danger of being persecuted and annihilated by enemies at home and abroad, while it ought to have been spreading abroad with the greatest vigour. And even the feeling of nationality, which had gained new strength in the past three centuries, was threatened with suffocation in its own fatherland, while it had not yet reached its goal, and was still indispensable even for the maintenance and development of the true religion.

This was the knot which was being tied, this the decisive contest impending, which was in the most inexorable manner driving all the still hidden impulses of the age, both good and evil, into the light of day, so as to bring out clearly what was within the power of those who represented the aim and the force of the whole period of the new Jerusalem, viz. the pious. The particular course of events, so far as we can now discern it, was as follows.

Until the death of Antiochus the Great in the year 187 B.C., and subsequently under his son Seleucus Philopator, the country seems to have remained in the highly insecure position which has been already described.[1] Egypt, in the meantime, under the young prodigal, Ptolemy Epiphanes, was plunged into more and more serious embarrassments, until his death in the year 181; and after the conquest of Antiochus the Great by the Romans, who, in the year 190, compelled him to promise to pay for twelve years an almost impossible military tribute, the Syrian kingdom suffered from an incurable deficiency of money. This was finally the cause which in the midst of circumstances so fundamentally embarrassed brought about a turn of events from a quarter which had from the beginning been the weakest in all the Greek kingdoms, but had now become absolutely desperate, that, viz., of finance. One of the sons of Tobias,[2] named Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, under the honourable designation of 'overseer,' was charged with providing the various supplies for the temple, and hence had great influence on the prices of corn and other necessaries

[1] P. 284 sq. [2] P. 271.

of life in Jerusalem, was in permanent antagonism with the high-priest Onias III., who successfully resisted his ambition and arbitrary conduct.[1] The hatred thus engendered on his part induced him to betake himself to Apollonius son of Thrasæus, the commander of the Syrian forces in southern Syria, with an invitation to plunder the over-wealthy temple at Jerusalem. The Syrian kingdom was continually in extreme want of money; the abilities of its subjects to pay taxes were strained to the uttermost; and, in the last years of his life, Antiochus the Great had descended to the plunder of temples. Every one who promised money, therefore, was welcome at the court; and by the advice of Apollonius, King Seleucus despatched his chief minister Heliodorus, to investigate the statements made about the enormous and perhaps also to some extent illegitimate treasures of the temple. On attempting, however, to penetrate into the sanctuary, Heliodorus, it is said, was deterred from accomplishing his purpose by heavenly visions.[2] Meanwhile, Simon was at the Syrian court, eagerly pursuing his project of crushing Onias. Even in his absence, he contrived to excite the powerful party of the free-minded to such a degree that murders were committed; and thus drove Onias to the resolution of himself undertaking a journey to the Syrian court to restore peace. Shortly after this, in the year 176, the good King Seleucus died, through the treachery of Heliodorus. For a moment the kingdom was left without any successor.[3] Seleucus had despatched his only son Demetrius as a hostage to Rome, in place of his younger brother Antiochus, who was at this time upon his way home. For a short period Heliodorus himself held the reins of government, so that he also was counted among the Syrian kings.[4] But he, too, fell, as soon as Antiochus appeared in Antioch and proceeded to take forcible possession of the sovereignty, to which, strictly speaking, he had no right. The Romans, however, among whom he had been

[1] According to the only too brief statements in 2 Macc. iii. 4–6. From this point the 2nd book of Maccabees is one of the principal authorities.

[2] According to 2 Macc. iii. 7–40; but the whole of this picturesque narrative is certainly due to no earlier writer than the last author of the book, and its picturesqueness flows from his special aim in the composition of the book. As we possess no other narrative of the event, we are unable now to pass any further judgment upon it. The same Heliodorus or else Apollonius is alluded to as a hard tax-collector of King Seleucus, in Dan. xi. 20. Similar narratives are found in various forms among the Greeks of those times also, in reference to their great temples; such as that about the temple at Delphi, Cic. *de Div.* i. 81.

[3] This is brought forward as peculiarly remarkable, Dan. ix. 26*a*, and in the same way in xi. 21 there is an allusion to the way in which Antiochus Epiphanes made his way into the sovereignty without being crowned.

[4] Appian, *Syr.* xlv. The malicious blow through which Seleucus fell is also alluded to in Dan. xi. 20*b*.

brought up, seemed disposed in his favour, and Demetrius, who had now reached Rome as a hostage for Syria, appeared to be too young.

1. *Antiochus Epiphanes.*[1]

Antiochus IV., who thus under the surname of Epiphanes established himself in the government, gave in effect by his strange character the second powerful impulse to the final crisis of the disorders which were growing every day more mischievous. In love of enterprise, military audacity, and cunning, he even surpassed his father Antiochus the Great; and it certainly was not owing to want of will or energy on his part that the Syrian kingdom did not now rise from the ruin which was threatening it on all sides to a position of greater strength and unity than it had ever attained before. He had much susceptibility to friendship, humanity, and general equity; and in munificence he exceeded the majority of the kings of his day.[2] But his long residence as a hostage in Rome, and the complete disproportion of such a situation to his birth and position, had, even before his accession to power, thrown his active mind altogether out of equilibrium, and accustomed it to the most terrible unrest. He had habituated himself to the hypocritical condescension of the Roman grandees, with their flattery of the people and their art of forming a party for themselves,[3] and yet he desired to rule in strict independence. He aimed at a powerful and equal sway in rivalry with Rome, and constituted after its type, and yet even in his most energetic and successful efforts he felt the same Rome everywhere crossing and deriding him. Against these irreconcilable contradictions, his mind, full of unrest, and hesitating at no means for aggrandising his power, soon began to wear itself away. But his worst fault certainly lay in this, that by various arts of flattery and other party devices he tried to win adherents among a people whose character and whose divisions were

[1] He is probably concealed under the name אפוסטמום, who according to the Mishnah, תענית, iv. 6, burnt the Torah on July 17, and of whom so much is related in the *Gemara*, pp. 66 sq. July 17, like August 9, was always regarded as a day of calamity; but if the name has been formed, as a sort of mockery of the similar-sounding Epiphanes, out of *ἀπύστομος*, i.e. פֶּם מְמַלֵּל רְבְרְבָן, Dan. vii. 8, it refers to this king; and the cessation of the daily sacrifices mentioned shortly before has then simply been placed a few words too soon.

[2] Cf. the testimony even in 1 Macc. vi. 11.

[3] Cf. in particular the extracts from the 26th book of Polybius preserved by Athenæus. — Yet he not only allowed himself to be designated *θεός* by his subjects, as in the letter of the Samaritans, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, 5, but he himself set the example on his coins, Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* iii. p. 224 sq.

entirely unintelligible to him, and among whom he, with his purely worldly views, could only favour the faction which promised to secure him everything, but only deceived him about the true relations of the grave interests which lay hid within.

His first two steps in this direction were the most momentous and perverse possible. As the Greek fever was now at its height in Jerusalem, and the party composed of the friends of the Greeks had long been desirous of blending the Greek with the Judean usages, Jesus, the brother of the high-priest, who was still at the court, changing his name into the Greek designation Jason, hastened thither also, and by expending considerable sums of money secured not only the high-priesthood but also royal protection for the introduction of Greek customs, including, in particular, various kinds of Greek contests.[1] He also obtained the citizenship of Antioch for Jerusalem.[2] The seductive influence of these novelties, promoted at the same time by the new king and by the high-priest, soon became so great that the temple service was relaxed, and numbers of the priests were ashamed of their ancient usages. Many, as we have already seen,[3] endeavoured to obliterate the mark of circumcision, the last outward sign of Jahveism. Jason even went so far as to send a solemn embassy (Theôri), with gifts,[4] to witness and assist in the quinquennial celebration of the games of Heracles at Tyre, where the king then was. At first everything seemed to go well. When, in the year 173,[5] the king was making preparations in the southern parts of Syria for a war with Egypt, and came to Jerusalem, he was received with torches and loud rejoicings. After these three years, however, Jason sent Menelaus, a brother of the Benjamite Simon, who has been already mentioned,[6] to the king on business. This man, by flattery and by further offers of money, contrived to obtain the high-priesthood for himself, and returned with the royal appointment, upon which Jason disgracefully took to flight and retired to the district of Ammon, on the other side of the Jordan. Thus, within a short space, a second high-priest was

[1] The practices carried on in the Gymnasia and Ephebeia, 2 Macc. iv. 9, are further explained in vv. 12, 14.

[2] According to 2 Macc. iv. 9. In what the privileges of this citizenship consisted is at least partially indicated in ver. 19. They included in particular the right to seats of honour for witnessing the Greek games, the so-called θεωρία, which is specially mentioned in the later decree quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10 6, and is also mentioned in many other places; cf. Franz, *Elem. Epigr.* p. 219.

[3] P. 269.

[4] 3,300 drachmæ, as the Pesh. 2 Macc. iv. 19 correctly reads for 300.

[5] This date is to be inferred from 2 Macc. iv. 21. The young Ptolemy Philomêtor had then come of age and attained independent power, on which the relations of Egypt and Syria became still worse.

[6] P. 292.

set up by the king's arbitrary decree, and, this time, one who did not even belong to the priestly order.[1] He was, besides, a man of the most violent nature. One of his first acts after his accession to power, when summoned to the court on account of his inability to pay the heavy sums which he had promised, was to make a raid upon the secret treasures of the temple, with which he bribed Andronicus, whom the king had appointed governor during the Cilician war. By his instrumentality he secured the treacherous assassination of Onias III., who had taken refuge in the sanctuary at Daphne, near Antioch, for having complained of the robbery of the temple![2] He had in the meantime left as his representative in Jerusalem his brother Lysimachus, who continued to squander the temple treasures more and more wantonly, so that there were threatenings of a riot in consequence. Upon this, Lysimachus set three thousand heavy armed troops[3] upon the people; but, in the bloody combat which ensued, he was killed, with many others, not far from the treasury. The High Council, roused by these events to active interference, sent three elders to the king, who was at that time in Tyre, to justify the disturbance and at the same time accuse Menelaus. He was already in bonds[4] and about to suffer for his crimes, when he succeeded in bribing the confidential friend of the king, Ptolemæus, the son of Dorymenes. The result was that he himself was liberated, while the three deputies, greatly to the disapproval of the Tyrians, were executed.

In the meantime, by the year 171, the king, with admirable activity and relatively small means, had procured an army entirely devoted to him, had everywhere quelled the disturb-

[1] According to Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, 1; 9, 7 (xv. 3, 1), cf. xx. 10, this Menelaus, properly called Onias, was a younger brother of Jason: but Josephus was unacquainted either with the 2nd book of Maccabees or with its sources, and gives us only a very brief and cursory narrative of these events, plainly from want of better authorities. That Menelaus did not directly belong to the descendants of Aaron is also implied in 1 Macc. vii. 14. If, moreover, Josephus is correct in stating that the sons of Tobias were on the side of Menelaus (p. 271 sq.), he and his brother Simon were probably connected by marriage as Benjamites with this important house, and consequently (p. 272) at least with the high-priestly family. This would make his elevation a little more intelligible.—It is a mere evasion to try to save the high-priestly descent of this Menelaus by maintaining that the Βενιαμὶν φυλή, 2 Macc. iii. 4, is the priestly family, מִנְיָמִין or מִנְיָמִן, 1 Chron. xxiv. 9; Ezr. x. 25; Neh. x. 8 [7], xii. 5, 17, 41; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 190.

[2] For this, however, the king had feeling enough to punish Andronicus severely, 2 Macc. iv. 37 sq., yet not, it would seem, with death, cf. 2 Macc. v. 23, but only by banishment for an uncertain period, which was probably the meaning of ἀποκοσμεῖν. At length, however, he came to a violent end, according to Diodorus, *Hist.* xxx. 7, 2.

[3] Under the leadership of a certain Auranus, as we should read in 2 Macc. iv. 40, in place of Tyrannus.

[4] In 2 Macc. iv. 45 I regard εἱλημμένος as the better reading.

ances, had driven the Egyptians back completely to the old Egyptian boundaries, and had taken especial pains to secure numerous well-fortified places.[1] In the year 170 he undertook a more extensive and victorious campaign against Egypt, in the course of which he obtained possession of the person of his nephew, Ptolemy Philomêtor. The two kings, it was said, devised various evil plans for the entire subjugation of the Judeans.[2] Meanwhile a report of the death of Antiochus reached Palestine from Egypt; and Jason, accordingly, with a thousand troops, aimed a blow at Jerusalem, and committed many cruelties. Menelaus, however, maintained himself in the citadel; and Jason was therefore soon obliged to flee once more across the Jordan. Subsequently he wandered about in Arabia, Egypt, and Greece, and died miserably in Lacedæmonia.[3] The malicious Menelaus easily persuaded the king to see in these occurrences a regular insurrection against himself. On his return from Egypt he punished Jerusalem severely as a city which was to be conquered. He led away many captives, and entered the temple and is said to have carried off from it eighteen hundred talents of silver, in all which he was faithfully supported by Menelaus. Even the Samaritans, as well as the rest of the country, seem to have suffered heavily from his anger.[4] If the robbery of temples, of which the king was guilty in numerous cases beyond the limits of Palestine also, everywhere creates the profoundest revolt, what must have been the agitation of Israel, with its rigid ideas about the unique sanctity of the temple at Jerusalem, and in face of the alliance which the king had contracted with a Menelaus! But Mene-

[1] This first section of the king's reign is described in Dan. xi. 21–24. The 'prince of the league,' ver. 22, can only, according to the persistent usage of the book, be Onias III., whom the king deposed, and of whose death he was at any rate the mediate cause. Those who were leagued with him, ver. 23, whom he deceived, are Jason and his adherents, though there may be an allusion to others also misled by the king. In general, we may observe how correctly the four sections of the king's reign down to 167 B.C. are distinguished, Dan. xi. 21–45; vv. 21–24, 25–28, 29–39, 40–45; towards the conclusion of each of the first three, one of the mysterious brief prophetic utterances of this writer points to the cessation of war, vv. 24, 27, 35; comp. with the beginning of ver. 40. On the reference to Dan. xi. 21–24 see *Proph. des A. Bs.* iii. p. 459 [2nd edit].

[2] This may be inferred from Dan. xi. 26 sq., for no authority is so ancient and so near the events referred to as the contemporary book of Daniel. That the Ptolemies also were at that time badly disposed towards the Judeans, and in this respect at least readily came to an understanding with Antiochus Epiphanes, is clear from the very abrupt statement in 2 Macc. vi. 8 sq. Even in the year 163 great numbers of Judeans out of heathen countries fled to Jerusalem, 1 Macc. vi. 53 sq.

[3] 2 Macc. v. 1–10.

[4] 1 Macc. i. 16–28; 2 Macc. v. 11–23; on the Samaritans, see ver. 23. More briefly it is said in Dan. xi. 28 of this time, 'his heart is against the holy covenant (and the people of the covenant).' See also Diod. *Hist.* xxxiv. 1. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, 3.

laus had now recognised only too clearly that he had against him not alone the party of the strict, but the moderate as well, for these would greatly have preferred a Jason. Accordingly, although his partisans became weaker and weaker, he was necessarily driven to the resolve sooner, if necessary, to suppress the whole Judean system by force, and throw off the last trace of shame, than give up his official position; and soon enough the king was to meet him in this very effort with something more than zeal.

In the year 169 B.C. the king had brought to an end a campaign against Egypt, at the close of which, though completely victorious, he was compelled by the ambassadors of various northern kingdoms to surrender against his will almost all the advantages he had gained. He accordingly returned in deep dudgeon to Asia, learned on his way much that was displeasing about the conduct of the Judeans, because he only lent an ear to the apostates,[1] and brooded over new plans for crushing all opposition in a country which he regarded as a possession painfully won by his own and his father's exertions, and which he continued to hold without the definite sanction of the Romans. The resistance which he encountered in various ways in Egypt and Palestine only increased his determination to shatter it with one blow. He made preparations, therefore, for a decisive campaign against Egypt, and resolved first, with the aid of the small party which was bound to obey him, to reconstitute Judah entirely after his own views. For this purpose he continued to require large sums of money, and in the Syrian kingdom matters had now come to such a pass that the sovereign might congratulate himself on having still a small portion of his territories and subjects to impoverish and reduce on any pretext in the most unsparing manner, simply to obtain with the greater speed and security money and other resources.[2] Early in the year 168, therefore, he despatched against Jerusalem, under the command of Apollonius,[3] a powerful army, which took advantage of a sabbath to fall on the defenceless inhabitants. The sale of numerous captives helped to fill the empty treasury of the king. The city of David, on

[1] This is referred to very suitably in Dan. xi. 30*b*. The 'ships of Chittim' mentioned in the first half of the verse are the fleets of Rhodes and Rome; not, however, the Roman ambassadors, who, with Pompilius Lænas at their head, finally drove the king out of Egypt on his fourth Egyptian campaign, for this campaign is not mentioned till vv. 40–44.

[2] Cf. in particular also the evidence of the Greek authors cited by Josephus, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 7, in reference to the plundering of the temple at Jerusalem by this king.

[3] Probably the same who has been already mentioned, p. 292.

the south, was made into a strong military post,[1] while the whole of Jerusalem, after the partly compulsory partly voluntary flight of the stricter party, was transformed into a regular heathen city.[2] Shortly after this there arrived from Antioch[3] the most definite instructions to obliterate throughout the entire country every trace of the ancient religion. Not even circumcision, nor the observance of the sabbath, nor the use of the sacred book of the law, was to be tolerated. The temple at Jerusalem was to be changed into one of Zeus Olympius, that on Gerîzîm to one of Zeus Xenius;[4] the heathen usages and feasts were to be all celebrated, and the inhabitants compelled to participate in them by force. Thus from their very roots did the king strive to extirpate the ancient deity and spirit of the nation, in order to secure obedient subjects, and, in particular, money for himself! Orders so comprehensive and severe were obeyed, moreover, by not a few besides those who had long been thoroughly heathen in their tone; the party of the free-minded and the Greeklings seemed completely to have triumphed. All the sacrifices of such venerable custom in the temple entirely ceased, and over the great altar of burnt offerings was constructed a smaller one for the sacrifices to Zeus.[5] Loudly did the king boast of having for ever exter-

[1] Into the *ἄκρα*, in the language of the first book of Maccabees, cf. vol. iii. p. 123 *note* 5.

[2] According to 1 Macc. i. 29–40, iii. 45; the names of the persons concerned are, in accordance with its general practice, given more definitely in 2 Macc. v. 24–26, cf. ver. 22 sq.; but this book does not discriminate with sufficient exactness between the various occasions. In general, the second book of Maccabees proves less satisfactory wherever the first enters more into details.—To this period also must be referred what is stated in the long speech in Jos. *Bell. Jud.* v. 9, 4, about an attack of Antiochus Epiphanes on Jerusalem, which resulted so disastrously for the people. The attack is there represented as led by the king in person, which points to some wholly different source of information.

[3] In 2 Macc. vi. 1 we should follow the Vulgate in reading *γέροντα Ἀντιοχέα* (a senator, i.e. an official of Antioch) in place of, or before *Ἀθηναῖον*. The whole occurrence is also described in 1 Macc. i. 41–64 (cf. in particular the chronology in vv. 20, 29, 54), with the same essential features as in 2 Macc. vi. sq.; but the latter, as usual, rhetorically elaborates and magnifies many details.

[4] According to the simple narrative 2 Macc. vi. 2, cf. v. 22 sq., there is not the remotest need to look for the evil cause which Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5, 5, refers to, viz. that the Samaritans, out of pure hatred against Judah, had of themselves, in a base letter to Epiphanes, solicited the honour of being allowed to give this name to their temple. Although the letter of the Samaritans and the king's reply are given in this passage with all possible verisimilitude, Josephus has evidently derived the whole account from the untrustworthy source already indicated, p. 48. Moreover, Zeus Xenius is made into Zeus Hellenius, while 2 Macc. correctly intimates that the name was connected with the fondness of the Samaritans for hospitality.

[5] 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 38–54, vi. 7; cf. 2 Macc. vi. 5. This is the 'frightful abomination' which is purposely not designated more closely in Dan. ix. 27*c*, xi. 31, xii. 11, cf. viii. 10–12, but to the immeasurable horror of which such prominence is given; and as the book of Daniel was certainly translated into Greek before the time of the Greek translator of the first book of Maccabees, it is not surprising that the latter retains the rendering *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, or, more

minated the deity of the Judeans,[1] while his whole life showed that he had no real honour for any other of the gods of his subjects, not even for the Hellenic deities for which he was desirous to secure everywhere the highest place.[2] There was but one god, it was well known, that he reverenced and feared—the war god of the Romans. The only sanctuaries which he valued, it was known equally well, were strong fortifications. Whoever respected these sanctuaries, and that god of his, or brought him money for the purpose, was highly honoured by him, and was endowed with power and authority, acres and lands.[3] He had certainly secured adherents in Israel who were of necessity entirely devoted to his cause, who were masters of the temple and the whole of Jerusalem, and who could only stand or fall with him. This party of the apostates, it must be confessed, was resolute and powerful enough;[4] but how little consideration had the king paid to the real inner forces of this party and of the one which was radically opposed to it. He kept up an army of spies and overseers, accusers and watchmen, at least equal to the police of to-day;[5] but how little could he protect himself against that spy and accuser whom he could neither seize nor avoid, and whom the strict-minded, whom he so mercilessly persecuted, were better acquainted with and above all reverenced more than he.

2. *The Martyrs. The Book of Daniel.*

The persecutions of the party of the strict now rose rapidly to the fearful height which is only reached in periods of the most passionate excitement. Young children, just circumcised,

briefly, βδέλυγμα alone, like Matt. xxiv. 15. The more specific expression 'the frightful *wing* of abominations,' Dan. ix. 27, perhaps alludes to the peculiar form which this erection assumed; even to the Greek translator, however, it was obscure.

[1] The 'proud sayings' are often mentioned, and must certainly have been proud enough, Dan. vii. 8, 20, viii. 23, xi. 36. According to 1 Macc. i. 24 he had already begun this line of action two years previously, which in a certain sense may be very true. Nothing won for the king such ill-fame as these insolent speeches; no wonder that they got him the permanent name already explained, p. 293 *note* 1.

[2] This is justly enlarged on with great force in Dan. xi. 36 sq.

[3] This is the true meaning of the words in Dan. xi. 38 sq.; ver. 39 runs 'thus does he with the strongholds (cf. vv. 38, 24, 15) as with the strange god; whoso acknowledges (and honours) them, to him he gives much honour,' &c. In this way ver. 39 simply illustrates further what has been said in ver. 38. Whether Mars proper is intended, or the Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom, according to Liv. xli. 20, he began to build a splendid temple at Antioch, is a matter of comparative indifference to the book of Daniel.

[4] This even the two first books of Maccabees cannot conceal, and it is equally clear from Dan. ix. 27*a*, xi. 23, 32, 34, xii. 2, 10, viii. 25.

[5] On these ἐπίσκοποι see 1 Macc. i. 51; cf. 2 Macc. v. 23, and the Psalms of Solomon, xii.

were torn from their mothers; sacred books, wherever they were found, were burnt. Everywhere insolent wantonness and the wildest cruelty were let loose; often, it may have been, greater excesses were committed by subordinate officers or evil-minded informers than the king desired. The full fury of a mortal religious struggle was enkindled, and martyrs of every rank and both sexes were soon to be counted in crowds.[1] To persecution was added (by the special orders, it was said, of the king himself) wanton contumely. On the transformed altar in the temple swine were offered, the greatest abomination to the feelings of those who were faithful to the law. But beneath the increasing fury of these bitter afflictions, the fidelity of the conscientious gradually learned to hold on with the greater courage, and resist the more indomitably, although individuals were obliged to be silent for a time, and the more spirited fled away into the wilderness.[2] In every great crisis of this kind, however, one essential advantage results when the half-hearted and undecided are prevented by sheer force of circumstances from any longer maintaining their ground. In this case, the folly of the king and his adherents was amply sufficient to bring about a strongly marked division of the people into two parties only; every middle course was rendered impossible, and every petty and vague aim was necessarily for the moment laid to rest. Accordingly, out of the keen refining fire of this period, the party of the Chasîdîm,[3] i.e. the pious,[4] came forth to take its place for the first time as a new power in the age, firmly compacted, and aspiring with marvellous courage, and it quickly attached to itself, even if at first only by sympathy and silent effort, all the spirits in Israel that were not yet entirely degenerate.

1) Of the deep spiritual struggles of this party, however, which was now for the first time coming forward with a bold front, a much more vivid picture than that supplied us by scattered historical statements is afforded by the works to which

[1] The narrative of these proceedings in 2 Macc. vi. 10–vii. 42 has certainly been freely adorned in an oratorical style, especially in the two long stories of the aged Eleazar, and the seven sons with their mother. But in all essential points it is fairly in harmony with what is related in 1 Macc. i. 55–64 without specific names. Compare also Dan. xi. 33–35, 41, 44, xii. 1, 10. A similar pattern story of a somewhat later period is found in 2 Macc. xiv. 37–46.

[2] According to 1 Macc. i. 53; 2 Macc. vi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 18 sqq. See also below.

[3] P. 282.

[4] The name חסידים does not, it is true, occur in the book of Daniel, which is not surprising, as its author belonged himself to this party of the pious, who were only so designated by their opponents. The name *οἱ ὅσιοι* occurs, however, with extraordinary frequency in the Psalms of Sol. iv. 9, viii. 28, 40, ix. 6, x. 7, xii. 5, 8, xiii. 9, 11, xiv. 2 (twice), 7, xv. 9, xvii. 18.

it gave birth in the very midst of its severest sufferings. Of these but two have been preserved, by no means long, but very striking. In the little book of the 'Psalms of Solomon'[1] we possess in all probability a genuine and unvarnished product of the age, the simplicity of which renders it all the more effective. The true date and origin of these songs became obscure at a very early period; so that subsequently, as they could not be included in the Davidic Psalter, they were referred to Solomon. Closer investigation, however, leaves no doubt that they did not see the light till later times. They were probably composed soon after the events in the year 170, when the king had occupied and plundered Jerusalem as a hostile city. Though they are certainly the work of a single poet,[2] who thus breathes out the sighs of the pious of his day, yet his language and song give us the most eloquent evidence of the deepest feelings of all who shared his aims. They show that the pious did not then feel courage enough to take on themselves the whole burden of the grave struggle direct against the king;[3] but the striving of their soul for deliverance and salvation had reached its utmost strength, their faith and hope their greatest intensity. The Messianic hopes, which lay smouldering beneath the ashes of centuries, were fanned again to a marvellous glow;[4] and if in these songs we find nothing new in hope or utterance,

[1] Published last in Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr.* Vet. Test. i. pp. 917–72. There are eighteen in all, but certainly Pss. i. and ii., perhaps also vi. and vii., have been improperly divided; and, in general, they still need a regular redaction. They were originally written in Hebrew, but exist now only in a Greek version. According to ii. 1, cf. viii. 1 sqq., Jerusalem had been reduced by a siege. The siege had not, however, been very severe, and cannot have lasted very long, as is clear from the description of the treachery of the nobles, and the stealing in of the conqueror, viii. 16 sqq. To the numerous prisoners there are references in ii. 6, viii. 24, ix. 1, xvii. 23 sq.; and that the conquest of Pompey or Herod is out of the question follows from the prominence given to the way in which the apostates of Israel were the first to stain the temple, i. 8, ii. 3, viii. 12–14. There is a closer allusion also to Epiphanes ('the king,' xvii. 22) in the statement that 'he came from the end of the earth,' viii. 26, namely, from Rome, without any proper right to the succession; cf. Dan. ix. 26*a*, according to p. 292; and he is still more clearly indicated as the great dragon who would, it was to be hoped, expire in Egypt (Ezek. xxix.), and the presumptuous despot, ii. 29–33; cf. also the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. xi. p. 215.

[2] This may be inferred from many indications; for instance, from the repeated use of the unusual expression 'before the sun,' ii. 13, 14, iv. 21, viii. 8 (in quite a different connection and meaning, however, from the phrase of Koheleth, 'under the sun').

[3] Cf. in particular the clause 'no one takes the weapons from a mighty one,' v. 4, with the following clauses. Cf. the LXX, Lam. iv. 20.

[4] See especially vii. 9, xi. 8 sq., xv. 14, xvii. 4, 23 sqq., and how these hopes rest upon David and the Messiah, xvii. 5, 8, 9, 23 sq., 35 sqq., xviii. 6, 8. From xvii. 36, cf. xviii. 8, it might be conjectured that this poet, who was certainly no Christian, had called the Messiah *χριστὸς κύριος*; it is, however, a question whether this is not simply an erroneous translation of משיח יהוה; just as in Ecclus. li. 10 it would be possible to find a regular Christian expression, if the common reading were the actual original,

the want of novelty is compensated by the greater purity and force which mark the inwardness and warmth of the resurrection of these hopes as they are presented here. The most beautiful feature, however, which characterises them is that these expectations do not, in the least degree, diminish the deep earnestness of genuine repentance. They attack every form of hypocrisy with great decision, even when it is displayed by those who wish to pass in the community as teachers and pious,[1] and they insist on the severe truth that it was only through its own grave transgressions that Israel could fall into such painful sufferings.[2] On the whole, the songs are certainly in many passages only an echo of various pieces in the Old Testament, and their beauty simply consists in their great simplicity and sincerity; but they afford the most striking evidence of the vigour with which much that was finest and most lasting in the contents of the Old Testament was striving now to appear in outward life.

2) The second production, no more significant in its scope, but much more remarkable for its peculiar art and instantaneous influence, is the book of Daniel, which found its way into the Canon of the Old Testament. In this work everything combined to secure for it in the briefest time the most extraordinary effect and the highest authority,—the moment of its appearance, the new style of its composition, the keenness and severity of its language, veiled in secrecy yet easy to divine, and the rapid disentanglement of the coil of circumstances for the divine solution of which it strove with marvellous energy and clearness. For, on general considerations, it cannot escape the notice of any exact and attentive reader of the book that it was not written till somewhere about this time;[3] while on careful examination we can even recognise quite clearly what was the special stage in the rapid development of events at

[1] See in particular Ps. iv.

[2] Ps. i. 3 sqq., and many other passages.

[3] The opinions of Hengstenberg and Hävernick, and of their followers, Delitzsch, Auberlen, &c., are too baseless to deserve explicit refutation; but it is equally perverse to place the book still later than the date given in the text. I have already discussed many questions relating to this book in the *Berliner Jahrbb. für wiss. Kritik*, 1832, and in the *Propheten des A. Bs.* ii. p. 559 sqq. [3rd ed. iii. p. 298 sqq.]; on other points see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss* iii. p. 229 sqq., vi. p. 192 sqq., ix. p. 270 sq., x. p. 211 sqq.; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1861, p. 1092 sqq. That our present book of Daniel was preceded by an older work may be recognised even from the words of Diod. Sic. *Hist.* xl. *ad fin.* The statement in this passage that the Persian Empire, and its successor, the Macedonian, were called the fourth, shows that the preceding series must have run either 1) the Assyrians, 2) the Chaldeans, 3) the Medes, and 4) the Persians; or 1) the Egyptians, 2) the Assyrians, 3) the Chaldeans, and 4) the Persians. The assertion, moreover, that the Judean customs had much changed, is evidently borrowed from this source.

which it must have been composed. Antiochus Epiphanes had carried out his intention of a fourth and last war against Egypt. On his march thither he had made the pious in Judah feel the whole weight of his anger, and was now returning, victorious indeed, yet without having gained any advantages. He was encamped on his march back on the sea-shore, induced to return, it was said, by unfavourable reports from the east and north;[1] it was not yet known how disgracefully he had retired from Egypt before a mere threat of the Roman ambassador, Pompilius Lænas.[2] These events took place in the years 168–7. The complete suppression of the temple sacrifices might then have lasted a twelvemonth, and everything had reached that state of extreme tension when the ancient religion upon its sacred soil must either disappear from view completely for long ages, or must rise in fresh strength and outward power against enemies thus immoderately embittered. The author of the book was certainly not a resident in Jerusalem, like the singer of the so-called songs of Solomon; he wrote, after Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the apostates exclusively, in some corner of the country,[3] under the dominion of the utmost terrors. It was at this crisis, in the sultry heat of an age thus frightfully oppressive, that this book appeared with its sword-edged utterance, its piercing exhortation to endure in face of the despot, and its promise, full of divine joy, of near and sure salvation. No dew of heaven could fall with more refreshing coolness on the parched ground, no spark from above alight with a more kindling power on the surface so long heated with a hidden glow. With winged brevity the book gives a complete survey of the history of the kingdom of God upon earth, showing the relations which it had hitherto sustained in Israel to the successive great heathen empires of the Chaldeans, Medo-Persians, and Greeks,[4] in a word, towards the heathenism

[1] On the rising of the Armenian king in the *North*, see also the passage of Diodorus in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* ii. p. x. The reports from the East are about the Parthians.

[2] These particulars may be inferred with confidence from the words with which the long description of the king concludes, Dan. xi. 40–45, compared with the remarks on p. 297 sq. The names 'Edom and Moab and the flower of the children of Ammon,' ver. 41, as of those who suffered nothing from the wrath of the king, simply denote in the old prophetic language the party in favour of heathenism.

[3] For the assumption that the author wrote in Jerusalem itself there is not a single piece of evidence, while he often alludes to the holy land with such names as the 'land of splendour,' Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45, or the 'glorious kingdom,' ver. 20.

[4] The four heathen empires which are opposed in their succession to the Messianic as the final kingdom must in the older work, which, it seems from many indications, preceded the book of Daniel, have been reckoned from the Assyrian; and it is probably in reference to some older authority of this kind that Hecatæus (p. 247) spoke of the Greek as the fourth empire in the passage quoted in vol. ii. p. 91 *note* 2.

which ruled the world; and it describes the nature and individual career of Antiochus Epiphanes and his immediate predecessors with the greatest clearness, just so far as was possible after the great events which had recently been experienced. But of the higher necessity that the imperial kingdoms thus differently constituted by the different heathen sovereignties, and yet founded on false principles, and growing worse and worse as time went on, should be at last succeeded by the perfected kingdom of God,—of this necessity an important sign seemed to be found in the existing state of the Greek kingdom. The Syrian kingdom, which claimed to be the proper continuation of the kingdom of Alexander, had had exactly seven princes from Alexander and Seleucus to the death of Antiochus the Great. The ruler then on the throne had only made his way to power, as it appeared, through the extermination of no less than three kings.[1] With the close of the series of ten of these kings and the sudden fall of the three last, the kingdom seemed to be at an end, and this last king was only like a spurious and contemptible little after-shoot. And in its struggle the yearning for the termination of all these gloomy events seized upon even this sign as affording a mysterious opening to the eye of the seer who would look into the future.

In the case of a book, however, which was to be instantly diffused in spite of despots and spies, the entirely open description of the situation was hazardous. The prophetically minded author accordingly adopted the device of writing in the name of an ancient prophet, and apparently in his era. This was rendered all the easier as the practice had long been commonly employed. Moreover, as the corruption of the age proceeded from those in power and from courtiers, the writer's choice in selecting one of the numerous prophetic sages of antiquity, was doubtless guided to Daniel, one of the less famous amongst them, simply by the fact that it was known that several centuries before, in the midst of the pomp and the seductions of heathen court life, he had never denied the true religion,[2] so

[1] Namely, Seleucus IV., Heliodorus, and Demetrius, pp. 292 sq. On this point compare further the explanations in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. pp. 222 sq. The only objection that could be brought against the fact itself is that in Dan. xi. there is no allusion whatever to these three between vv. 20 and 21; but this is quite consistent with the general design of the description in cap. xi., which for all its length is nowhere so definite as to adduce in order the ten rulers (horns) before the vile little horn, and designate them individually.

[2] Almost everything which we now know of Daniel is based on the book named after him. In the *Propheten des A. Bs.*, however, I have already shown that he must have originally lived in the Assyrian exile, and that what the present book narrates of him contains only scanty traditions of his history. That he was a real person

that his life and example might be made a pattern for all who were then placed in similar temptations, and his prophetic word could not fail to apply with all the more force to the like circumstances of the present. Rarely did it happen that a book appeared as this did, in the very crisis of the times, and in a form most suited to such an age, ingeniously reserved, close, and severe, and yet shedding so clear a light through obscurity, and so marvellously captivating. It was natural that it should soon achieve a success entirely corresponding to its inner truth and glory. And so, in this book, we have for the last time in the literature of the Old Testament an example of a work which, having sprung from the deepest necessities of the noblest impulses of the age, can render to that age the purest service, and which, by the development of events immediately after, receives with such power the stamp of divine witness that it subsequently attains imperishable sanctity. The book fixed three years and a half as the period of extreme affliction,[1] of which perhaps a year may have elapsed when it was written and circulated. The subject itself, as well as the general style and plan of the book, shows us that this was nothing but a round sacred number. Its purport was simply to indicate the tolerable proximity of divine deliverance and salvation, and hence, in particular, also, of fresh purification and consecration of the temple. But when, as we shall soon see, on the expiration of this period, with some exactness, the first great sign of new deliverance and of a grand turn of events had actually come to pass in the conquest of the temple-mountain and the purification of the temple, the book received, as though from heaven itself, the clearest proof of the truth of its anticipations. Thus the light of the age fell especially upon it, and the possibility was realised that even in this late period a sacred book might arise and be esteemed not inferior to the prophetic works of old.

Thus, then, at this time of the utmost tension of circumstances among the faithful, who were deeply oppressed, driven from Jerusalem, and scattered in all directions, the innermost impulse of all true religion rose with growing strength. Of this the best proof lies in the fact that the bright hopes of immortality and resurrection received a firmer and clearer development and power than they had ever done before.[2] It is

and lived at a heathen court is not to be doubted; see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 233 sq., and the remarks above, p. 95.

[1] On this point see further the *Propheten des A. Bs.* ii. p. 571 sq. [2nd ed. iii. pp. 421, 467.]

[2] Psalms of Sol. iii. 16, Dan. xii. 2 sq., 13. The far more extravagant and exaggerated representations which only

true, that in the transfigured form in which they correspond to the true religion, these hopes had, as we have observed above, long been established in Israel as one of the brightest and most enduring fruits which its thousand years' experience had brought forth upon this sacred soil. Not till now, however, can it be said that this fruit was so matured that it would never again disappear from the community of the true religion; and if the immovable hope of immortality and resurrection is the true and only weapon that cannot be wrested from us, by which in the spiritual struggles of humanity all the sufferings of the time can be victoriously endured, all the tyranny of the earth broken, and all imperishable blessings attained, it must be admitted that through the deep surging storm of the age there was then sent from above, in this faith which nothing could take away, the only sword of salvation on whose edge the most fatal terrors would strike in vain.

II. The Elevation under the Maccabees, 167–135 B.C.—The Asmoneans, Mattathias and his Sons.

1. *Judas Maccabæus.*

In a position of affairs such as we have described, it was a matter of comparative indifference to what point the resistance against the royal decree procured and carried out by a Menelaus and his accomplices should in the first place be seriously directed. But as at this stage of its history Israel rises once more, even though but for a brief period, to the pure elevation of its noblest days, it was fitting that the first beginning of a serious resistance should come about involuntarily, as it were by a higher necessity, almost without the co-operation of human self-will and human passion; still less with any aid of human calculation. It was to serve as an example of irresistibly divine power and heavenly summons to the struggle, and yet, like all such examples, it was not of a kind that could be outwardly imitated and artificially repeated.

Among the refugees from Jerusalem was a priest of the illustrious family of Joarib,[1] named Mattathias. From his

find utterance later in the second book of Maccabees and in other books of the following period must be placed in the age before the great Maccabean victory. Afterwards, when these hopes had immeasurably contributed to the final victory, they were themselves naturally subject to some extravagance.

[1] According to 1 Macc. ii. 1, xiv. 29. This family, according to 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, was the first of the twenty-four families of the priests of the altar; see the *Alterth.* p. 315 sq.

great-grandfather, who bore a somewhat rare name, his house often received the designation of the Asmoneans.[1] At the time of the outbreak of the great persecution he was already advanced in years, and the father of grown-up sons. He did not hesitate, however, to retire to Môde'îm,[2] a little town to the west of Jerusalem,[3] where his hereditary estates were no doubt situated, and he himself, as priest, ranked as the most important personage of the place. Being required by the authorities to sacrifice on the heathen altar, and thus set an example to his fellow-citizens, he resisted quietly, though firmly and decidedly, in the name of the little community. But when a Judean came forward notwithstanding to the sacrifice, Mattathias, carried away by the zeal of the moment, smote him in wrath, overthrew the altar, loudly summoned all the faithful to follow him, and fled with his sons into the wilderness. There, many soon gathered around him; but the contest between them and the troops that streamed forth from the citadel in Jerusalem was carried on upon unequal terms, because they would not fight on the sabbath; so that on one occasion about a thousand of them fell. On this the venerable leader felt his soul lifted by the higher need above the precepts of the scribes, and by his advice it was resolved to defend life on the sabbath also.[4] The one impulse of his loftier spirit and courage affected many minds. Most of the members of the secret league of the pious scattered through the country quickly joined him;[5] in many places the idolatrous altars were overthrown, the apostates driven away, and the old Israelite usages and customs rein-

[1] This is the simplest explanation of this family name, although we can only derive our information about it from Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, 1, and Macc. Arab. [5 Macc.] vi. (where, however, the name has been corrupted). The Hellenistic spelling is Ἀσαμωναῖος; in the Hebrew form the simple personal name would read חַשְׁמַן, the original significance of which is clear from Ps. lxviii. 32; later writers often spell it חשמונאי. Mattathias was son of Johanan, son of Simeon, son of Asmonai; the names Johanan (John) and Simon were special favourites in this family.

[2] מודעים is the form everywhere given, and certainly correctly, by the Peshito, 1 Macc. ii. 1, 15, xiii. 25, 30, xvi. 4; 2 Macc. xiii. 14. It occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament; the most proper Greek spelling is the Μωδεείμ of some MSS.

[3] This westerly position results from all the indications. According to 1 Macc. xiii. 29 it lay not far inland from the coast, so that a lofty monument erected near it could be seen from the sea. Further than this, nothing has yet been discovered about the site, see Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* ii. p. 6 [ed. 1856]. Perhaps the name Dair Ma'în, east of Ramleh, has been abbreviated from Mâdîn; cf. Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. pp. 389, 392, Saulcy's *Voy.* ii. p. 117.

[4] Subsequently, however, the scribes introduced the subtle distinction that it was only lawful to defend oneself on the sabbath, not to make an attack, or even to interfere with the enemy if they were not making an actual attack, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2. This latter decision makes the permission to defend oneself nothing better than a mockery.

[5] That the pious formed a league among themselves, which was then already in existence, is clear from 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13; this, in fact, makes the action of Mattathias all the more pure.

troduced. In the year 167 B.C. Mattathias sank beneath the burden of his years, before the book of Daniel could have been long written or widely circulated;[1] but his memory remained all the more pure for the future.

If it was a piece of higher good fortune that the insurrection broke out thus undesignedly, and was set on foot by a holy man of such blameless character, it was no less so that on his death he left behind him a heroic band of five sons, who all entirely shared his principles and were ready to carry on the contest without an instant's delay. Seldom has the world seen an instance of five brothers animated by the same spirit, and without mutual jealousy, sacrificing themselves for the same cause; of whom one only survived another in order to carry it on with, if possible, more zeal and success, while not one had anything in view but the great object for which his father had fallen. But it was a cause still pure and holy, and, moreover, of infinite difficulty, and lofty enough to tempt into competition all the most single-minded energies and the deepest efforts; and the five sons of this sire did but carry out with surpassing vigour the purpose for which many thousands, particularly of priestly descent,[2] had felt like courage, and only lacked the wonderful magic which surrounded the enterprises of these young heroes after the death of such a father.[3] Mattathias, it was said, had in his last moments recommended to his sons to make the second-born, named Simon, their chief, for the sake of his wise counsel; and the third, named Judas, their general, on account of his military aptitude;[4] but at first, full authority was vested simply in the boldest and most valiant warrior amongst them.

It was this Judas whose unique fame may be adequately estimated from the fact that his surname Makkabî, or (in its Aramaic form) Makkabaî,[5] by which he was known in common life, came, in the period after his death, to be employed for all brave champions and martyrs of the faith belonging to the Greek age, and even those who had preceded him were

[1] When, in 1 Macc. ii. 59 sq., words from the book of Daniel are put into the mouth of the dying Mattathias, it must be remembered that even this first book of Maccabees deals somewhat freely in such representations. Further, from the words used in Dan. xi. 45 (see p. 303) it might almost be inferred that the book of Daniel had been written in Môde'îm, or in its neighbourhood, 'between the sea and Jerusalem.'

[2] The too great zeal of many priests is even somewhat blamed, 1 Macc. v. 67.

[3] The belief in their magic power is expressed very strongly, for instance, in 1 Macc. v. 61–64.

[4] 1 Macc. ii. 65 sq.

[5] In this name we may expect a ק, not a כ, as is shown by the spelling of the Pesh., although Ben-Gorion writes מכבי. An allusion to the meaning of the name as 'slayer of the mighty' is found in the *Sêpher Antiochos*, xxviii.

designated Maccabees.[1] Even before the great persecution, it was said, he had fled with only nine comrades into the wilderness, and there lived upon herbs, that he might not be involved, however remotely, in the prevailing apostacy;[2] and certainly his glory soon outshone that of his father and all his brothers; he was even generally recognized immediately after his father's death as the only man who could carry forward the work which had been begun. A strange and higher confidence inspired him in all his actions; by this he carried thousands along with him, and won for a long time the most unexpected victories. But he spared no pains in going from house to house to exhort and arouse his friends.[3]

1) His first enterprises were mere night attacks.[4] He successfully surprised the Syrian general, Apollonius, marching with troops against him from Samaria, and slew him.[5] Serôn, who was advancing from northern Palestine with still stronger forces, and had already reached Beth-horon, not far distant from Môde'îm on the north-east, was defeated in the same way, on the plain in front of the city, and all his men were dispersed.[6] The news of these disasters made the king furious. He gathered all his forces, but at length resolved, as he was in great need of funds, with the aid of the troops he had collected, to march in person against the countries in the north-east, which were likewise threatening him with rebellion and withholding their tribute. Lysias, however, a connection of the royal

[1] In 1 Macc. the name, even in the case of Judas, is only sufficiently prominent to enable us to see that it was a favourite designation of him even during his life, ii. 4, 66, iii. 1, v. 24, 34; 2 Macc., on the other hand, is fond of calling Judas simply Maccabæus; and it was not till later that the name received a further extension. According to this, as well as to 1 Macc. ii. 2–4, the name had at first no particular reference to the historical individuality and greatness of this Judas. It is clear from this passage that all five brothers had surnames, as the necessity was then coming to be felt, in the constant repetition of the few ancient sacred names, of distinguishing the living by special surnames, and combining with the sacred name another from common life, like John Hyrcanus, &c. This very favourite repetition of the ancient male and female names gained ground after the holy scripture came to be everything to the people, pp. 58 sqq. מַקַּבְיָ is formed like מַלְאָבִי, p. 177 *note* 2; and what it intrinsically denotes is quite a separate question. It might mean the 'hammerer;' but it is not formed like *gladiator* from *gladius*, its meaning perhaps is rougher still than this, if Judas first received his surname in battle. That the surnames of all the sons of Mattathias served merely for their better designation, without any special higher meaning, is clear also from 1 Macc. vi. 43.—On a certain Joseph named in 1. Macc. as a brother of Judas, see remarks below.

[2] According to 2 Macc. v. 27; but the second book of Maccabees passes over Mattathias altogether.

[3] 2 Macc. viii. 1.

[4] 2 Macc. viii. 6 sq.

[5] 1 Macc. iii. 10–12. This Apollonius was certainly the same as the Apollonius mentioned in 2 Macc. v. 24–26 in another connection. He was placed over south and central Palestine, but his principal forces were stationed in Samaria, which, considering what has been already remarked, p. 153, compared with Polyb. *Hist.* v. 71, &c., is not surprising.

[6] 1 Macc. iii. 13–24.

house, was to be left behind as governor of all the countries of the west, with a special commission to exterminate the Judeans from the earth. Accordingly, in the year 166, Antiochus marched against the countries of the north-east, still imagining that the insurrection in the Judean mountains was of small importance. For this error he was to atone severely.

Lysias despatched against Judas forty thousand infantry and seven thousand horse, under the tried leaders Ptolemaeus, son of Dorymenes, Nicanor, and Gorgias.[1] This army, further increased by numerous reinforcements, pushed forward to Emmaus, somewhat south of Môde'im, and there encamped upon a hill. This camp formed a rendezvous for wealthy slave-dealers from the Phœnician coast, who came to purchase the vast quantities of prisoners which were confidently looked for. The extremity of the faithful was great. Jerusalem being closed against them, they assembled at Massêpha or Mizpah, formerly a sacred place,[2] not far from it on the north. Here they kept a day of fasting and penitence. As if struggling to excite the divine pity, they spread out before God the sacred books which were being taken from them, to paint upon them in mockery heathen pictures. They produced the priestly robes which they could not use, the tithes which they could not pay, and the Nazirites whom they could not release from their vows without the sacrifices in the temple.[3] Judas, however, busied himself in equipping his forces as well as circumstances admitted, and arranged them in every respect in the manner prescribed by the sacred law.[4] Following its spirit, he cared so little for large numbers that, according to one statement, he had but six thousand men.[5] He encamped in a position on the south-east of the enemy, and there Gorgias intended to anticipate him in a night attack. For this purpose he sent against him six thousand picked troops, under the guidance of apostates from the citadel at Jerusalem. Judas, however, had received intelligence of the plan, and retired beforehand, without leaving any traces which could be easily followed. Without delay, he boldly attacked the main army, and drove it in rout towards the

[1] 1 Macc. iii. 38 sqq. According to 2 Macc. viii. 8–10, cf. v. 22, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, Philip of Phrygia, appointed these generals, and certainly would have acted in accord with Lysias. Gorgias, however, is nowhere mentioned in 2 Macc.

[2] According to vol. ii. pp. 413, 427, vol. iii. p. 23.

[3] See the moving description, 1 Macc. iii. 46–51. For the spreading out of the polluted holy book before God, cf. the similar case in Is. xxxvii. 14.

[4] According to 1 Macc. iii. 55 sq., 2 Macc. viii. 21 sq.; comp. with Ex. xviii. 21 and Deut. xx. 6–9.

[5] 2 Macc. viii. 16: on the other hand, the army which advanced to the actual attack is only estimated at 3000; 1 Macc. iv. 6.

south and west.[1] The captured camp he set on fire, but he prudently kept his troops from plundering, as an encounter with the other half of the enemy was still to be expected. When Gorgias appeared, and found the main army defeated and his camp in flames, his own terrified troops were also easily driven westwards to the Philistine coast, and the victor obtained immense booty. From this day forward the military fame of Judas was firmly established, and through its length and breadth his fatherland was freed from the ascendency of the foe.[2]

2) In the following year, B.C. 165, Lysias despatched sixty thousand infantry and five thousand horse in another direction against Judas. They had too good reasons to dread the western mountain marches around the fires of Môde'îm; and they therefore advanced from the south through Idumea, and encamped at Beth-zur,[3] somewhat north of Hebron, a fortress which from this time became of great importance. Judas encountered them with only ten thousand men; but he inflicted on them such a blow that, after the hand-to-hand combat which ensued, five thousand were left upon the field; and upon this the rest retreated. Judas next resolved to retake Jerusalem; and the temple-mountain at least soon fell into his hands. The temple was then carefully purified, the polluted great altar removed, and everything restored in accordance with the ancient usages. The feast of the purification and reconsecration of the temple which followed, lasted eight days; and it happened that it was commenced on the very day—the 25th of Chisleu (or Chaseleu, i.e. about our December)—on which the first sacrifice had been offered to idols five years

[1] The flight is minutely described in 1 Macc. iv. 15, as to the directions taken; but the mention of 'the plains of Idumea' appears very obscure, so that two MSS. read 'of Judea' instead, which, however, is clearly only an attempt to get rid of the difficulty. It might be conjectured that in the Hebrew there originally stood in this passage the name of the city, פַּס דַּמִּים, 1 Sam. xvii. 1. This lies south of the field of battle, so that the description of the flight would run accordingly that they went 'to the ancient Gazer (according to vol. ii. p. 328 sqq., iii. pp. 102 *note* 6, 218 sqq.), to Pas or Ephes-Dammim, and westwards to Azotus and Jamnia' on the sea. But as the Idumeans were really masters in the south, p. 81, the general meaning of the Greek words is after all correct.

[2] The interpolation in 2 Macc. viii. 30–33 about victories over Timotheus (cf. x. 24), Bacchides and Callisthenes, rests on extracts which are too obscure to yield us any clear representation.

[3] 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61, xiv. 33, and in many other passages; cf. Josh. xv. 58. Solomon had already fortified this place, 2 Chron. xi. 7. Modern travellers have heard a heap of ruins north of Hebron thus named in the present day. The only authority for the statement that it lay no more than five stadia distant from Jerusalem is the common reading in 2 Macc. xi. 5 (one MS. and the Peshito have a different reading). The Peshito, strangely enough, always writes ܒܝܬ ܨܘܪ. Cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 225 sq.

before.[1] From this time forth the day remained holy. In previous years it had been employed for the annual compulsory celebration of a great festival to Zeus; it now served for the commencement of the joyous celebration of the dedication of the temple, which was kept up every year for eight days. In later times, this feast, though only lasting one day, still maintained its place in the nation, under the name of Feast of Dedication (dedication of the temple) or Feast of Lights.[2]—The temple-mountain was at once fortified by Judas with high walls and strong towers; but the southern city, which the Syrians had recently made very strong,[3] he could not reduce. Beth-zur, however, on the south side of Jerusalem, he turned into a powerful fortress.

Successes like these naturally raised high the spirits of all the faithful Judeans, at greater distances also from Jerusalem; but conversely they caused great excitement among all the heathen nations around the holy city against the victorious Judeans, and, where circumstances enabled it to be done safely, many Judeans were murdered and the lives of others endangered. In this respect also the course of events in the great rise of Israel in ancient days under Saul and David was now to be repeated, and it was to be determined whether Jahveism or heathenism was to reign over the whole country between the

[1] According to 1 Macc. iv. 52–54 comp. with i. 54, 59, 2 Macc. x. 5 sq. On the first and twenty-fifth of every month there was in Syria a festival to Zeus, 1 Macc. i. 58 sq.; but the twenty-fifth of this month was the annual and principal festival (cf. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscrr.* xvii. 2, p. 25 sq.). In 1 Macc. i. 54 the fifteenth day of this month is specified. But this involves no contradiction, since the date given in this passage is only that of the day on which the new altar was set up, which was not to be used till ten days later. For this erection the fifteenth was selected in mockery, as the sacred day of the month according to the ancient order of Israel's feasts. Hence it is unnecessary to correct to the twenty-fifth. The assertion that the temple sacrifices were only interrupted for two years, 2 Macc. x. 3, is incorrect. A MS. of Holmes-Parsons gives three years and a half, certainly not without intentional reference to the three years and a half of the book of Daniel, see above p. 305.

[2] According to 2 Macc. x. 7, the feast was celebrated, like the Feast of Tabernacles, with beautiful branches of trees, and staves festooned with leaves. A special part of it also was the kindling of lights, and it was itself called the 'feast of lights,' Τὰ Φῶτα, as Josephus mentions, *Ant.* xii. 7, 7. This latter fact points clearly to its cosmic and consequently permanent basis, which has led to its final transformation into the well-known important festival in Christendom. It was originally the feast of the solstice, when the first appearance of the new light of the year was celebrated, and was very similar to the feast of Epiphany. It was, however, a favourable circumstance that it now received a higher meaning in Israel, and could be solemnised as the feast of the new temple, or of the dedication of the temple, Hebr. *Chanûkhah*. Later legendary representations of the origin of the feast may be found in the *Sêpher Antiochos*, already mentioned, p. 287 *note* 3, in the *Midrash haChanûkhah*, in Jellinek, i. pp. 132–136, and in Makrîzî, in Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* i. p. 94. It can surprise no one, however, that the festival was not universally celebrated; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 335.

[3] Pp. 297 sq.

sea and the Euphrates. Accordingly Judas spent the whole of the year 164, and probably a portion also of the next, in campaigns against the neighbouring peoples, in which he carried out the war ban as the law directed.[1] He directed his operations first against the Idumeans, who, in their ancient fashion, beset the roads and rendered them unsafe; he defeated the inhabitants of the district of Acrabattinê,[2] in the north-east of Judea,[3] and inflicted special punishment on the tribe of Bêan, who had established themselves there in some fortified towers.[4] These successes opened the way over the Jordan. His next step was to cross the Jordan and attack the Ammonites, who, like the Judeans, had made a violent insurrection under a certain Timotheus, and strengthened their forces through Arab tribes; and then, after the conquest of Jazer,[5] he returned home. This, however, was the signal for the outbreak of persecution in the more remote districts. The Ammonites, under Timotheus, marched to the north-east, where numbers of Judeans were residing in various cities formerly reckoned as belonging to Gilead. In the land of Tubin[6] they slew about a thousand Judeans and carried away their wives and children, with all their possessions, and they oppressed to the last extremity the Judeans in the fortress of Dametha,[7] and in other more open

[1] ἀναθεματίζειν, 1 Macc. v. 5; cf. vv. 28, 35, 44, 51, 68; 2 Macc. x. 17, 23, and the *Alterth.* pp. 86 sqq. It was this also that prompted the severe chastisement of any on his own side who let enemies when hard pressed escape for money, 2 Macc. x. 19–22.

[2] In 1 Macc. v. 3, the reading Ἰουδαίᾳ of the Cod. Alex. is to be preferred instead of Ἰδουμαίᾳ, so that the words τὴν Ἀκραβαττίνην which follow simply repeat in the usual way the more precise designation (cf. v. 68, εἰς Ἄζωτον γῆν Ἀλλοφύλων). This is the same distinct Akrabattinê which is mentioned by Josephus, though only in the *Bell. Jud.*; iii. 3, 4 sq.; cf. ii. 12, 4; 20, 4; 22, 2; cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 15.

[3] P. 81.

[4] Probably an Idumean tribe, which as yet, however, is not found anywhere else. The LXX read Βαιάν for מְעוֹן in Num. xxxii. 38; this, however, lay on the other side of the Jordan.

[5] Cf. vol. ii. p. 204.

[6] According to the correct reading in 1 Macc. v. 13, cf. 2 Macc. xii. 17. It is the same district which at an earlier date was called Tôb. vol. iii. p. 153.

[7] The name of this fortress, which is evidently the one intended in 1 Macc. v. 29–34 also, is given in ver. 9 very differently by the different MSS., Διάθεμα, Δάθεμα, and Δάμεθα. The last is the form which I prefer, as the Pesh. follows this reading with ܕܡܬܐ (as we certainly ought to read for ܪܡܬܐ); we can then compare the place rediscovered by Burckhardt, Dhami (*Syria*, p. 110 sq., where indeed the name is written ضامى). Among the other towns in Gilead mentioned below, we know rather more of the following: 1) Βόσορα, בָּצְרָה, rebuilt in the Roman age, and known as Bostra; 2) Βόσορ, perhaps בֶּצֶר, Josh. xx. 8, if this was not too far south; 3) Μασφά (for which Jos. has Μαλλή), מִצְפָּה, probably that mentioned in vol. ii. p. 393; 4) Raphon, Raphana of the Decapolis, Pliny *Nat. Hist.* v. 16; 5) Carnain is the well-known Ashterôth-Karnâim. In general it may be said that these districts have not been yet explored with sufficient care.—In the much less clear representation of this great campaign in 2 Macc. xii. 10–31, only the following towns are mentioned: 1) Caspi, ver 13, probably a corruption of Chasphor, although the reading in 1 Macc. v. 26, 36, is by no means firmly established

places. At the same time the Judeans in Galilee suffered no less from the ancient Accho, now restored as Ptolemais, from Tyre and Sidon and other heathen cities. When the intelligence of these sufferings reached Judea, a great military council was held, after which Simon, the brother of Judas, started with three thousand men against Galilee, drove the enemy to the gates of Ptolemais, and brought back all the Judeans who no longer desired to reside in Galilee and at the sources of the Jordan,[1] with all their property, in safety to Judea. For, to be content with maintaining a firm position for the time within the limits of the ancient Judah itself, and to make this a basis for future enterprises on a larger scale, was the most suitable plan which could now be adopted. In the same spirit Judas, accompanied by his brother Jonathan, led eight thousand men across the Jordan to the succour of the Judeans far in the north-east who were anxious for his assistance, after two days' march through the wilderness learned from a wandering party of Nabateans the latest particulars, took the city of Bozrah, and then the fortress of Dametha, by this time reduced to the utmost distress, and followed this up by the capture of Maspha, Chasphor, Maked, Bosor, Alema, and other places. Raphôn, the next to be attacked, was defended by a forest stream just then a good deal swollen. Judas, however, gave strict orders to the camp authorities[2] not to allow any one to encamp upon the bank, was himself the first to cross, reduced the town, and finally took by storm the strongly fortified Karnâim, near which lay a famous sanctuary of the Syrian Atargatis; this was destroyed. All the Judeans who did not wish to remain in these cities any longer, he brought back with him. On his

and the reading Chasphon can scarcely refer to the well-known Heshbon, vol. ii. p. 205; 2) Χάραξ (i.e. certainly כַּרְךָ, fortress), seven hundred and fifty stadia from Caspi, in the land of Tûb, ver. 17, from which it is clear that this district lay in the extreme east; it is probably meant for Raphon; 3) Carnion and the Atargateum, which was doubtless situated close by, vv. 21, 26; the latter important piece of information is wanting in 1 Macc.—In the very obscure narrative in 2 Macc. x. 24–38, Gazara, ver. 32, is probably the same as the place elsewhere called Ashterah (Karnâim), cf. xii. 21–26, 1 Macc. v. 43 sq.; at least the Gazara or Gazera on the west (p. 311 *note* 1), often mentioned elsewhere, would be inappropriate here.

[1] What is meant by ἐν Ἀρβάττοις, 1 Macc. v. 23, appears very doubtful. As the Pesh. generally gives the proper names in 1 Macc. with great correctness, its ܐܪܕܒܛܐ is probably equivalent to ارض باطح, i.e. low land. The valley through which the Jordan flows into the Lake of Galilee still bears the similar name of البطيحة; if we may assume that at an earlier period this name was given to the whole depression of the Jordan north of the Lake of Galilee it would be very appropriate in this connection next to Galilee.

[2] These γραμματεῖς, 1 Macc. v. 42, are the registrars [A.V. officers] mentioned in Deut. xx. 5–9, who kept the lists of the troops, assigned the place of encampment, and looked after the order of the march;

way he inflicted punishment on the fortified city of Ephron,[1] which refused him permission to march through, crossed the Jordan at Beth-sheân, and returned across the plain of Galilee. It was not till nearly Pentecost in the year 163 that he reached Jerusalem.[2] In the meantime the subordinate officers, Joseph and Azariah, whom Judas had left behind in Judea, had been severely defeated in a campaign against the Philistine Jabneh. Judas, however, made immediate preparations for new strokes, wrested Hebron in the south, strongly fortified as it was, from the Idumeans, then turning westwards, passed Mareshah,[3] invaded the Philistine marches, and succeeded in laying Ashdod and its territory waste. In these districts of the south and west the able Syrian general Gorgias, already mentioned, held the chief command;[4] it was he who had been the cause of the overthrow at Jabneh, and at Mareshah he inflicted on a band of priests who pursued him too eagerly a serious defeat.[5]

3) Up to this point the Asmonean rising, with all the success which accompanied it, had been nothing more than one of the hundred internal disturbances from which the Seleucidic kingdom had suffered in so many quarters and through so many decades. In the year 164 B.C., however, an event occurred which could not fail to produce a more powerful influence, at any rate for the time, on the general course of affairs than any other circumstance. While on his expedition to Upper Asia, the king suddenly died. Among his last acts had been a fruitless attempt in the capital of Elam to plunder

[1] So far, this place has only been found in the pages of Polybius, *Hist.* vii. 70, unless the name belonged to the district mentioned in vol. iii. p. 185 *note* 6, perhaps عوعرا, south of the Jarmuk, on the way to Beth-Shean. The resistance of the town is further explained, if, according to 2 Macc. xii. 27, Lysias came from there. —The Alema mentioned in the text is probably the same as in vol. iii. p. 155.

[2] 2 Macc. xii. 31 sq.

[3] According to the correct reading, 1 Macc. v. 66, in a MS. of the Itala, and in Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8, 6, to which must be added the evidence of the narrative in 2 Macc. xii. 35, which certainly departs very considerably from 1 Macc. There is, however, no doubt that 2 Macc. xii. is intended to describe the same events as 1 Macc. v., although the accounts are uncommonly unlike.

[4] According to 2 Macc. xii. 32, cf. x. 14; he was commanding in the south; according to 1 Macc. v. 59, in the west; but there is no necessary contradiction in the two statements.

[5] The too brief narrative in 1 Macc. v. 67 is supplemented by 2 Macc. xii. 36; but in this passage we must follow some MSS. and the Pesh. in reading *οἱ περὶ Ἐσδραν*, and assume that by this title a particular band of priests is intended, who called themselves after Ezra: for the Ἐσδρί, עזרי, mentioned in 1 Chron. xxvii. 26, is out of the question here. According to 2 Macc. xii. 38, the expedition took a north-east course from Mareshah to Adullam (vol. iii. p. 85), and from there probably returned to Jerusalem. In this case we might certainly suppose that Judas, to avoid being hindered in the rear, had first marched against Joppa and the rest of the Philistine coast, as is presupposed in 2 Macc. xii. 3–9. It is much to be wished that the chronology of the occurrence in 2 Macc. were more trustworthy. On 2 Macc. xii. see more below.

a sanctuary of Nanæa;[1] he had received certain intelligence of the frustration of all the orders he had previously issued against the Judeans; and had thus painfully breathed his last in the depressing consciousness of the failure of his life. It was no wonder that among the people whom, more than any other, he had tormented quite unnecessarily, there should arise various stories of his bitter end in a distant land, of which one outdid another in emphasizing the divine character of the punishment by which he was at length overtaken.[2] A still more important fact was that the kingdom was practically left for the moment without a successor. Antiochus had, it is true, before his death appointed Philip, one of his confidential officers, guardian of his son, who was not yet of age. But this son was in the hands of Lysias,[3] regent of the countries west of the Euphrates, who had no intention of giving up his power, and had the prince crowned as Antiochus Eupator. At the same time, however, Demetrius, who had been sent to Rome as a hostage,[4] was still alive and resident there. As the son of Seleucus Philopator, he had been strictly entitled to the succession in preference to Antiochus Epiphanes, and now, on the death of the latter, made great efforts to secure the recognition of his claims in Rome; while the Romans, as the ultimate sovereigns, had no intention of honourably supporting any of the disputants for the Syrian throne. The last convulsions of the kingdom, which one hundred and fifty years before had been so powerful, were now beginning. In the collapse of the edifice of the monarchy, the nation, small though it might be within the compass of the realm, which had risen up with so much energy in the days of its strength against its arbitrary and pernicious power, might well secure a fragment of its

[1] Otherwise also called *Anaïtis*, generally compared by the Greeks to their Artemis.

[2] The simplest representation is given in 1 Macc. vi. 1–16. That in 2 Macc. ix. is far more circumstantial and ornate, with its assurance that on his deathbed the king wished to become a Judean, and its fictitious royal proclamation for this purpose addressed to the Judeans. Still more strange is the shorter narrative of his death which has found a place in 2 Macc. i. 13–16.—The oldest description of his death by any heathen writer is in Polybius, *Hist.* xxxi. 11. The recently discovered fragments of the Annals of Granius Licinianus (Berlin, 1857) state that on the way to Antioch his corpse was thrown into a river by a sudden fright of the animals on which it was placed, and was consequently lost. About this, as about the death of the tyrant altogether, the book of Daniel is entirely silent. In other respects, these fragments confirm what was previously known about the strange character of the king, and in particular, the account of his design of celebrating his nuptials with the goddess Nanæa in her temple.—According to Athenæus, v. 21 sqq., comp. with x. 52 sqq., many of the Greeks humorously turned his surname Epiphanes into Epimanes, many of the Israelites into the similar sounding Æpystomus, p. 293 *note* 1; and even the Romans, according to Appian, *Syr.* xlv. sq., rejoiced over the early death of this valiant and enterprising prince.

[3] P. 310.

[4] P. 293.

broad lands to rear upon it a new state, if it only comprehended in time how to re-establish and maintain the spoils of its freedom.

In the course of the year 163, Judas advanced to inflict a final and decisive blow. The southern side of Jerusalem, which some time before had been fortified with great strength by the Syrians,[1] and had been defended by them with the utmost vigour, still remained in their power, and they frequently made from it dangerous sorties. Judas now resolved to attack with superior forces this last refuge of the Syrians and their partisans. For this purpose he summoned all the levies, and shut up the besieged with elaborate works and engines, the employment of which on his part was probably quite a novelty. Some of the apostates, however, reduced at length to the last extremity, succeeded in making their escape, hastened to the new Syrian court, and made urgent entreaties for aid. There, opinions were divided about coming to peaceful terms with the Judeans;[2] but it was finally resolved to use every exertion to put down the rising in the south, since Philip, who had been appointed guardian during the king's minority, had gone to Egypt,[3] and they had to dread an attack by Philomêtor on that side. Accordingly, an army of one hundred thousand infantry, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two elephants with full military equipment,[4] was despatched to the south. As on a former occasion,[5] the troops marched down on the eastern side of the Jordan, and then turned up from the south-east in a north-westerly direction towards Beth-zur, which lay to the south of Jerusalem, and was strongly occupied by Judeans.[6] The Syrian forces were under the command of Lysias himself, who took the young king with him. Their advance was undisturbed and confident. They had superior resources and military skill on their side, while the Judeans had hitherto been victorious rather through their impetuous valour, and, like their ancestors a thousand years before, had not a single fighting horseman.[7] Judas was soon obliged, therefore, to give up his close investment of the citadel of Jerusalem, and encamped

[1] Pp. 297 sq.

[2] Cf. the account of Ptolemy Macron in 2 Macc. x. 12 sq.

[3] 2 Macc. ix. 29.

[4] These numbers are given with tolerable uniformity in 1 Macc. vi. 30 and 2 Macc. xiii. 2. Another statement, making them somewhat less, is to be found in 2 Macc. xi. 2; another, lesser still, in Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 1, 5.

[5] P. 311.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] It is quite an exception that in 2 Macc. xii. 35 a horse is mentioned in connection with a commander. That Judas intentionally rejected cavalry is certainly nowhere stated. Not even Jonathan had any, 1 Macc. x. 73–83; it was not till the days of Simon and his sons that they gradually came to be employed, 1 Macc. xvi. 4–7.

opposite the Syrians in a place called Beth-Zachariah.[1] In vain did his youngest brother Eleazar sacrifice his life with the utmost courage, in a single-handed attack on an elephant on which the king was supposed to be seated.[2] The Judean army was forced to give way; the Syrians poured over the whole country, relieved their adherents who were shut up in the fortress on the south of Jerusalem, and laid siege in their turn to the temple-mountain. To complete the misfortune it was a sacred fallow year;[3] there was a general deficiency of corn, and the Judean garrisons in Beth-zur and on the temple-mountain suffered most terribly from want. Beth-zur was obliged to surrender, and even the temple-mountain was becoming untenable,[4] when intelligence reached the Syrian camp that Philip had returned from Egypt without obtaining assistance, but had been reinforced by the Perso-Median troops, and with these was threatening Antioch. Lysias thought it better, accordingly, to lose no time in making peace with the Judeans. He promised them liberty to practise their sacred usages, and royal protection for the temple; and on these conditions he was put in possession of the temple-mountain. It was soon, however, complained that the king had not kept the engagements to which he had sworn, for the Syrians occupying the temple-mountain broke down the walls.[5] On the side of the Judeans, moreover, there were not wanting individual traitors;[6] and when Lysias removed to Ptolemais,

[1] Of this place Robinson believes that he has discovered the site south-west of Bethlehem, *Bib. Res.* (ed. 1856) iii. p. 284, Sozom, *Ecc. Hist.* ix. 17.—In 2 Macc. xiii. 14 is the widely-divergent statement that Judas fixed his camp at Môde'im.

[2] See further 1 Macc. vi. 43–46. It is, however, very instructive to observe how the same deed is ascribed to Judas, 2 Macc. xiii. 15; the statement in 2 Macc. xi. 11 is freer still.

[3] See the *Alterth.* p. 411 sqq.; cf. above, p. 167.

[4] Josephus, who in the *Antiquities* follows 1 Macc. almost exclusively, had previously related, *Bell. Jud.* i. 1, 5, from another source, that Judas retired to Gophna at a considerable distance north of Jerusalem. This is no doubt a remnant of an authentic narrative.

[5] The whole of this campaign of Lysias with the nine-year-old king is related in 2 Macc. for the first time in xi.–xii. 1; it is described a second time with many different circumstances, but yet in essentially the same manner, in cap. xiii. A closer examination of the book shows that its author relates a great portion of the acts of Judas twice over, first in x. 10–xii. 1, and again in xii. 2–xiii. 26. In outward appearance these narratives are certainly so different, and they are involved so closely in one another, that it is difficult to recognise their true nature; yet on keener investigation it is unmistakable, and the author must have reproduced side by side the statements of two entirely different authorities. Further, the Timotheus whose death is recorded in x. 37 is probably the very person of whom there is a long story in xii. 2 sqq. Moreover, the four public documents about the peace, embodied in xi. 16–38, are certainly not authentic, in spite of the preciseness of their dates to the month and the day. At any rate, it is difficult for us now to recognise out of what genuine historical materials they have been compiled.

[6] As the instance of Rhodocus shows, which is mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 21, with only too great brevity and want of clearness.

he was obliged to make many excuses to the heathen there for having conceded so much liberty to the Judeans.[1]

4) An agreement like this, concluded on both sides simply from momentary pressure, could not last long; and in the year 162 a further event occurred which terminated it. The son of the legitimate predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes, Demetrius[2] (to whom the title Sôtêr was soon added), landed from Rome on the Phœnician coast at Tripolis,[3] and, after Lysias and Eupator had been killed, secured possession of the kingdom. Prior to this, before the issue of the last campaign against the Judeans, Lysias had become unfavourably disposed towards Menelaus (we do not know for what exact cause), and had him put to death in Berea (Aleppo).[4] In his place, however, he appointed Alcimus high-priest,[5] who belonged, indeed, to the family of Aaron, but was not a member of the house which had hitherto held the high-priesthood. In passing over those who had a nearer claim, and selecting him, Lysias was plainly desirous of simply finding a supple instrument of his own purposes.[6] Alcimus, however, had become an object of suspicion to the stricter Judeans ever since the ascendency of heathenism, and soon found himself, with his adherents, in many ways bitterly vexed by them. Accordingly he betook himself, accompanied by his principal adherents, and furnished with rich gifts, to the court of Demetrius, solicited aid against the rebels, and requested the king in particular to get rid entirely of the incurably obstinate Judas, as by no other course could peace be established. After some easily intelligible hesitation,[7] the king so

[1] According to the statements in 2 Macc. xiii. 25 sq. That the Syrian king then appointed Judas prince 'from Ptolemais to Gerara' (for this is the reading we must adopt in place of Γέρρα, in spite of MSS. and versions), i.e. over all Palestine in its widest extent from north to south (cf. 1 Macc. xi. 59), is only mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 24, and accords but little with 1 Macc.

[2] P. 316.

[3] 2 Macc. xiv. 1.

[4] According to 2 Macc. xiii. 3–7 and Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, 7, xx. 10, 3. It is surprising that 1 Macc. passes over the death of Menelaus entirely.

[5] According to Josephus. The brief words in 2 Macc. xiv. 3 rather support the conjecture that he had once before at a much earlier period been high-priest, which we cannot now, however, authenticate. Lysias, moreover, would certainly have immediately appointed a successor to Menelaus.

[6] Josephus *Ant.* xii. 9, 7, cf. 10, 2 sq., is of opinion that *he* was not of the high-priestly family; but the evidence in 1 Macc. vii. 14, 2 Macc. xiv. 7 contradicts this too clearly, and we must compare with this statement the further explanation given by Josephus himself elsewhere, xx. 10, 2 sq. Alcimus was a Greek form made out of Eliakim, or more briefly Jâkim. Josephus only gives the last name as the original. In the series of high-priests as it was established later on (p. 124), he was entirely passed over, and Judas followed direct in his place. If in the original record of the series three years were assigned to Judas (see above, pp. 270 sq., and this helps to explain the meaningless thirty-three of the *Chron. Pasch.*), ten to Menelaus (instead of the fifteen in G. Syncellus), and three to Jason, these numbers would agree together.

[7] Thus far there may be historical ground for the representation in 2 Macc. xiv. 4 sq.

far yielded to his entreaties as to send back Bacchides[1] with him, one of the most important officers of the Syrian kingdom. He was to make a careful investigation into the whole circumstances on the spot; and, if he found it desirable, to confirm Alcimus in his office in the most emphatic manner. The royal plenipotentiary arrived with Alcimus and his large army in Jerusalem, and wished to negotiate with Judas and his brothers. They, on their part, had no confidence in him, and refused to meet him. The powerful party of the pious, however, after freedom of religion had been granted to them and was not again withdrawn, felt some hesitation in this critical moment about actually renouncing all obedience to a person who was not legally disqualified for the high-priesthood. They therefore sent a strong deputation of scribes to adjust equitable terms of peace.[2] Bacchides received the deputies with much friendliness, but as he could not get Judas into his power, he selected sixty of them as the objects of the royal vengeance. After having thus spread sufficient terror in Jerusalem, his next step was to pitch a camp on the north of the city, on the hill subsequently connected with it, named Bethzetha.[3] Here, on the occasion of a popular rising, he executed also a considerable number of the apostates who flocked around him,[4] as they likewise were too restless for him, and flattered himself that he had at length sufficiently humbled all the unintelligible factions of the nation. Upon this he returned to Antioch, leaving behind a large army under the command of Alcimus; but frightful as was the way in which the latter imagined that he ought to show himself worthy of such a master, all his efforts rebounded from the indomitable courage of Judas, and the craft in which he met his match. Judas passed round through the whole country beyond the enemy's reach, fell separately upon the leaders of the apostates, who were now in the ascendent, and caused such general terror that none of them dared any longer to show themselves openly.[5]

Alcimus soon recognised the untenable nature of his posi-

[1] This has been changed in Ben-Gorion and other later writers into בגרים, *Bagris*.

[2] In the somewhat obscure words in 1 Macc. vii. 12 sq. the writer seems not to have been able to refrain from blaming to a certain extent the haste of the Chasidîm. Certainly the course of events soon frustrated their hopes and intentions.

[3] The name in this form would mean 'oil-house,' and would be connected with the name of the Mount of Olives, which lay on the east. Forms like Βέζεθα are mere abbreviations. Cf. the various readings in John v. 2, Gr. and Lat.

[4] According to 1 Macc. vii. 19 cf. ver. 24; except that in this passage we should follow the Alex. and other MSS. in reading μετ' αὐτοῦ αὐτομολησάντων.

[5] This is the meaning of the words in 1 Macc. vii. 24; cf. Judges v. 6, Is. xxxiii. 8, Job. xxiv. 4.

tion, and with a numerous band of refugees repaired again to the court to seek assistance. In response to his application, Nicanor,[1] an excessively brutal general, with most hostile feelings towards the Judeans, was despatched with a fresh army against Jerusalem. In vain did Simon, brother of Judas, attempt to arrest his march.[2] The same game was begun in Jerusalem which Bacchides had tried. With the most friendly protestations Judas was induced to come to a conference, but on a sign of impending treachery he broke it off in the middle and hastened to his army. Nicanor, upon this, advanced against him, and was defeated near Capharsalama.[3] He succeeded, however, in effecting a retreat with the great bulk of his troops into the citadel at Jerusalem, and soon re-occupied the temple-mountain also. When the priests met him in trepidation and pointed to the sacrifices daily offered in the temple for the Syrian king, the monster threatened that if Judas and his adherents were not delivered up to him he would immediately proceed to destroy the temple and burn it up. He then retired to Beth-horon, north-west of Jerusalem, there to await the reinforcements which were on their way from the north. Judas was encamped with only three thousand men at no great distance, near Adasa.[4] In the battle which ensued, Nicanor fell at the very beginning; his army was put to flight, and swept along the whole day through from place to place as far as Gazer by the inhabitants, who rose up everwhere in pursuit; and thus on almost the same field where Judas had won his first victory[5] he now achieved another more decisive still. The battle took place on the day before the feast of Pûrîm, on the thirteenth of the month Adâr (March), so that it was all the more easy to maintain an annual commemoration of it.[6] The country now enjoyed a period of tran-

[1] Probably the same who has been already mentioned, p. 310.

[2] 2 Macc. xiv. 17. 2 Macc., it is true, confuses the two campaigns of Bacchides and Nicanor together, and in this one does not name Bacchides at all. If, however, Simon did what is ascribed to him, ver. 17, his only opportunity would have been on the actual march of Nicanor. Moreover, the narrative in 2 Macc. xiv. 18–25 of the frequent and friendly meetings of Nicanor with Judas, and of the advice given by the former to the latter to marry in peace, cannot be well referred to Bacchides, although the fresh journey of Alcimus is not mentioned till ver. 26. The village of Dessau mentioned in 2 Macc. xiv. 16, where Nicanor encamped, is not to be heard of anywhere else, and perhaps (as it has a strange sound) arose simply from a confusion with Adasa. At any rate, Adasa is not mentioned in 2 Macc. xv., and we can scarcely suppose that it is the Adas found by Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 13, ed. 1856), on the south-west of Jerusalem.

[3] According to 2 Macc. xv. 1, it probably lay on the Samaritan boundary, north of Ramleh; and it appears in the Middle Ages as Carvasalim (Robinson *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 242, ed. 1856).

[4] The situation of Adasa is given according to Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, 5; a חֲרָשָׁה occurs in Josh. xv. 37, LXX Ἀδασά, unless this lay too much to the south.

[5] Pp. 309 sq.

[6] Cf. p. 232.

quillity; Alcimus was obliged to flee again to the court; and the hand of Nicanor, which he had but a short time before blasphemously raised on high against the temple, was hung up at one of its great gates in perpetual remembrance.[1]

Thus did the fortune of war waver from side to side, whilst it was gradually inclining more and more perceptibly to the champion whom nothing could crush. Had the Syrian kingdom been in the position of Egypt when Israel contended against it under the leadership of Moses, had it been still free and sufficiently powerful, the struggle, which had already become so deadly, might have reached a termination productive of the purest good for the ancient people of Israel. But Rome already cast its shadow far and deep enough to reach to Asia; and among the leaders in this contest carried on by the people so venerable and yet so young the doubtful question had been already mooted whether it was not expedient for Israel to follow the example of so many other small nations and seek its aid. The league which two able Judeans, Eupolemus[2] and Jason, son of Eleazar, entreated Judas to conclude with the Romans,[3] but the actual accomplishment of which, at any rate, he did not live to see,[4] might have seemed called for in the general position of affairs, as it was known that the Romans were favourably disposed to every enemy of Demetrius Sôtêr;[5] but it involved consequences which its promoters never considered, and it shows what an interval there was between this era of the 'people of God,' in spite of its new aspiration, and the pure courage of the nobler days of its past; for every one of the greater prophets of old would have lifted up his voice against it. Thus the great elevation of the people, both in so far as it was a national movement, and in so far as it made for the true religion, had received in its very beginning an irremediable blow, as the whole subsequent history will show.

[1] 1 Macc. vii. 35–38, 47, and with much circumstantial detail, but with great freedom, in 2 Macc. xiv. sq. According to later statements, the *beautiful gate*, spoken of in Acts iii. 2, was also called Nicanor's gate; a great deal has been said about it, but with little clear historical basis; cf. Mish. *Middoth*, i. 4, ii. 3, 6 *ad fin.*, *Shekalim*, 6, 3, and further remarks below.

[2] P. 284 *note* 1.

[3] 1 Macc. viii. On Eupolemus cf. also 2 Macc. iv. 11; whether he was the historian Eupolemus is discussed below. An earlier interference of the Romans is only mentioned in 2 Macc. xi. 34–38.

[4] According to Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, 6; 11, 2, Alcimus died before Judas, in which case the latter, elected high-priest by the people, would have filled the office for three years. But this is in too clear contradiction of the language of 1 Macc. vii. 1, 50, ix. 1–3, 54–56. Gradually, however, it became the custom (as 2 Macc. shows) to transfer all the greatness of the age to Judas, and consequently also to regard him as the first Asmonean high-priest. On the other hand, in the list of high-priests in Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10, 2, derived from another source, his name does not occur at all.

[5] On this see the distinct testimony of Diodorus, in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. pp. xi. sq. Even the Median satrap obtained from Rome a decree on his side.

5) The days of Judas, however, were now numbered. The Syrian king unexpectedly sent forward the whole of his southern army, under Bacchides and Alcimus. The troops marched southwards from the Samaritan boundary upon Galgala. At Masaloth, in spite of a large number of Judeans who hastily opposed their course, they succeeded in effecting a bloody passage to Jerusalem,[1] and, in the first month (April) of the year 161, stood beneath its walls. The people, who were celebrating the Passover, were necessarily quite unprepared for so swift a campaign, after a defeat so severe. Judas quickly collected three thousand men north of Jerusalem, at a place called Eleasah. Bacchides now advanced against him with twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, as far as Beer-Zâth.[2] The troops of Judas, however, had this time so little desire to contend against such overwhelming forces that very soon he had but eight hundred men left on whose courage he could rely. These he encouraged to the desperate struggle, firmly determined to conquer or to die. Bacchides had skilfully disposed his army in regular battle array; he himself commanded the right wing. The battle raged the whole day, and when Judas perceived on which wing Bacchides was posted he attacked it with the most valiant of his men, and drove it in flight as far as the neighbouring mountain of Azôth.[3] But, in the meantime, the enemy's left wing wheeled round opportunely, and beset the victors in the rear. Judas fell, and his troops fled in haste: but his brothers, Jonathan and Simon, succeeded in carrying off his body.[4]

[1] Galgala may be the modern Gilgilia, north of Gophna (p. 318 *note* 4); of Masaloth, *ἐν Ἀρβήλοις*, we do not now know anything further, unless Meiselon, which we shall meet with again in the life of Alexander Jannæus, be the place intended. Josephus, however, is certainly arbitrary (*Ant.* xii. 11, 1) in making Galgal into Galilee, and referring to the Arbel there. Since the campaigns of Judas already mentioned, p. 314, the whole field of battle was limited to Judea. Gilead, also, which some MSS. and the Pesh. have, is out of place. Compare further the observations in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. pp. 112 sq.

[2] This is the form correctly given by some MSS. in 1 Macc. ix. 4; and in Jos. some MSS. at least have *Βηρζήθ*. We may therefore very well refer to the present Bir-ez-Zeit (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 264, ed. 1856), somewhat north of Gophna. This further defines the place of Eleasah, אלעשה, which is not mentioned elsewhere. The ordinary reading, Beera, must refer to the ancient Beeroth, which lay south of Gophna.

[3] In Jos. Ἀζα, according to some ancient MSS. also Ἀζαρα. Westwards of Bir-ez-Zeit there really is a mountain to which a place in the neighbourhood seems to have given its modern name, Atâra. The Philistine Ashdod is quite out of the question owing to its position.

[4] While Ben-Gorion collects all possible stories about Mattathias and Judas, and relates them in their broadest and most unhistorical form, iii. 7–23, what he says of Jonathan and Simeon, iv. 1, is extremely brief and wholly unsatisfactory. So also, as usual, Macc. Arab. [5 Macc.]

2. *Jonathan the Asmonean High-Priest.*

The immediate results of this defeat and of the death of the heroic Judas, whose inspired devotion to the good cause had been proved so fully during seven years, were exceedingly melancholy. The religious freedom conceded two years before by Lysias and Antiochus Eupator was completely abolished; and the party of the heathen, supported by Bacchides, and with Alcimus at their head, seized the favourable moment to make a last and violent effort to suppress the opposite party altogether. The favour of the Syrians rested everywhere on those who were hostile to the pious—and all power was placed in their hands. The early friends of Judas, on the other hand, were sought out, betrayed, mocked, and punished. Through the unproductiveness of the soil a great famine was added to their troubles, and the land seemed to have become as faithless and false as her children.[1] This dire distress forced the surviving friends of Judas to combine still more closely, and to transfer the leadership to his youngest brother, Jonathan, whose valour was long tried and who even surpassed Judas in craft. The report of their enterprise soon spread, and its immediate effect could only be to increase the danger and difficulty of their position. Jonathan retired with his followers into the wilderness of Tekoa, south-east of Jerusalem, and pitched his camp in the open country, near the great well of Asphar. His next step was to send away all the women, children, and goods, the care of which was rendered difficult by their situation, under the protection of his eldest brother, Johanan. They were to go round the south of the Dead Sea to the Nabateans wandering in the wildernesses on the east, as these were likewise striving to maintain their freedom against the Syrians.[2] Upon his way, Johanan arrived with the company in his charge at Mêdebâ, formerly a Moabite city. Here he was attacked by the resident tribe of Amri,[3] who captured and slew him. Jonathan, however, availed himself of an opportunity which speedily presented itself[4] to cross the Jordan

[1] This is the meaning of 1 Macc. ix. 24.

[2] P. 314.

[3] Or, spelt in its Greek form, 'Αμβρί, certainly a tribe (like many others in those countries) at the same time stationary and occupied in commerce, and yet upon occasion ready to plunder. The ancient national hostility between Moab and Israel might still from time to time flame up vividly in many minds. Cf. p. 313, vol. iii. pp. 86 sq.

[4] The tribe was celebrating the marriage of one of its principal men with the daughter of a rich merchant living in Nadabatha (probably an adjoining village), and for this purpose had innocently marched out into the open country. The expression *οἱ Χαναάν*, 1 Macc. ix. 37,

with his most valiant men and inflict a bloody revenge upon these robbers. Laden with rich booty, he had returned through the forest-clad hills which bound the Jordan valley on the east, and descended as far as the low marshy district where the Jordan discharges itself into the Dead Sea, when he saw that Bacchides, who had received his information from traitors, was already on the ground before him with his powerful army, and had taken up his position at the fords[1] of the Jordan a little further to the north. In this desperate situation he attacked the Syrian general in the most daring manner, in spite of the reliance of the latter on the aid of the sabbath day, drove him back with loss, and escaped with his own followers by swimming across the Jordan. Bacchides, however, soon returned to Jerusalem unmolested, and pushed on his measures with all the more energy. Besides Jerusalem, he fortified a number of cities round it[2] with the utmost strength, and provided them with supplies, and placed the sons of the most eminent persons in the country in prison, as hostages, in the great citadel at Jerusalem.

In the year 160, however, Alcimus, who was intending to make some change in the inner court of the temple, without any reference to consecrated usage,[3] suddenly died, in the month of May, after a short but painful illness. Upon this, Bacchides thought it no longer worth while to keep up his previous severity, and accordingly returned to the court, leaving orders with his subordinates not to molest the pious. This was probably the first result of Roman intercession. Two years of tranquillity sufficed to prove clearly how soon the party of the strict could completely recover from their defeats and claim the ascendency in the country. This induced the chiefs of the

betokens in the later language simply persons engaged in trade, often with a side wind of contempt. As for the main narrative, the writer had begun in ver. 34 to relate the ultimate consequences too soon, and does not return to these till ver. 43.

[1] This is certainly the meaning of the more general expression 'banks of the Jordan,' ver. 43. That the waters of the Jordan and the Dead Sea overflow their banks considerably in certain seasons; particularly in the north-east corner between the two, is well established (cf. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, passim, and Ritter's *Erdbeschreib.* xv. pp. 535, 547, 553). Mêdebâ, however, lies almost due east of this corner, more in the interior of the country.

[2] 1 Macc. ix. 50–52. The places which were thus practically turned into fortresses for the first time were Jerîcho, Emmaus, p. 310, Beth-horon, Bethel, Thamnath-Pharathon (with this additional designation to distinguish it from other cities, it was probably that on the west of Jerusalem), and Taphon (otherwise Tappûah) in the south-west. He also strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, Beth-zur, already so often mentioned, and Gâzara, p. 311 *note* 1.

[3] According to 1 Macc. ix. 54, it seems probable that this plan was to unite the inner, i.e. the priests', court more closely with the outer court. The whole temple, however, but especially its sanctuary and inner fore-court, were still regarded as the work of the last ancient prophets, pp. 102 sqq., i.e. as a sacred work.

heathen party to urge Bacchides once more to make an effort against the brothers of Judas, representing that if he would come now they could deliver all the leaders of the hostile party into his power at one blow, and thus his conquest of the country would be finally completed. This infernal plan (of which we do not know any further details) was, in the meantime, betrayed to the brothers of Judas before Bacchides arrived. They, on their part, inflicted severe retaliation, and executed about fifty of the leaders of the heathen party. It was now necessary for Bacchides to come in person as judge-in-chief. The brothers of Judas, however, with their bravest adherents, had already taken refuge in a fortress named Beth-basi,[1] which probably lay at a considerable distance in the wilderness on the south; and this, by artificial works and by their own valour, they rendered impregnable. Bacchides despatched his whole army, reinforced by the levies, to besiege them, and carried off numerous prisoners out of the country. Jonathan, however, with a few of his most daring followers, cut his way through, sought, like David of old in these southern districts, to strengthen himself by forays on the inhabitants of the wilderness, and defeated a powerful tribe among them.[2] This swiftly secured for him an unexpected strength, and he reappeared suddenly to attack the besiegers, while his brother Simon, who had been left behind in the fortress, ventured on several sorties, which proved successful. These events led to a quarrel between Bacchides himself and the heathen party, such as had arisen on a previous occasion after similar occurrences.[3] He had a number of them executed, and became weary of the whole affair; so that when Jonathan cunningly proposed terms of peace he was ready to concede them. Jonathan received back all the prisoners, and was at liberty from this time to settle quietly at Machmash (or Michmash) on the north of Jerusalem, to consolidate and protect the party of the strict, and expel the heathen party from all places which had not been

[1] Twice mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 62, 64; perhaps the form given by the Pesh., Beth-basin, is better. What is the place intended is now very obscure; it is perhaps the same as בזיותיה, which in Josh. xv. 28 (without בית, cf. note on Cant. p. 150), is combined with Beersheba; at any rate its situation in the far south would suit well. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 1, 5, has instead Βηθαλαγά, but this is equally or even still more obscure. Another reason why these names have become so obscure to us is, that the Onomasticon of the Fathers does not include the Apocrypha. Reland supposed that Βηθαγλαγά was a clerical error for Βηθαγλά: in this case we should do best to refer it to the place of that name, which, according to the Onomasticon, lay far in the south-west.

[2] The 'sons of Phasiron,' with their chief Odoarrhê, or according to another reading Odomêra; we have no further knowledge of these names.

[3] P. 320.

previously inhabited by heathen, provided he only sent the taxes regularly to the court. The citadel at Jerusalem, however, and the other fortresses, remained in possession of the Syrian garrisons, and the hostages already mentioned were still detained there; and Jonathan was obliged to give an express promise to leave everything *in statu quo*, and in particular not to raise or equip any troops. And wherever the Syrian garrisons were posted, the heathen party continued quite undisturbed.

But in the year 153 Alexander Balas,[1] the pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, established himself, with the recognition of Rome, on the Palestinian coast, in the fortress of Ptolemais, and severely threatened King Demetrius, whose harshness made him extremely unpopular.[2] This led Demetrius to make proposals of friendship to Jonathan; he conceded to him the right to arm troops, and gave orders for the liberation of the hostages. Jonathan now fixed his residence on the temple-mountain, where he immediately proceeded to erect fresh buildings and strong fortifications; and the heathen party thought their lives no longer safe outside the citadel and Beth-zur. But soon after this Balas sent him the purple and a crown of gold, appointing him high-priest[3] and friend (corresponding in Macedonian usage to something like our peer) of the king. It should be remembered that under Judas a sort of alliance had previously been concluded with the Romans,[4] and these, as the masters of the world, had already overshadowed all its various relations. It is impossible, therefore, to blame the crafty Jonathan too severely for yielding to the man who came in the name of Rome and offered him better terms: at the Feast of Tabernacles in this year he appeared for the first time in public as high-priest, and worked zealously for Balas. For several years, moreover, the high-priesthood had been, as it were, in abeyance. The house of Joshua, which had borne the honour for nearly four hundred years,[5] had, since the time of Jason, deeply disgraced itself, and in Menelaus and Alcimus the proper succession had been abandoned. After the death of the latter the Syrian court does not seem to have appointed a new high-priest,[6] and the only surviving descendant of the

[1] The predilection which the Judeans always retained for him, and which is expressed in many ways even in 1 Macc., shows itself in this among other ways, that throughout 1 Macc. this far from royal name is never once applied to him.

[2] On this compare the statement of Diodorus in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. pp. xii. sqq.

[3] What the position of the high-priesthood was after the death of Alcimus, p. 325, we do not exactly know. Probably it was left vacant at the court, as the whole situation was uncertain.

[4] P. 322.

[5] P. 122.

[6] According to the list in Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10, 3, the high-priestly office remained

house of Joshua had probably removed some time before from Palestine and sought another home and a fresh dignity in Egypt. In this respect, also, Jonathan committed no error by his assumption of office, as his family, having sprung from the stock of Aaron, could put in a legitimate claim upon it.—Demetrius, however, in a charter to the whole people,[1] now offered still more definite conditions. The duties on salt and the crown-taxes, as well as the payment for the third bushel and for the half of the fruit-harvest, were to be abolished for ever throughout Judea, the three Samaritan districts, which were to be permanently united with it, and Galilee.[2] All the captive Judeans, in whatever part of the Syrian kingdom, were to be released, and the duty on their beasts of burden [3] was to be remitted. Jerusalem, with its territory, was to be regarded as sacred, all the great and lesser feast days were to be observed, and the rights of asylum in the sanctuary maintained, even to the advantage of the debtor. For the support of the expenses of the temple services and buildings, and of the fortresses in the country, considerable contributions were made from the royal revenues; Ptolemais (which, by the way, had to be conquered first) with its territory was handed over to the priests; while the previous burthens and abatements were removed. Further, the Judeans were to be qualified for all offices, they were to be governed exclusively by their own officers and in accordance with their own laws, and in return would only be bound to furnish thirty thousand men fit to be maintained and employed as troops. But the mistrust with which Demetrius had from the beginning of his reign accustomed the people to receive everything which proceeded from him caused them to reject these extremely favourable conditions. Jonathan adhered to Balas; and as the latter was victorious and Demetrius perished, he had, for the time at any rate, no cause to repent his choice. When, in the year 151, Ptolemy Philomêtor came from Egypt to Ptolemais to give his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to the new upstart, the latter invited Jonathan thither, roughly repelled all the complaints of the heathen party against him, and distinguished him with

vacant for seven years after the death of Alcimus, and was then filled for seven years by Jonathan, the first of a new line. These numbers are certainly a little more correct than those which Josephus gives elsewhere for the two halves of Jonathan's period of power, *Ant.* xiii. 2, 3; 6, 6.

[1] There seems every reason to regard the document in 1 Macc. x. 25–45 as genuine, and of high historical importance. The crown taxes, x. 29, xi. 35, cf. xiii. 37, 39, arose out of the presents which used formerly to be made of golden crowns.

[2] P. 228.

[3] Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 2, 3, here suggests the abolition of the Persian services for the royal post. But this meaning can hardly be extracted out of the word φόροι.

the highest honours, giving him the titles of 'general and prince of a division.'[1]

In the year 148, however, Demetrius (who speedily gained the surname Nicator), son of King Demetrius, effected a landing on the Cilician coast.[2] This event compelled Balas, already deeply demoralised, to remove from Ptolemais, which had hitherto been his favourite residence, to the north. Apollonius, the governor of central Syria, immediately declared for Demetrius, and occupied the whole of the coast, with its wealthy towns.[3] With a large army and a particularly strong force of cavalry, he encamped at Jabneh, or Jamnia, on the sea, west of Jerusalem, and sent a scornful letter to Jonathan, summoning him to descend from the mountains into the plains and fight a fair battle. Jonathan was ready enough to meet him with ten thousand men. He first marched to the harbour of Joppa, north of Jabneh, where Apollonius had fixed a garrison which might prove dangerous to him if left in his rear. This important town he occupied, and then advanced against the main army, which Apollonius first led southwards, making a feint of marching to Ashdod, and then, after placing an ambush, suddenly commanded to wheel round eastwards into the plain. Apollonius believed he had entirely surrounded his adversary. Jonathan's foot soldiers, however, held out bravely the whole day against the cavalry; and, when the latter were exhausted, Simon, by a concerted plan, fell on the army from another quarter, and put it to flight. Ashdod and Ascalon were immediately reduced, the remains of the Syrian forces entirely annihilated, the temple of Dagon and other heathen sanctuaries destroyed. Fresh royal distinctions from the hand of Balas,[4] and the gift of the territory of the Philistine Ekron, which lay somewhat in the interior, as a sort of fief, were the reward of the victor. Among the most advantageous concessions which Balas now made him was the permission to take possession of the fortresses held by the old Syrian garrisons and the heathen party.[5] This had, indeed, been offered by Demetrius I.,[6] but had then been immediately rejected, with the other conditions which accompanied it, and the fortresses had, in consequence,

[1] *Meridarches*, i.e. prince of a division of the kingdom, something like the Prince of Servia at the present day in the Turkish empire.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4, 3; 1 Macc. x. 67, xi. 14.

[3] According to the correct reading πόλεων, 1 Macc. x. 71, in preference to πολέμων, in one MS. and the Vulg.; in xi. 60, also, the word is to be understood in the same way.

[4] See particulars in 1 Macc. x. 89, xi. 58; comp. with xv. 32.

[5] This follows from 1 Macc. xi. 20 sq., 41 sq., 66; xii. 35 sq.; xiii. 43–53; xv. 28.

[6] P. 328.

remained up to this time regularly Syrian. Ever since the commencement of all these Maccabean disturbances in Judea, the great division of feeling tended to establish more and more firmly the same melancholy condition which we observe amid the antagonistic religious parties in France during the sixteenth century, and which we see in Germany remaining almost to the present day. Each party had drawn closer and closer together in separate districts, particularly in the fortresses, and wished to retain continued possession of them. This would finally have led to the rise of a number of purely heathen cities in the very midst of Judea. Such was the group which existed in the north-east of the ancient country, subsequently known under the name of the Decapolis; and another division of the same kind was perpetuated by Samaria. To prevent a similar dismemberment of Judah also, Jonathan and his friends laboured with all their might; the levies were summoned to attack the great citadel in Jerusalem, and all the arts of siege were brought into operation.

But in the meantime Ptolemy Philomêtor, after his ambiguous expedition against Antioch, in the course of which he had received Jonathan at Joppa with marks of friendship, declared himself in favour of Demetrius II., in return for the cession of Cœle-Syria, and helped him to secure a victory over Balas, who shortly after lost his life in Arabia.[1] This was soon followed by the death of Philomêtor in 146; whereupon Demetrius, at the instigation of the heathen party, vehemently called Jonathan to account for the siege, and summoned him to appear before him at Ptolemais. Jonathan's admirable dexterity, however, never deserted him, nor was he ever sparing of rich gifts to kings and their ministers at the proper times, so that he cleverly contrived to avert the impending storm. A solemn embassy of elders and priests accompanied him to Ptolemais. The king was convinced that the heathen party was, after all, only the minority, and, in consideration of an annual present of three hundred talents, he confirmed almost all the liberties and rights which his father[2] had offered six years before.[3] It was, however, expressly insisted on that these concessions would only be valid for those who sacrificed

[1] While the guest of his friend Zabdiel, whose name the Greeks transformed into Diocles, 1 Macc. xi. 17. Besides the other Greek authorities, see also Diodorus, in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. xvi., which also contains some new information on the expedition of Philomêtor.

[2] P. 328.

[3] Cf. 1 Macc. xi. 30–37, with x. 25–45; in particular there lacked the large donations and aids which Demetrius I. had promised.

in Jerusalem,[1] a limitation which implied that the position of the inhabitants of the fortresses would remain unchanged. It is easy to understand that Jonathan, though recognised by the descendant of Antiochus Epiphanes as high-priest, chafed severely against the restrictions of his plans in other directions for the future, and while he was obliged to yield for the moment, wished to keep himself open for every opportunity which might present itself afterwards. Such an opportunity speedily enough occurred. It was not long before Demetrius II. made himself hated in Antioch, and Tryphon,[2] one of the leading Syrian nobles, went to Arabia to fetch the son of Balas, by name Antiochus, who was living there in concealment, as a rival prince. Upon this Jonathan offered the reigning king to send three thousand troops to Antioch if he were allowed to capture the fortresses. The Judean soldiers were despatched, and in a popular rising at Antioch rendered the king all the requisite services,[3] but the king then dismissed them without keeping his promises to Jonathan. Tryphon next appeared upon the scene with his toy-king Antiochus the younger. He offered the high-priest new honours, and appointed his brother Simon commander over all Palestine. Jonathan subdued the whole country on both sides of the Jordan as far north as Damascus for the new king, suppressed all resistance, and even compelled the conquered Gaza, on the Egyptian boundary, to send hostages for its fidelity to Jerusalem. While Simon was engaged in the siege of Beth-zur, to the south of Jerusalem, which was a continual source of danger, and after great trouble succeeded in capturing it and garrisoning it himself, Jonathan was obliged to hasten to Kadesh, on the northern boundary of the ancient Canaan,[4] as Demetrius had in the meantime deposed him from his office,[5] and his generals were threatening him in that quarter. On the field of the ancient Hazor,[6] by the Lake of Galilee,[7] he very nearly lost a battle altogether, through a cleverly-placed ambush of the Syrians. With his two principal officers,[8] however, he retrieved

[1] This is implied in the words *πᾶσι τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, xi. 34. This shows also how perverse was the conjecture of Wernsdorf, supported by J. D. Michaelis, that there was a hiatus in this passage.

[2] His proper name was Diodotus. For further particulars see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, 1, and especially the statements of Diodorus in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. pp. xvi. sqq., where much detail is supplied about the history of Trypho, from his first appearance down to his death.

[3] See further particulars in 1 Macc. xi. 43–51, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, 3.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 290.

[5] *Χρεία*, 1 Macc. xi. 63, as in xiii. 15, 37, and elsewhere, is equivalent to office, public occupation.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 253.

[7] In 1 Macc. xi. 67, we ought, according to early authority, to read *Ἀσώρ* for *Ναασών*.

[8] Their names are given with precision, 1 Macc. xi. 70.

his position by his wonderful presence of mind, and gained a complete victory. In the tranquillity of the winter he thought of renewing the league with Rome, and sought also other alliances with foreign states standing high in general repute and known as enemies of the Macedonians. Only the Spartans seemed available, with whom, indeed, an alliance had been already concluded at an earlier date.[1] He accordingly despatched Numenius son of Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason,[2] on a joint mission to the Romans and the Spartans. But, like Judas,[3] Jonathan did not live to see the return of his ambassadors.[4]

For in the following year the generals of Demetrius summoned their forces against him. He hastened to meet them, passing the ancient northern boundary of the country and advancing into the district of Hamath, and protected himself by out-posts against a night attack which they had planned. They, on their part, retreated by night, concealing their flight by watch-fires in their camp, and Jonathan pursued them in vain to the river Eleutherus, which was regarded as the extreme boundary of Palestine in the north-west.[5] He accordingly turned eastwards against the robber Zabadeans,[6] in the Arabian desert, and took possession of Damascus, while Simon occupied Ascalon and Joppa again, so as to prevent Demetrius from suddenly sending an army against Jerusalem through the latter port. After his return to Jerusalem, he proceeded, in accordance with the advice and determination of a popular assembly, to fortify several towns. Special efforts were made at Jerusalem, both on the side opposite to the great citadel, which it was now endeavoured to encircle closely, so as to cut it off from all traffic, and starve it into surrender, and also opposite the brook Kidron, on the east, where a portion of the walls had fallen in.[7] Simon, meanwhile, made the town of Adîda, situated on a hill in the plain looking towards Joppa,[8] into a

[1] P. 245.

[2] Probably the same person who is mentioned on p. 322.

[3] Pp. 322 sqq.

[4] According to 1 Macc. xii. 1–23, comp. with xiv. 16–23.

[5] According to 1 Macc. xii. 30, comp. with xi. 7; Strabo's *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 12; now probably El-Bârid.

[6] There are still in these deserts places named זברא; see the lists in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* iii. p. 657, ed. 1856. It is the same family name which reappears in the New Testament in the sons of Zebedee, and is preserved at the present day in many family names in those regions; cf. also Wetzstein's *Hauran*, p. 33.

[7] In this quarter, according to 1 Macc. xii. 37, he improved the so-called Caphenatha, or (according to some MSS. and the Pesh.) Casphenatha, no doubt a small fortification, the name of which is otherwise unknown to us.

[8] The situation of the town of Ἀδιδά, 1 Macc. xii. 38, xiii. 13, is described in the first passage in such a way that we may well imagine it to have covered the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. It is no doubt, therefore, identical with what is more correctly called עֲדִיתַיִם, Josh. xv.

sort of outer defence of Jerusalem. But when Tryphon found that by Jonathan's assistance he was thus getting the upper hand over Demetrius, he purposed, for the promotion of his own secret designs upon the Syrian throne, to rid himself of one who might ultimately become troublesome to him; and with this view he invited Jonathan to meet him at Beth-sheân, on the southern boundary of Galilee. Jonathan arrived, attended by forty thousand men; but, under the promise of confirming the gift of Ptolemais[1] to him, the deceiver contrived to induce him to follow him with no more than three thousand men to Galilee, and then to pursue his march with only a thousand troops to Ptolemais. There, the crafty Jonathan found himself at length outwitted. Once within the fortress, he was made prisoner, his men were cut down, and it was generally reported that he was slain. The two thousand men, however, whom he had left in Galilee, fought their way through to Jerusalem.

3. *Simon the Asmonean High-priest and Prince.*

This unexpected blow, though not undeserved by Jonathan for his eagerness to receive Ptolemais from a Tryphon, plunged the people into great alarm. Tryphon was preparing a large army, and far and wide the enemies of the party of the strict were raising new hopes of final victory. Simon, however, the only survivor of the five great brothers who was at liberty for action, had been fully tried in war and peace. Though himself the older, he had modestly subordinated himself to Jonathan, as he had previously done to Judas, contenting himself with the second place,[2] but now he stepped into the gap with word and deed. Out of his private fortune he equipped and paid a powerful army,[3] and hastily protected Joppa and Adîda (into the latter of which he threw himself) against Tryphon who was advancing from the north-west and bringing Jonathan with him in chains. Tryphon, finding himself disappointed in his expectation of surprising Judea, promised to surrender Jonathan for one hundred silver talents and two of his young sons as hostages; but after Simon had fulfilled both these conditions he failed to carry out his share of the engagement. He next marched round the western mountains of Judea in a southerly

36. According to Eus. *Onomast.* there was a place of this name not far from Lydda.

[1] P. 328.

[2] As στρατηγός, as he is called in an ancient remark upon the time of Judas, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, 6.

[3] According to 1 Macc. xiv. 32.

direction towards Adôra, on the south-west of Hebron,[1] laying waste everything as he went. Simon, however, marched all the time over against him on the hills. The troops who had been so long shut up in the great citadel at Jerusalem, and were nearly reduced by starvation, sent messengers to the powerful Syrian to entreat him to despatch forces to their relief by the only way still open to them, through the wilderness by the Dead Sea. His cavalry were all ready to proceed by this route in a single night, when they were hindered by a heavy fall of snow. Disheartened by this circumstance, he marched through the south right round the Dead Sea and betook himself into the country on the east of the Jordan. Here, at Bascama,[2] he had Jonathan executed, and soon after also put to death his own toy-king.

It was a piece of great good fortune that the last survivor of the five brothers[3] was the calmest and most discreet of them all; and that he ruled at a time when there was less need of impetuous valour than of foresight and higher prudence, to reap the fruits of the heavy toil of the two previous leaders, and to retrieve the error which Jonathan had committed by his alliance with Tryphon.[4] Simon at once began to fortify Judea throughout as strongly as possible. By the present of a golden crown and a palm-robe,[5] he sought to renew the alliance with Demetrius, and was recognised by him as high-priest and friend of the king. The popular privileges previously conceded were confirmed,[6] and pardon was promised for all who had in the interval revolted to Tryphon. It was in the year 143 that the country thus regained its complete freedom under an hereditary vassal of the 'king of Asia;' and in the first rejoicing which ensued it was resolved (at least as the first book of Maccabees records) from henceforth to count this era in their civil life as

[1] This is the meaning of 1 Macc. xiii. 20; cf. vol. iv. p. 45 *note* 5.

[2] The situation of this place has not yet been rediscovered.

[3] On the fall of the two less famous, see pp. 318, 324. In 2 Macc. viii. 22, x. 19, one of these five brothers is called Joseph (for in these passages it is certainly the brothers of Judas who are spoken of); we can only suppose the same person is intended who in 1 Macc. is designated Johanan [John]. We have nothing more here than a confusion of the two similar sounding names, not a really different brother; for even 2 Macc. only reckoned five brothers, according to the artistic and partly fictitious description in viii. 22 sqq.

[4] Even the author of 1 Macc. places Jonathan on a lower level than his brothers. This is clear from the fact that in a suitable place he devotes a passage to each of these two in general commendation of his virtues and merits, iii. 1–9, xiv. 4–12, but for Jonathan he has not a word. Josephus, on the other hand, has very little to say about Simon, perhaps because he had not the latter portion of 1 Macc.

[5] Βαΐνη, 1 Macc. xiii. 37, or, still more simply, φοινιξ, 2 Macc. xiv. 4, must have been, like the *palmata*, a splendid over-robe, embroidered with golden palm branches as symbols of victory.

[6] P. 330.

the 'first year of freedom.'[1] This happened most fortunately to coincide with other successes. Gazar,[2] on the west of Jerusalem, which had been fortified with extraordinary strength by the heathen party, was now at last reduced after an elaborate siege, and, as a town properly belonging to Israel, was carefully purified from every heathen taint. This conquest, moreover, Simon might fairly regard as his own acquisition; and he accordingly sent his son Johanan, after he had been designated as general and successor, to reside there,[3] and carefully rebuilt and equipped the fortress.[4] Finally, on the twenty-third of the second month (May) in the year 142, the great citadel of Jerusalem, quite starved out, fell into Simon's hands, and thus the last great fortress still occupied by the heathen party came into his power.[5] He himself, however, fortified the temple-mountain with especial care, and established himself there.

The concessions and engagements of the kings and other potentates of this period generally lasted only so long as they were destitute of the power to elude or repudiate them to their own advantage. In the weakness, however, into which the Syrian kingdom was sinking deeper and deeper, there was no great danger threatening the liberated people from this quarter. Simon was thus able to pass several years of tranquillity and peace, which, in spite of his advanced age, he employed with equal activity and wisdom for the welfare of his

[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 41 sq.; cf., however, xiv. 27, which scarcely confirms this. It has been generally supposed that the years of the coins of Simon (to be mentioned below) were to be reckoned from this point. But it is highly improbable that he struck coins before he had permission to do so; and there is nothing which obliges us to resort to this hypothesis. The good fortune of this period passed away, after all, tolerably soon, and it is not therefore surprising that the Seleucidic chronology previously in use should have maintained itself in ordinary affairs among the Jews, even as late as the Middle Ages, while the designation of a 'first year of freedom,' indicated by the author of the first book of Maccabees as coincident with the beginning of Simon's leadership, was probably connected with a new Calendar, which will be discussed below.

[2] Only in Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 2 and *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7 has the true reading, Gazara, been preserved instead of Gaza, 1 Macc. xiii. 43. Gaza might perhaps have been conquered by a Judean of that time in the name of the Syrian king (p. 331), but not in his own. Gazara, however, could with more reason be reckoned in the ancient territory of Israel. That it is Gazara which is meant is clear enough from 1 Macc. xiii. 53, xiv. 7, 34, xv. 28, 35.

[3] According to 1 Macc. xiii. 53, xvi. 1, 21.

[4] 1 Macc. xiv. 34. The neighbouring town of Jabneh (Jamnia), p. 329, was no doubt conquered at the same time, and was transformed from a Philistine city into a private estate (*domanium*) for the Prince of Judah. It continued to be so regarded in later times, see vol. vi. p. 191 [German].

[5] The account which Josephus gives, *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7, of the deportation of the top of the mountain on which the citadel was placed—commenced under Simon's auspices and laboriously carried on for three years—can only refer to a portion of this extensive mass, probably that which once projected on the north-east towards the temple mountain. To this extent the narrative, to which there is not an allusion in 1 Macc., may be correct.

nation and the honour of his house. He strengthened the alliance with the Romans, sending to them again the well-tried Numenius, who carried as a costly gift of honour a golden shield.[1] By justice and circumspection he promoted in every way the security and prosperity of all classes in the nation.[2] He protected commerce, and established in Joppa a free port, which soon became the resort of all the ships of trade on the Mediterranean,[3] and, as the only really Judean port, acquired a peculiar importance in the rejuvenescence of the people. It was speedily made the basis by Judeans also of a maritime trade on their own account, and subsequently in unquiet times even of piratical expeditions.[4] In these ways Simon made himself universally honoured and beloved. On the 18th of Elûl (September) in the year 141, a great popular assembly, held in the large fore-court of the temple,[5] did but express the general sentiment in solemnly designating him for all future time commander-in-chief and prince of the nation. His person was made inviolable, and he was invested with the right of conferring all the offices and employments in the state, and exercising supreme direction over all sacred things. This dignity was made hereditary in his family, and a public record of the particulars of the decree was put up by order in the sanctuary.[6]

[1] 1 Macc. xiv. 24, 40, xv. 15–24. The Roman letter of recommendation, xv. 16–21, which a consul Lucius is said to have drawn up, is plainly reproduced somewhat freely. But essentially the same letter, only in part rendered with greater exactness, has got inserted, through the great carelessness of Josephus, in a quite wrong place in his history, viz. in the time of Cæsar, *Ant.* xiv. 8, 5. The ninth year of Hyrcanus there specified must, therefore, be the ninth of Simon; although the latter is not generally credited with more than eight.

[2] Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 4, 35, comp. with xv. 32.

[3] This is the meaning of 1 Macc. xiv. 5; cf. xv. 28, 35.

[4] As at the time of Pompey, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3, 2, and of Vespasian, *Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, 2, 4.

[5] This is probably the meaning of the words in 1 Macc. xiv. 28, according to the correct reading of some MSS., *ἐν Ἀσαραμεελ*, i.e. בְּחָצַר עַם אֵל, 'in the fore-court of the people of God,' i.e. in the great forecourt of the sacred community of the temple; moreover, an exact description like this of the place where the decree was resolved upon is quite appropriate to the connection of the words. The fact that this local designation has not been translated into Greek is explained by the mysteriously lofty meaning which it enfolds. For the name has a somewhat lofty sound, yet only such as is peculiar to these times, which in the same way produced the secret name for 1 Macc., Ξαρβηθ σαρβανε ελ (on which see p. 463).

[6] The Greek syntax of this long document, 1 Macc. xiv. 27–49, has certainly some manifest faults. In ver. 41 *ὅτι* should be erased. In ver. 42, instead of *ὅπως μέλοι—ἁγίων*, which is only correct in ver. 43, we should simply read *τοῦ*, and, with several MSS., should adopt *δι' αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτούς*. But its contents are indisputably authentic, and the prolixities of style of such documents are not so very infrequent. That the honours conferred upon him were to be hereditary is not, curiously enough, distinctly asserted in the decree: it is only implied by the way, vv. 25, 49. But this is a further sign of the genuineness of a document, the original of which, at the time of the composition of 1 Macc., every priest might certainly have examined on the brazen tablets in the temple. Another mark of authenticity is found in the fact that Simon's proceedings against the heathen

Not less, however, was the care which Simon devoted to the honour of his brothers who had fallen in the cause of freedom. In his paternal town of Môde'îm he erected magnificent monuments over the graves of his father and his four brothers, with stones bearing inscriptions both in front and rear. Adjacent to these he constructed a circle of seven lofty pyramids, visible even from the Mediterranean, in memory of the five brothers and their parents. Round these pyramids were tall pillars, adorned with representations hewn in stone of armaments and ships. The ships were perhaps expressly included in the sculptures after Simon had declared the conquered Joppa a free port.[1]

But while we observe in the career of Simon the purest height of the whole Maccabean movement, it is impossible to conceal the weakness which continued to adhere to it, and might easily result in completely undermining its foundations. To prevent Judea from falling into the condition of the other parts of Canaan, where some cities and fortresses were occupied and governed by the heathen party and others by the legalists, and thus avoid a dismemberment which would enervate everything, was rightly the first endeavour[2] of each of the Asmoneans as he came to power, and was the object aimed at by Simon. But the victor could find no other means for rendering his conquered adversaries harmless but their utter annihilation or expulsion. The first canker at work during this period has already been described at sufficient length;[3] this was the second, which, in the midst of the splendour and joy of victory, gnawed at the new power, and could not fail sooner or later to corrode it all away. And this is the defect of the whole ancient religion, from which, as we observe, even at the proud summit of its last flight, it could not disengage itself. The inability of heathenism to shake itself loose from this imperfection had led every rising Syrian faction, to endeavour to secure its own safety and strength simply by merciless extermination of its antagonists. And the same method was followed by Simon against the party of the free.[4] A government acting on these principles neces-

party, which were unsuitable for a public document, are not so clearly described in it as they are elsewhere by the narrator himself. The absence of vv. 27–34 from the Pesh., according to the Paris Polyglott, is accidental, and affords no ground for inferring the spuriousness even of this passage alone.

[1] Macc. xiii. 27–30. The representation of the ships may be explained, therefore, in the manner adopted in the text, without disputing the reading. Josephus asserts that the monument was in existence in his time, a statement which can hardly be a mere thoughtless repetition from 1 Macc. xiii. 30.

[2] P. 330.

[3] Pp. 322 sq.

[4] Even in words the respective descriptions correspond; cf. 1 Macc. xv. 28–31 with xiv. 14, xv. 3, and vii. 24, ix. 26, xiii. 32, xiv. 36, xv. 35.

sarily had to dread those who fled before it abroad, and this gave rise to the wish and the claim on the part of the hagiocracy in Jerusalem that the Jews of the free party in all foreign lands should be handed over to it to receive condemnation for their offences.[1] This gave the hagiocracy in Jerusalem a new and powerful handle, but at the same time it only revealed its inner weakness. In the splendour of the new age there was, it is true, less room for the immediate development of the deeper consequences of this weakness; yet it is from this obscure region that we see the first clouds arise which threaten to darken the sky now spreading and shining over the rejuvenated Israel. Internal hostility proved the most deadly enemy, more fatal than any attack from without.

In the year 139 Antiochus of Sidê (Sidêtes), the younger brother of Demetrius II. who was now a prisoner among the Parthians, endeavoured to assert his position as rightful king against Tryphon.[2] At first he sought to secure the friendship of Simon, confirmed all the concessions made by his brother, and further granted him the privilege of coining money.[3] The contest between Antiochus and Tryphon was fought out quite in the neighbourhood of Simon, near Dora, on the coast south of Ptolemais. On his first attack, Antiochus was driven back, but, after some fresh advantages over Tryphon, he besieged him again in Dora.[4] There he received more exact intelligence about the position of affairs in Judea, which led him to reject the auxiliaries and presents sent him by Simon, and to despatch instead an officer named Athenobius to call him to account for his occupation of Joppa, Gazara, and the great citadel in Jerusalem. These he summoned him to surrender, or else he would require a thousand talents of silver in compensation for them and the damage done to them. In reply, Simon only proposed to give a hundred talents for Joppa and Gazara; whereupon the king, soon victorious over Tryphon, sent Cendebæus, the general in command on the Phœnician coast,

[1] To this extent the statement incorporated in the Roman reply, 1 Macc. xv. 21, relative to an attempt made at that time, has quite an historical value. Herod. also, was empowered by Augustus to demand the extradition of all Judean refugees from foreign countries, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 24, 2; *Ant.* xviii. 3, 5; cf. 3 Macc. vii. 10–12, 14 sq.

[2] On the date at which Tryphon executed his puppet-king, see C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. xx.

[3] 1 Macc. xv. 1–9, particularly ver. 6.

[4] It becomes obvious on closer consideration that the phrase ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, 1 Macc. xv. 25, is not to be understood (as some MSS. and the Pesh. intend) of the second day after the beginning of the siege of Dora, related in vv. 11–14, but refers to a second siege. In the first place, the words themselves require this interpretation; and next, several events took place between the two sieges, vv. 15–24; while the king also must have had time enough first to obtain further information about Judea and to change his purpose.

to make war against him. Cendebæus established himself firmly with his numerous cavalry in the Philistine city of Jabneh, which had been previously evacuated by Simon. From this post he harassed the borders of Judea, and erected as near the boundary as possible a new fortress called Cedrôn.[1] Johanan, the son of Simon, in the adjoining Gazara, was the first to suffer by this step; and as Simon felt himself now too old to lead his troops to battle,[2] he appointed Johanan, with his elder brother Judas, to the chief command. Johanan, who had now for the first time[3] some cavalry also among the troops at his disposal, advanced from Môde'îm, the venerable home of his ancestors, into the plain on the south-west. He distinguished himself by his valour before the whole army, and drove back the enemy first of all to the new fortress of Cedrôn, and then into the watch-towers of Ashdod, which he succeeded in setting on fire.[4]

These campaigns on the confines of the country certainly caused little disturbance to the internal activity and industry of the labouring people. Proof of this is afforded by the new coinage which was instituted by Simon,[5] and which, we are justified in conjecturing, was at once struck off with great vigour. The large numbers of Judean coins which have been collected with considerable care in recent times as they have been rescued from the ruins of antiquity,[6] supply us with the best direct testimony hitherto accessible of the skill of the ancient people, and are thus far of great importance.[7] In the period before the first destruction of Jerusalem, Israel no more

[1] This place, which is not mentioned again, lay, so far as we can judge from the description in 1 Macc. xv. 40–xvi. 10, somewhat south of the stream now called Surar, flowing past Jabneh, and east of Ashdod, perhaps on the present *Tell el-Turmus*. The fortifications appear to have been demolished at the close of the campaign. If Turmus is abbreviated from Gethrimmon in the *Onomast.*, and this in its turn is the גִּתְרִמּוֹן in Dan, Josh. xix. 45, the name also receives an explanation. Instead of the *G*, several of the MSS. of the *Onomast.* have a *K*.

[2] The representation of Josephus is quite different, *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 2, and scarcely less so is his account in *Ant.* xiii. 7, 3. He makes Simon take a tolerably active part in the war along with his sons, by which he becomes for the first time an independent prince: but it is clear that for this he had no good authority.

[3] P. 317.

[4] αὐτήν in 1 Macc. xvi. 10 must refer to Ashdod.

[5] P. 338.

[6] The best and most careful description of them up till recent times was that given by Fra. Perez Bayer in his work *De Numis Hebræo-Samaritanis*, Val. 1781, and in the *Vindiciæ*, Val. 1790. In these works the long dispute about the genuineness of such coins, and the history of their decipherment, is well explained. An extract is given by Eckhel, *Doctr.* iii. p. 455 sqq. I have pursued this subject at much greater length in reference to De Saulcy's *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique* (Paris, 1854) and other recent works in essays in the *Gött. Nachr.*, 1855, pp. 107–122, and the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1855, pp. 641–655, 1387–1397; 1856, pp. 796–809; 1860, pp. 841–852.

[7] Here and there some similar evidences of the plastic art of Israel also have been found; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 28.

struck coins (if we take the word in its rigid modern sense) than did the Phœnicians, and up to this time the new Jerusalem had not possessed sufficient independent authority to do so. Now, however, Simon evidently availed himself with zeal of the permission to have a coinage of his own, which had certainly been long desired, but had not been conceded till the year 139;[1] and from that time the nation, from which no age could take its youth, never let go the power of striking its own coins wherever it was possible; so that at the present day we can point to some remains from every subsequent period of its history.[2] For in the line of development which had long been firmly established for the general circumstances of a nation, the right of coinage had become one of the most obvious signs of the independence of a people or a city, and had to pass through all the vicissitudes which befel them, both in its special form and its general history. Hence the mere appearance and the changes in form of the Judean coins also afford us the most instructive testimony of the development of the whole subsequent history to its final close. It was inevitable from the beginning that they should follow the Greek type, but they are no mere imitations; rather do they show the peculiarly national spirit which had then risen with so much power in Jerusalem. Greek coins are chiefly stamped with figures of gods or men. As this might tend to promote idolatry, on the genuine Judean coins even the effigy of a prince is avoided, a precaution in which it is not hard to recognise the scrupulousness characteristic of the hagiocracy. But, on the other hand, the coins do not show that rigid exclusion of all figures which was subsequently practised in Islâm. On the contrary, appropriate objects are selected with much taste, and executed with real elegance. Sometimes they referred to sacred articles used by the priests; thus we find cups (for the libations in the temple), three almond or lily blossoms on one stalk (in allusion to Aaron's rod),[3] or colonnades;[4] sometimes they were simple tokens of the fruitfulness and blessings of Palestine, such as the vine and the grape cluster, palms, vessels of wine and baskets of fruit: more rarely there is a lyre to indicate that now sacred song is freely raised once more.[5] Among these figures, the former were chiefly employed for the silver coins (the whole, half, and

[1] P. 338.

[2] On the special coins see below.

[3] Cf. *Alterth.*, p. 342.

[4] This is rare; see Bayer, *De Numis*, p. 141, cf. *app.* p. xii. It is certainly a reference to the buildings on the temple mountain, not (as even Bayer thinks) to the Asmonean monument mentioned above, p. 337.

[5] See Bayer, loc. cit.; the figure on p. 26 probably represents an altar.

quarter shekel), the latter for the bronze; no gold coins have yet been discovered. The names of the 'Priest' or '*Prince* of Israel,' or 'Jerusalem the holy' often occur; the chronology is reckoned by the 'years of the redemption of Israel,' or the 'deliverance of Sion.' Figures and legends like these, however, easily changed; they often varied with every family and even with every year, corresponding to the immense variety in the tokens and figures on the coins of antiquity in general. Hence, in the case of the Jewish coins, where this especially applies, in consequence of the great changes which took place during the last portion of the history, it is impossible to recognise these differences with sufficient exactness. On the whole, however, the coins, like other things, afford adequate evidence for this first period of the new and active life which the Asmoneans produced in Jerusalem.[1] Up to this time, it is true, no coins have been discovered issued by Simon himself. But as his rule lasted but few years longer this is not very surprising: moreover, the number of coins which we now possess belonging to the Asmonean princes who succeeded him is by no means so very large. The majority of genuine Jewish coins which have been found so far are not earlier (as may easily be understood) than the last two Roman wars.

In spite of the victories of Simon, however, the times continued far from tranquil or secure. The venerable hero and first prince of the rejuvenated people was not to meet with a peaceful end. In addition to the causes above mentioned, which prevented even the most brilliant period of the hagiocracy from attaining any true repose, a further source of difficulty was found in the ill-defined relation in which Simon stood to the Syrian kingdom. Like every prince of Israel, he could not help striving for complete independence. Yet his position was simply that of a vassal, a term which we may here employ with perfect appropriateness. But the fire of hostility between the king and his vassal, by whose side stood his promising young son and successor, had just flamed up again brightly, while the heat of internal discord had not yet been properly quenched. This state of things Simon's own son-in-law, Ptolemæus, son of Chabûb,[2] sought to turn to his own advantage. While on duty as an officer in the north-east he had acquired a large sum of money, and he was certainly devoted in heart at least to the party of the free. While Simon was making a circuit to investigate the condition of the

[1] The grounds for this statement, which may here be assumed as correct, can be found in my essays already mentioned.

[2] [Abubus, 1 Macc. xvi. 11, A.V.]

country districts, Ptolemæus enticed him, with his sons Matthias and Judas, into the little fortress of Dôk[1] which he had himself built near Jericho. There he murdered him at a banquet in the February of 135 B.C. His next step was to secure from the king in all haste his confirmation as the successor of Simon. Thus it fell out that the fortune of the David of this age was not in the end by any means so good as that of his great predecessor.

III. John Hyrcanus, Grandson of Mattathias, 135–106.

1. *His Conquests. The Books of Judith and Enoch.*

In Johanan, however, or John, surnamed Hyrcanus,[2] Simon left behind him a successor already well tried, who was not unlike in wisdom to a Solomon of this later day, and who was besides inferior to none of the previous Asmonean heroes in military capacity and true ambition for his people. It is always in the power of the unspoiled young scion of a new house, when he is aided by an age that aspires after better things, to cope successfully with the grave defects and perversities which still survive from the previous period; and the question is, how far did the grandson of Mattathias, who came to power under such unusual circumstances, succeed in perfecting the work of his fathers? His rule, which lasted about thirty years, certainly displays on the whole the further fruits of the independence and higher tranquillity which naturally sprang from the baptism of blood of more than forty years' duration in the profound sufferings and labours[3] of the Maccabean period, and, viewed from without, it is marked almost exclusively by splendour and triumph. Yet the impossibility of improving a hagiocracy from its foundations is only made all the more clear at the end of the long and valiant rule of this prince. Unfortunately we lose sight again here of

[1] Called Δαγών in Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 3; *Ant.* xiii. 8, 1; the view of De Saulcy, *Voyage*, ii. pp. 139–145, about Kâkûn can scarcely be established.

[2] The surname Hyrcanus appears at an earlier date, p. 271; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 11, in a powerful family at Jerusalem; but it was certainly not ennobled by any one in the same way as by Johanan. Its origin is unquestionably to be looked for in the reference to those Judeans who had continued to reside in Hyrcania (since the exile), and among whom there might still be many persons of eminence. The confusions and dreams in Ben-Gorion, iv. 2, and Macc. Arab. [5 Macc.] xx., deserve no attention. Cf. also p. 309 *note* 1.

[3] The great *labours* of the five brothers are often, and with justice, referred to in 1 Macc.; for instance, in x. 15, xiii. 3.

the older sources of pure narrative,[1] and are limited to the statements of Josephus about the outward events of the history of the people; and till the beginning of the Herodian age these are very unsatisfactory. But from this time a rich stream of other sources, a good deal scattered, it is true, and easily confused, is opened up. The particulars which we can now recover, are as follows.

1) The beginning of John's rule was full of difficulty. The murderer of Simon had not only thrown himself at the feet of the king; he had also made Simon's two elder sons prisoners, had sent men to Gazara to assassinate John, and had attempted to win over all the principal officers, and, by means of his servants, to seize Jerusalem. John, however, warned in time, himself slew the murderers hired for his own death, hastily took possession of the high-priesthood and of Jerusalem, and advanced against the fortress to besiege the offender. The siege dragged on a long while, for whenever John showed any serious design of making an assault, the wretch, it was said, stood on the wall and threatened to torture and put to death his mother and two brothers imprisoned within, and John, in spite of the contrary signs of his heroic parent, then desisted from the attack.[2] At length Ptolemæus executed his captives, after all, and fled across the Jordan to Zeno, the governor of Philadelphia (the ancient Rabbath-Ammon), as in view of the impending sabbatical year[3] all his resources were exhausted through the dearness of provisions. Not long after, however, Antiochus of Sidê marched to besiege Jerusalem, laying waste the country far and wide. The king, the best and bravest of

[1] We may take for granted that the history of John existed formerly, properly described in Greek books, for which the high-priestly records mentioned in 1 Macc. xvi. 23 sq. were employed. This Greek book which Sixtus Senensis (*Biblioth. Sancta*, 1575, p. 37) declares that he once saw in Lyons, and which according to his description bore a great resemblance to the first book of Maccabees, perished there soon after by fire. That Josephus made any use of it is hardly probable, for his description of the numerous actions and events of John's rule is only very inadequate, and he never distinguishes the dates. On the other hand, this era forms the commencement of the work *De Bello Judaico*, of which a new edition was published at Marburg in 1864, begun by C. F. Weber, and completed by J. Cäsar. This has been incorrectly ascribed to Hegesippus, but does not pretend to be anything more than a Christian reproduction of Josephus. As is stated in the preface, it begins at this point because its author (whom we may suppose to have been the famous Ambrose of Milan) wished to supply a continuation of the history from the date at which the first book of Maccabees, which he acknowledged as sacred, terminated. But the work shows no acquaintance with any authorities except the books of Josephus and the New Testament.

[2] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 4; *Ant.* xiii. 8, 1. According to 1 Macc. xvi. 16–22, the two sons were killed along with Simon; yet the narrative has perhaps only taken this form in consequence of the brevity of the conclusion.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 1. The statement admits an exact calculation with the sabbatical year already mentioned, p. 318, which fell twenty-eight years earlier.

all the later Syrian monarchs, was very persistent in his enterprises, in spite of a certain lofty gentleness and goodness of general disposition. Before the winter set in he invested the city closely with double intrenchments, and erected a hundred siege towers on the north side. This investment, which continued to the following autumn,[1] added to the severe sufferings consequent on want of supplies, reduced the city to the utmost distress. But the steadfastness and indomitable spirit of the besieged triumphed at last. As the autumn festival drew nigh, John made overtures to the king for an eight days' truce. Antiochus met his request so heartily, adding on his own part rich sacrificial gifts, that negotiations for peace naturally sprang up between the two princes. Antiochus demanded a specific tribute from Joppa and the other towns which did not belong to Judea in the narrower sense, and the admission of a garrison into Jerusalem. In place of the latter condition, John offered to give hostages, and among them his own brother, together with five hundred silver talents. With this proposal the king was satisfied: but he had the walls of Jerusalem demolished.[2] It was evidently the closer personal acquaintance with the peculiar excellences of the people who would make any sacrifice for their religion which opened the eyes of the most active and keen-sighted of all the latter Seleucidæ; and, in the first flush of joy at their deliverance, the people showed a true feeling in naming this prince Antiochus Eusebes, i.e. the Pious, in contrast to his predecessor Epiphanes. John, however, sought relief in his financial difficulties by opening the tomb of David.[3] The treasures which he found there enabled him, not only to pay the required redemption money, but also to enlist foreign mercenaries, as experience had already proved that it was difficult to control internal hostilities and restore princely power in Israel without the nucleus of a standing army devoted solely to its service. Thus, in spite of the hagiocracy, the age of David and Solomon was now destined thus

[1] This may be inferred, at least, from the scattered data in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 2. Contrary to expectation, the city was in no want of water, as 'there was a plentiful fall of rain towards the setting of the pleiades'

[2] That John carefully restored them as soon as ever he could, certainly beginning therefore not later than 130 B.C., is not, indeed, stated by Josephus (whose narrative is here altogether much too brief, and probably passes over many particulars intentionally); but it is impossible to imagine anything else, and the supposition is confirmed by the brief allusion to the acts of John in 1 Macc. xvi. 23. Cf. on this point Diodorus, *Hist.*, in the epitome, xxxiv. 1, and Porphyry in the fragments collected by C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. p. 712 sq. Porphyry's statement that the king put the noblest of the Judeans to death, probably refers to something passed over by Josephus; and it is remarkable that the Syrians gave the designation Eusebes to another and later Antiochus.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 228 *note* 1.

far to reappear. John himself, however, immediately accompanied the king as his vassal to the war, the progress of which was at first successful.

But about the years 130–128 [1] the bitter news reached Jerusalem of the disastrous issue of the Parthian campaign.[2] Antiochus had been killed; the mad and hated Demetrius II. had escaped from his Parthian captivity, was again on the throne in Syria, and was carrying on new wars right down to Pelusium.[3] This intelligence naturally created great anxiety for some time in Jerusalem. The claims of the Seleucidæ to supremacy in Jerusalem had never yet been given up, and after its brief term of greater freedom under Simon the country had completely relapsed into an oppressive state of vassalage to Syria. Moreover, there was certainly no lack of persons who shared the disposition of Simon's son-in-law, and, after the violent contests which had recently taken place, a certain flagging of the efforts and energies of the people had unmistakably set in. But as even in a period of oppression one indefatigable and valiant leader easily quickens the bolder spirits of the people at large to a higher flight, so at this time, while for the moment there was nothing to be done requiring a special exertion, it became again the active function of literature to excite and elevate the national mind.

2) That the book of Judith appeared when the hosts of Demetrius II. were overthrowing everything along the coast as far as Egypt, may be assumed as certain.[4] It was rather the object of this book to excite passion and revenge, in every rank of society, against the national enemy, who was again threatening them so violently. Other writings, however, arose at the same time, with an opposite and a higher tone. Composed from the prophetic standpoint as continuations of the book of Daniel, it was their aim to work upon this generation by an influence shed down as from the pure heights of heaven; and they exhibit in fact the ultimate development of simple prophetic literature still possible in this latest age. They are the productions which have come down to us collected by a final redactor into the book of Enoch. This book was first discovered in modern times in an Ethiopic version, itself made from a translation, and belongs, as we can discern with confidence, to this particu-

[1] The only description of John's career which we now possess is given by Josephus, and it contains no chronological particulars about separate years.

[2] Cf. Moses of Chorênê, *Hist.* ii. 2.

[3] See the only too brief epitomes in Justin, *Hist.* xxxix. 1, and in Porphyry; and also the work of the Syrian Posidonius in the extracts in Athenæus, *Deipnos.* x. 53, xii. 56; also Joh. Ant. in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iv. p. 561.

[4] See below [pp. 474 sq.].

lar period.[1] The last redactor collected into this book no less than three books of Enoch, which came out one after another, by different authors, and a book of Noah, which was produced later still. It is the third of these books which gives us the clearest insight into the historical moment of its appearance. For though, like the book of Daniel,[2] and all such apocalyptic works, this book only indicates the period for which it was immediately composed by certain signs addressed to the attentive reader, it is not possible on further consideration and with more adequate historical knowledge to remain any longer in doubt upon the point. Israel had long been feeling itself lost, as it were, beneath the power of heathen kings, still waiting in vain for the Messiah. In this connection a special significance already attached, as we have seen,[3] to the number seventy; and accordingly the book exhibits a long series of seventy heathen sovereigns as the rulers under whose sway God had placed his people since the days of David, Solomon, and Elijah, in consequence of their growing defection from him and from his word.[4] And since the new Jerusalem had been more or less in constant subjection to the heathen these centuries might rightly be thus regarded. Of these seventy, however, the twelve last, we read, had been worse than all their predecessors.[5] Standing nearest to the actual present, they were necessarily the best known and the easiest to enumerate. We may, therefore, take this number in the strict historical sense. The interval from Antiochus the Great, who was the first of the Seleucidæ who ruled in the holy land, to the second reign of Demetrius II., after the death of Antiochus Sidêtes, includes twelve Seleucidæ.[6] These princes could with perfect justice

[1] At the time of the first edition of this volume [in German] we possessed no accurate edition and translation of the Ethiopic book. I therefore limited myself here simply to a somewhat closer determination of its age, passing over the question of the division of the work and its different authors. About the same time, however, I wrote a longer essay, *Ueber das Zeitalter des B. Henôkh*, which appeared in the June number of the *Kieler Allgem. Monatsschrift*, 1852. Soon after appeared the Ethiopic edition, translation, and interpretation of the book by Dillmann; upon which I gave a further explanation of many points in the essay, *Ueber des B. Henôkh Entstehung Sinn und Zusammensezung*, Gott., 1854. On the barren productions of later critics, and on other questions, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 182 sqq., ix. p. 240, xi. p. 231 sqq., vii. p. 155. Very noteworthy are the fragments of books of Enoch and Noah, which are still preserved in the later Rabbinical writings; see Jellinek's *Beth haMidrash*, ii. p. xxx. sq., iii. p. 155 sqq., iv. p. 127 sqq.

[2] P. 302 sqq.

[3] Pp. 74, 252.

[4] According to the principal passage, cap. lxxxviii. sq. of the old numeration. The most proper division of these two chapters would be before lxxxviii. 110.

[5] According to lxxxix. 25 (xc. 17 Dillm).

[6] 1) Antiochus the Great; 2) Seleucus Philopator; 3) Heliodorus, see p. 292, who though only on the throne for a short time could still be reckoned with the kings; 4) Antiochus Epiphanes; 5) Antiochus Eupator; 6) Demetrius I.; 7) Alexander Balas; 8) Demetrius II.; 9) Antiochus Balas; 10) Tryphon; 11) Antio-

be regarded as on the whole the worst of all heathen rulers, for, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, they really displayed almost incessantly, to a much greater degree than the Ptolemies or the Persian kings, the bitterest hostility towards the godly Judah. Analogous to this group of twelve heathen sovereigns closing the series of the seventy, is a similar group standing at the commencement of this fixed number. These are the rulers of the nation during its captivity, which is to be interpreted in its wider sense,[1] that dark period which seemed to correspond to the present. In the interval lie two groups of twenty-three. Each of these longer series denotes, therefore, a longer period of heathen supremacy, first the age of the Persian, and next that of the Greek dominion; and by an exact enumeration of the separate kings who reigned in those remoter times it is still possible to rediscover with sufficient approximation the 'shepherds' whom the author had in view. The main feature in his idea was that after the last twelve unjust shepherds the whole period of the seventy heathen rulers, with its four different series, seemed to be finally closed, and a new era, that viz. of the Messiah, was necessarily about to begin.[2] But even beyond the period of the seventy heathen kings, the author casts a glance far back upon all that had gone by, as though he desired to embrace in one vast picture not only all the future but also all the past of the divine dealings with humanity.

chus Sidêtes; 12) Demetrius II. for the second time. In the symbolical investiture of the book, the Seleucidæ and Syrians are called the ravens; lxxxix. 2 sqq.

[1] As the thirty-seven shepherds mentioned in lxxxix. 1, or rather, according to ver. 7, the thirty-five, cannot be absolutely the first, but, even as the literal sense of the words implies, may be divided into twelve and twenty-three, it is obvious that twelve shepherds correspond to the twelve hours specified in lxxxviii. 119. The use of the word 'hours' in this passage, instead of the more general expression 'times,' lxxxix. 1, 7, was probably intentional, in order to indicate at the same time the seventy years of the exile; for, according to the assumption carried through cap. xcii. that one day is equivalent to a century, and to the division of the day into eighteen hours adopted in cap. lxxi., twelve hours would almost occupy seventy years.

[2] That the author can scarcely have written later is clear from the fact that, according to Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17 (cf. Anatolius in Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 32, 19), Alexander Polyhistor, as early as Sulla's time, designated Enoch as the discoverer of astrology, which he could only have derived from our book. We may, it is true, infer from Ecclus. xliv. 16, cf. xlix. 14, that before the time of the Son of Sirach, Enoch was already the subject of very numerous literary representations, and our book simply exhibits the culminating point of a later literature revolving around him (as we have already shown, p. 304, was the case with the book of Daniel), but it is precisely the element of astrology in our book which is obviously its new and characteristic feature. On the other hand, it was not till after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the subsequent campaign of John with Antiochus Sidêtes that the Parthians described in liv. 9–12, lv. 1–5, became well known in Judah. The little lambs of a new and better kind, lxxxix. 9 sqq., are the Maccabees. The lamb slain by the ravens, lxxxix. 11, is Jonathan, pp. 332 sq.; the great new horn shooting up after an interval, lxxxix 13 sqq., is John Hyrcanus.

The anxious inquiry into the course and issue of human history, and the zealous search for the finger of God in the great stages both of past and future, even in separate events, had been from the first in Israel a true prophetic task. But the attempt to adapt with a certain nicety the periods of the past to an apparently sacred and divine number, in order to infer from this number with the more confidence a divine termination of their sufferings and trials, only came into fashion in these last centuries, when the living prophetic ministry was completely extinguished. For in this age the long and seemingly unproductive lapse of time during which the Messianic expectation was awaiting its fulfilment had given to this hope a greater tension and solicitude, while the historical survey of all ages embraced a much wider scope and was much better trained; and the prophetic writer, because he could be nothing more than a writer, had now more leisure and inducement for the learned pursuit of such historical contemplations. Of this the first great and clearly preserved example is supplied to us by the book of Daniel, which endeavours to bring into a round number the period dating from the overthrow of the ancient kingdom and the first temple, in order to found upon it with all the more confidence conjectures about the approaching fulfilment of this very number and the divine consummation of all things which appeared involved in it.[1] But the longer the accomplishment of the Messianic hope was delayed, the further did the prophetic historical survey, impelled by a sort of internal necessity, extend itself over the remotest past, as though it could find no rest until it reached the two extreme limits of universal history itself. Some of the authors of our book of Enoch accordingly have striven to fathom the primeval ages of humanity. Amid these, they have fixed their gaze chiefly on the appearance and spiritual significance of Enoch, distinguished in the most wonderful way among the ten patriarchs of the earliest epoch of the world. As the first pious man standing at the highest stage of holiness, and living not too long before the Flood,[2] he seemed the fittest to discourse with deep emphasis from his distant and elevated point concerning the sins of the whole world and their consequences; to describe in grand pictures the steps of universal history predetermined from eternity down to its anticipated end; and to set forth the Messianic salvation as certain ultimately to arrive, even though late and not till after many and long

[1] See the *Propheten des A. Bs.* ii. pp. 561 sqq. [iii. pp. 309 sqq., 2nd ed.]
[2] Vol. i. pp. 265 sq.

vicissitudes. At the same time one writer specially avails himself of the opportunity, now that Enoch was once regarded as the protector of all deeper inquiry and knowledge, and hence even as himself the first great sage of the world, to make him proclaim, as though it were the result of his own experience, a sort of deeper view into the whole structure of the universe and the realm of spirits. This noble grasp of all the wonders of history, and of the spiritual and physical world (i.e. of nature), and the attempt to combine all these departments more perfectly together, and employ them collectively for exhortation, constitute the second novelty in this book. The great diffuseness which naturally results, especially in comparison with the rapid brevity of the book of Daniel, proves that in the form in which we now have it the book is as it were the precipitate of a literature once very active which revolved in this age round Enoch.[1] Though, however, his exhortations flow on in a broad stream, they are at the same time well calculated to seize and terrify the mind; and it is these, together with the fragments and signs of secret wisdom which it contains, that must have procured for it a very large number of readers in that day. It succeeded in hitting off with sufficient power what there was to be said at the time; and its earliest portions, which appeared in fugitive leaves, partly under Simon and partly in the early years of Hyrcanus, are directed with the utmost keenness against the heathen potentates and their allies.

3) Supported by hopes and efforts such as these on the part of the better minds of his nation, John did not hesitate to throw off entirely the Syrian supremacy, and, as far as possible, to conquer all the countries which, according to the sacred book of the law, had originally belonged to Israel. After a laborious siege of six months he took the fortified city of Mêdebâ, on the east side of the Dead Sea. This was followed by the capture of Samega,[2] and with it probably of all the cities

[1] An earlier work, of which no part has been incorporated in our book of Enoch, must have depicted him in quite another character, as a man of tender, penitent conscience. This is clear from Ecclus. xliv. 16, and from the much stronger allusions of Philo, *de Præm.* iii. (where he is not named, but is referred to), *de Abrahamo*, iii. f. 9; cf. also my essay on the book of Enoch, p. 78. When, on the other hand, later writers praise him as the originator and promoter of all skill in literature and language (like Idris among the Arabs), they may have borrowed the idea from our book.

[2] *Samaia*, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 6 (which De Saulcy, *Voy.* ii. p. 471, in vain takes under his protection), is perhaps only an accidental variation of the name. *Samega* was probably the name of a city at that time of some power on the lake of Mêrôm, whence Josephus elsewhere always calls the lake *Samochonitis* or *Samechonitis*; so that 'Samega and the neighbouring places,' *Ant.* xiii. 9, 1, would denote the same district which in § 2 is

on the north-east across the Jordan. He next reduced the province of Samaria and destroyed the temple on Gerîzîm; and finally subdued in the west Gazara and Joppa with its harbour, and in the south Adôra and Mareshah, which must have been restored to the Idumeans when the last peace was concluded, together with all the rest of the Idumean territory. By these successes almost the whole dominions must have been reconquered over which Israel had formerly ruled in the best days of its earthly power; but it is to be regretted that we are no longer acquainted with the details of the beginning and progress of these military undertakings of the valiant Asmonean.

One statement, however, is of importance, viz. that he compelled the Idumeans, like the Samaritans, to recognise the hagiocracy in Jerusalem, under the penalty of expatriation. In this he succeeded, as we can readily understand, more easily with the former than with the latter. From this time forth, by the practice of circumcision, they became regular Judeans, and the military glory which now gathered round the name of Jerusalem obviously contributed not a little to make them forget their ancient hatred against it. Yet the fact of the conversion of the Idumeans is not without a higher significance, on account both of their own position in the past and of the further development of the whole history of Israel. Since the days of the judges and the kings there was no neighbouring people with which Israel had been compelled to struggle so keenly as with Edom. The deeply-rooted hostility of this nearest 'brother' had been expressed bitterly enough at the time of the foundation of the new Jerusalem;[1] it had been active in the days of the Son of Sirach, and had continued down to the Maccabean wars;[2] and it was now only by force of arms that the Idumeans were compelled to submit to circumcision. More closely considered, however, the unexpected good fortune which the Idumeans had attained at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem[3] turned out to be rather at the beginning of the ultimate ruin which now befel them. Under the protection of the Chaldeans they had been placed in possession of regions further north, and in particular had permanently occupied the whole of the wide districts on the south of Judah.[4] While, however, they were thus advancing to the north, the Arabian people of

called 'the springs,' i.e. of the Jordan. The Samach on the southern shore of the lake of Galilee (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 387, ed. 1856) would in this case be a different place.

[1] Pp. 80 sqq.

[2] Pp. 277, *note* 1, 313.

[3] Pp. 80 sqq.

[4] Hence Βερζαμμά, i.e. the ancient Beersheba, vol. i. p. 340 *note* 6, is still set down to Idumea in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* v. 16, 10.

the Nabateans[1] must have found all the more room to spread far and wide through these territories, and establish a kingdom which, like all the countries on the borders of the Persian dominions, gradually acquired more and more independence, and grew up to such power, especially, it would seem, during the struggles between the Persians and Egyptians,[2] that at the time of the Diadochi it enters as a prominent force into the history with which we are more familiar.[3] Its capital was fixed at Sela (Petra), the same cavernous city, so hard to conquer, which had always been in earlier days the tribal seat of the Idumeans.[4] From here, however, the rule of the Nabateans often extended to the east and west and as far north as Damascus. It may almost be said that this people, of Arab descent, but now mingled with so many Aramean elements,[5] had in these last centuries stepped into the place of the ancient Midian. They possessed the Arabian coasts along this region, were distinguished by commerce and arts of every kind, and even by a species of learned wisdom,[6] while they were still connected with the Arabs of the desert, and continued fond of spreading themselves by war. Their collisions from time to time with Israel in its rejuvenescence, both in the days of Nehemiah[7] and shortly before the present era,[8] have been already noticed; how their influence made itself more and more deeply felt from this time onwards, till they finally succumbed to the omnipotence of Rome after the war of Hadrian, subsequent events will prove. If with their energetic aspirations they had for some time seriously narrowed the power of the Idumeans, we can understand all the more readily how the latter were now at length completely humbled beneath the arms of Israel. This was the first time after the lapse of so

[1] Vol. i. pp. 314 sqq. On the early movements of the Nabateans, cf. the observations in the *Propheten des A. Bs.* iii. pp. 222, 278 [3rd ed.].

[2] Pp. 202 sqq.

[3] See the circumstantial narrative in Diodorus, *Hist.* xix. 94–100. Already in Is. lx. 7, there is an allusion to the new power of the Nabateans; cf. further the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1857, pp. 161 sqq. The coins published by the Duc de Luynes in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1859, show the names of several Nabatean kings.

[4] Vol. iv. pp. 141, 159.

[5] There is no doubt that the Nabatean language was originally an Arabic language, in spite of the appearance, through the ancient Aramean countries which they now occupied, of many Aramean elements in their names (see vol. vi. p. 730 [Germ.]), their inscriptions (see the publication of some of these by the Comte de Vogué in the *Revue Archéolog.* 1864), and their other writings (see the *Gött. Nachr.* 1861, p. 109, where لسمو is better taken as 'of heaven'; cf. also Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 24, and the *addenda* in Oehler, *opp.* ii. 2, p. 633, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1864, pp. 428, sq.).

[6] According to the remarkable passage in Baruch, iii. 22 sq.; comp. with the *Jahrbb der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 78. The *viol* Ἀγάρ, cf. Ps. lxxxiii. 7 [6], are only different in name. As to the sea, compare Plut. *Ant.* xxxvi., Dio Cass. xlix. 32.

[7] P. 153.

[8] Pp. 313, 314, 324.

many centuries that a nation was compelled to undergo circumcision, and under the rigid form of the hagiocracy greater violence was exerted than had ever been attempted before; and certainly it was after all easier to bring a heathen people to submit to it than to compel the Samaritans. But the entry of these wild and warlike Idumeans into the hagiocracy did not contribute in the sequel to make it more peaceful and mild. Rather was it the destiny, as will soon appear, of an Idumean family to exercise speedily enough a destructive influence upon the Asmonean, and the use of force was to be violently avenged upon the house that used it.

By a solemn embassy to Rome, John further sought to secure the recognition of his conquests at the expense of the Syrian kingdom.[1] At a later period, also, the maintenance of friendship with Rome continued one of his chief objects.

The disputes and wars of the Seleucidæ, which from this time became if possible more and more mischievous and suicidal, greatly facilitated the efforts of John to attain complete independence. At Rome, moreover, where the endeavours of the Gracchi and other internal movements were beginning to produce a dangerous fermentation, there was not much disposition to interfere in the affairs of Syria; and besides the Judeans, several others of the surrounding provinces took the opportunity to secure their freedom,[2] as the example and new power of Israel exerted an influence in the same direction on all neighbouring peoples. John, also, had sufficient discretion to take but little part in the proceedings of Syria. When, in the year 126 B.C., Ptolemy Physcon sent Alexander Zebina,[3] a pretended descendant of Balas, from Alexandria to the Syrians as their rightful king, John did not reject his overtures of friendship, such was still the strength of the previous inclination of the Judeans in favour of Balas; yet from his fall, in the year 123, John found no disadvantage accrue to himself. He had therefore leisure enough to take measures for the success of commerce and industry and the prosperity of all beneath his sway; but if ever any warlike faction made an incursion into his territory in search of booty he repulsed them with vigour. The only subjugated people who would not long remain quiet

[1] According to the Roman document in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9, 2, which may have been reproduced more faithfully than the earlier ones.

[2] Such as Ascalon, which commenced a new chronological reckoning about this time; see the *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 346; Eckhel, *Doctr.* iii. p. 436 sq., *Numism. Chron.* 1862, p. 117.

[3] Cf. زبينا as a Syrian personal name in Assemâni's *Bibl. Or.* ii. p. 230; for coins of his reign and that of Alex. Balas, see Lenormant-Behr, pp. 137 sqq. A Zebina occurs in Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* pp. 33 sqq.

were the Samaritans. They were fond of making alliances in secret with the Syrian kings, and at their instigation maltreated on one occasion some inhabitants of Mareshah who had now become Judeans.[1] Upon this John resolved to inflict the severest punishment upon these irreconcilable enemies. He besieged the city of Samaria, surrounded it by a trench and double wall, and then, in consequence of his advanced age,[2] entrusted the further conduct of the siege to his two eldest sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus. The famished Samaritans called Antiochus Cyzicenus to their aid, but the sons of John defeated him, and pursued him as far as Scythopolis (Beth-sheân) on the north-east. They were equally successful against Ptolemy Lathûrus, who sought to come to the rescue of the city with six thousand men; they then repulsed his generals, Callimander and the corruptible Epicrates, and after a siege of a year captured the city, upon which it was entirely destroyed. When this was done they proceeded to chastise Scythopolis,[3] further to the north, which was inhabited by heathen, and the country on Carmel,[4] which had promoted the rising.

This merciless severity against the Samaritans was clearly only practised by John because the hagiocracy drove him to it. The Samaritans, however, were not to be completely bent and changed by the Judeans, as the subsequent course of events showed speedily enough; they had in fact good reasons for not passing into their community so entirely as the Idumeans.[5] But it was only now that the mutual hostility between the two reached the frightful height in which it continued almost ever after with scarcely any interruption and abatement, extending from the simplest acts of life even into literature, where it at length finally perpetuated itself. It was at this date that some Judean, impelled by the temper of the age, wrote a book in which he intended to set forth historically, in half fictitious narratives, how Alexander, when he first entered Asia, had paid high honours to the Judeans, but had rejected the Samaritans;[6] and how, under Ptolemy Philomêtor in Alexandria, a similar but purely learned dispute about the pre-eminence of Jerusalem

[1] Pp. 315, 350.

[2] Antiochus Cyzicenus does not appear as a partner of the Syrian throne till 115 B.C., and does not receive the government of central Syria and Phœnicia till 111 B.C.; and it was only when he was in power over these districts that he could come to the aid of the Samaritans. This is an additional ground for placing the destruction of Samaria in John's last years.

[3] See p. 89.

[4] According to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 7. In the *Ant.* Josephus passes this by without giving any reason for it. Moreover, it is probable that Josephus has not mentioned all the conquests of John; for it is not till the time of Alex. Jannæus that he briefly enumerates all the distant conquests of the Judeans at that period, *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4.

[5] P. 350.

[6] Pp. 213 sq.

or Gerîzîm had become so violent that in order to settle their respective claims the king had summoned before him the most learned men on both sides, Sabbæus and Theodosius representing the Samaritans, Andronicus, son of Messalam, the Judeans[1]; but at the end of their arguments the two Samaritans were completely beaten by the one Judean, and were executed as false accusers.[2] It was from this time that the Judeans habituated themselves to designate the Samaritans simply by the opprobrious name 'Cutheans,'[3] following an empty witticism with which some learned writer had once thought to shine.

2. *The Temple at Leontopolis and the Egyptian Judeans.*

The Judeans in the holy land, under the guidance of valiant and sagacious leaders, seemed now to be winning lasting reverence and fame among the peoples of the earth, and even to be rising to the greatness and power of their ancestors in the fairest days of the ancient kingdom. This could not fail to react advantageously on the honour and esteem in which the numbers dispersed in foreign countries were held. We have already seen[4] how low the regard for them threatened to sink in the age immediately preceding the Maccabean elevation. Since that time, however, we may trace almost contemporaneously with the new rise in the fatherland an increase in the importance of the Hellenistic Judeans. To this subject belongs in particular the history of the origin and position of the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt.[5]

[1] Cf. p. 253.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, 4. We do not now know any particulars about either of these three Hellenists. Theodosius is certainly quite a different person from the Dositheus cursorily mentioned above, p. 279; in such cases, however, false accusers were probably punished in this way, after the example already related, p. 296. How the Samaritans exactly reversed the point of such narratives has been shown above, pp. 221 *note* 3, 253.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 215 sq. In the Rabbinical writings כותים is the constant designation of the Samaritans: in Josephus, on the other hand, Χουθαῖοι only occurs here and there.—How far it was allowable to have any intercourse with the Samaritans may be read, according to a Jerusalem מַסֶּכֶת כּוּתִים, in R. Kirchheim's שִׁבְעָה מסכתות (Frankf. 1851), pp. 31–37. From this it is clear that there was then a great deal of intercourse between men of the two creeds, because there were still large numbers of Samaritans, but also that the Rabbis continued to attribute to the Samaritans, as to the Sadducees (p. 278), a disbelief in the resurrection.

[4] P. 296.

[5] If this temple, which was destroyed about A.D. 73, really stood for 343 years, as Josephus states, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 4, we should be obliged to assign it quite a different origin from that which Josephus himself so often mentions, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 2 sq.; *Ant.* xiii. 3, 2; 10, 4; xx. 10, 13; but we are probably safe in saying that this number rests on an error, so that we should read 243. Supposing therefore that this temple was destroyed in 73 A.D. (the exact year is not given by Josephus), the foundation would have been laid in 170 B.C., and this would har-

When the high-priest Onias III.[1] had been so unjustly deposed and finally murdered, while men so unworthy in every respect as Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus were instituted in his office, it is easy to understand how Onias, his son,[2] sought refuge with Ptolemy Philomêtor, who readily protected him on account of the hostility between the two royal houses. Nor is it surprising that, looking at the desperate circumstances of the legalists[3] in Palestine, at the hopelessness of his own position, and the friendship manifested towards his ancestors by the first Ptolemies, he should even conceive the idea of founding and maintaining a temple in Egypt itself, which should be free from the perversions then creeping in at Jerusalem, and could serve at any rate for the Hellenists as an unmolested and worthy centre of union. It was not forgotten that Israel had for more than a century been most closely connected with the Ptolemies, and had been truly prosperous under their sway. Of this, indeed, they could not help being reminded vividly enough under the fresh abominations of the Syrian rule. In particular, the high-priestly house had formerly stood by the Ptolemies almost (as it now seemed) like one princely family beside another, and the Alexandrian Judeans were distinguished for their wealth and culture. Moreover, the jealousy and bitter hostility existing between the governments of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ might promote the design of a greater independence on the part of the Hellenists.

Onias himself was not one of the lawless undisciplined spirits of his time. He wished to maintain the whole law as it was then expounded. It could not therefore seriously occur to him to question the right of the temple at Jerusalem to precedence, or to deter the Hellenists who wished to offer their gifts and sacrifices there from doing so. Yet the sanctuary in Egypt was to be more than a synagogue,[4] so little did even the synagogues appear able to fill the place of a regular holy centre, and the practice which grew up of bringing gifts thither, particularly in times when the temple at Jerusalem was

monise well with the circumstances of the period. But in *Ant.* xii. 9, 7, Josephus relates that at the time of his father's death, Onias was not yet of age, and that he did not flee to Egypt till the rule of Alcimus. It is probable that, as his name shows, he was not the firstborn of his father; perhaps he was the grandson of Onias III., as Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 2, also calls him Simon's son. In this case it would be better to read 233 (Rufinus read 333), and the temple would have been founded in 160 B.C.

[1] P. 274.

[2] If we accept Josephus' account throughout the *Antiquities* as his own correction of his other statement.

[3] A similar expatriation of a strong party took place, 'a little more than three hundred years after the restoration of the second temple,' to Babylonia, if we may believe the narrative of Makrîzî (Sacy's *Chrestom. Ar.* i. pp. 100 sq.): but the whole narrative, in the form in which it there appears, is extremely uncertain and obscure.

[4] Pp. 242 sq.

desecrated and they could not be offered there, seemed perfectly appropriate. And, as in all such cases, there was no want of arguments from the sacred books in aid of a new enterprise of this nature, and some words at the end of the unique divine utterance in Is. xix.[1] supplied in abundance a very close support.[2] Onias, accordingly, applied with his request to Ptolemy Philomêtor and his consort Cleopatra. In the district of Heliopolis, a part of Egypt already consecrated by the memory of Moses,[3] near the city of Leontopolis, he had observed a spot where a sanctuary of the rural goddess Bubastis was languishing amid the thousand other Egyptian sanctuaries. This place he requested for himself, and it was reported that Philomêtor granted it with the joking remark that he wondered how Onias could think of making a sanctuary out of a spot which, though inhabited by sacred animals, was yet in the Judean sense polluted,[4] for the animals were among those reckoned unclean by the Judeans. In the sanctuary itself was placed an altar exactly resembling that at Jerusalem. Instead of the seven-lighted candlestick, which seems to have been regarded as too holy to be imitated, a single golden lamp was suspended in it by a golden chain. The sacred house was built somewhat in the form of a tower; the forecourt was enclosed with a wall of brick and gates of stone;[5] and the whole of the fortified little town, with the district which gathered round the temple, was probably called Oniôn.[6] It is clear, therefore, that the object in this case was not a mere imitation of the temple at Jerusalem. Involuntarily, however, a blow had been inflicted on the current doctrine of the necessity of but one temple; whether its effects were to be intensified or mitigated depended on the subsequent development of various circumstances.

The immediate purpose of this Egyptian temple disappeared, it is true, after the great Maccabean war and the elevation of the Asmoneans by general consent to the high-priesthood. The Ptolemies, however, naturally sought to protect it as far as

[1] Vol. iv. p. 189.

[2] According to the narrative in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, 2. The conclusion of Is. xix., I have always maintained, is perfectly genuine, both as a whole, and in its separate verses, members of the verses, and words, and all the doubts raised against it in modern times are quite groundless; nor is this in fact hard to prove.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 3.

[4] The correspondence between Onias and Philomêtor in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, 1 sq., may certainly, as in most other cases of the kind, be reproduced freely; but Josephus evidently read it in an older work, and its author certainly relied upon trustworthy ancient narratives.

[5] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 3.

[6] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 1, 1; *Ant.* xiv. 8, 1, and elsewhere. On the situation of Oniôn see further Champollion's *L'Égypte*, ii. p. 274, Wilkinson's *Egypt and Thebes*, pp. 297 sq., Lepsius' *Chronologie der Ägypter*, i. p. 358.

possible, if only to prevent the too abundant flow of the money of the Egyptian Judeans to Jerusalem. It continued, therefore, to be honourably regarded, and was very highly reverenced by some Hellenists, particularly by those who found in it a verbal fulfilment of Israel's prophecy.[1] Late in the Roman age, when it was much easier to restore the stricter unity of the hagiocracy, Philo, who places the temple in Jerusalem above everything else, says not one word against that in Leontopolis.[2] And it is certain that it contributed, together with other events, to strengthen afresh among the Hellenists also that stricter tendency of faith to which the whole age was now triumphantly inclining. The rising esteem in which the Judeans in Egypt and in the connected island of Cyprus came to be once more held after the foundation of this temple, is clear from many signs. In Egypt there then flourished the learned Aristobulus,[3] who was highly reverenced in Palestine also. According to a statement which seems sufficiently worthy of credence,[4] there was an Onias at the head of the troops who, after the death of Ptolemy Philomêtor in the year 145, resisted the advance of his brother Physcon from Cyrênê. The latter gained his end, it is true, by a compromise; but it continued to be a favourite story that the injustice of his cause had been made manifest by a divine token, for the elephants which he had prepared in Alexandria to trample on the captive Judeans had turned quite unexpectedly against their enemies, and killed a number of them. We may, however, reasonably suppose that this Onias was identical with the head of the Egyptian Judeans, whom we have already mentioned as the friend of Philomêtor. By his side, according to the same authority, another Judean named Dositheus served as military captain under Philomêtor. Two sons of Onias, moreover, Hilkiah and Ananias, were in such favour with Cleopatra, the mother of Ptolemy Lathûrus, and with subsequent princes, that they entrusted to them important military offices, and chiefly relied on their Judean troops.[5] And as in this period of decline

[1] Of this a clear indication is to be found in the fact that the Hellenists wished to find this sanctuary expressly foretold in Is. xix. 18, and hence, instead of the unintelligible name πόλις Ἀχερές, they adopted in preference the reading, which they cleverly changed in accordance with Is. i. 27, πόλις Ἀσεδέκ, i.e. the 'city of righteousness.' That this is the reading in the great majority of MSS. is shown by Holmes-Parsons.

[2] In the Gemara to *Avoda Zara* fol. 52*b* a great deal is said about what was to be done with priests or vessels which had served in the temple of Onias, or with the stones of the desecrated altar in Jerusalem (see p. 311), and they are all rejected; but these are only later scholastic views.

[3] P. 259.

[4] Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 5; the story about the elephants is also important, on account of 3 Macc.; see below.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 4, where he follows the fragment of the unknown work of

Judean-Egyptian troops had often to defend the eastern frontier of Egypt, where, moreover, their temple stood, it seemed as if the ancient days of Israel's sojourn in Egypt had almost come again.[1]

What ultimately became of the Egyptian high-priestly house of Onias we cannot now tell. It was probably extinct in the Roman age, as there is no mention of it at the time of the destruction of this temple under Vespasian. After the disappearance of the Ptolemaic power and the beginning of the universal sovereignty of Rome, the tendency was to draw the threads of Judeanism in every quarter tighter and tighter in Jerusalem. But in spite of this, many peculiar customs retained their place among the Egyptian Hellenists, even in religion itself. One means of establishing the utmost similarity in all its external forms was supplied particularly by the feasts. Stress was laid on the most general participation possible in the great ancient feasts held every year in Jerusalem; and it was especially desired that the new and voluntary festivals which were introduced there and kept with high honour should be solemnised in other places also.[2] There are, however, traces which show that for a long time the feast of Pûrîm was not celebrated in Egypt; so that at a later period there was need of a special exhortation and fresh preparations for it.[3] Many feasts, on the other hand, were established in Egypt, and particularly in the luxurious Alexandria, merely to give expression to local feelings and requirements. Among these, special mention may be made of one which was held on the island of Pharos, in commemoration of the glorious age under the early Ptolemies, when the Greek Bible arose, in which the memory turned fondly to that age generally as a contrast to the calamities of a later day.[4] Of quite a peculiar character was the so-called Basket-feast, described by Philo in a little work recently discovered, but only in an imperfect form.[5] At this feast the first-fruits were annually offered in spring and autumn, in accordance with the prescriptions in Deut. xxvi., but accompanied by special customs, so that even Philo found himself compelled to describe it. It was probably introduced after the

Strabo of Cappadocia; and xiii. 13, 1 sq., xiv. 6, 2; 8, 1.

[1] Vol. i. pp. 406 sq.

[2] This is clearly shown by the second book of Maccabees. See more below.

[3] See the subscription to the Greek book of Esther (already discussed, p. 233 *note* 1), according to which the persons there specified *imported* the book, i.e. into the Hellenistic community at Alexandria. A similar case has been mentioned on p. 312.

[4] Of this, after the assertion of Philo, *De Vit. Mos.* ii. 7, there can be no doubt. —A similar feast is presupposed by the narrative in 3 Macc. vii. 19 sq., on which see below.

[5] See Mai's edition (Milan, 1818), pp. 1–7. There is a better description of the Basket-feast in Tischendorf's *Philonea*, pp. 69–71. See also the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1868, pp. 1852 sqq.

establishment of the temple in Leontopolis, and may have corresponded in Egypt to the festival at the delivery of wood in Palestine.[1]

IV. The Elevation and Strength, and the Weakness and Disruption, of Judeanism.

The position and general life of the numerous Judeans scattered among the heathen still attract, however, little attention in comparison with the question whether the new spiritual elevation and the development of circumstances which had been making such powerful progress in the centre of the holy land for the past sixty or seventy years, would be able to remove the deeper evils of the time and permanently hold their ground. The utmost which it was possible to attain within the Greek age, and, so far as this was the highest point in the career of the new Jerusalem, within the whole of the third stage of the history of Israel, was now attained. The tearful labours of the founders of the new Jerusalem, the fiery zeal of Ezra and his friends, with their trust in the Scriptures, the deep sufferings, the inexhaustible toils, and the victorious struggles of the Maccabees, had, in the slow but sure progress of time, at length formed a nation which seemed to stand among the other nations of the earth in free independence and honoured power, and in which the most glorious features of its nobler past were about to reappear with the addition of new and permanent blessings of the higher life. For the ultimate and elevated goal, also, towards which the whole of Israel's long history through this age was continually approximating and aspiring with increasing power, much had been gained. Even at the beginning of this last great stage heathenism seemed to be for ever overcome; and yet, in the midst of its course, the nation was subjected to a grave temptation from an unexpected quarter to relapse into it. In Greece, heathenism had arrived at its most characteristic fulfilment, and now, instead of using rough force, it approached the ancient people of the true religion in the most seductive manner, with its perfected spiritual power. Accordingly, it was truly vanquished now in its most brilliant and alluring aspect, as the consummation of the beauty, art, and science of life. In spite of all the Greek arts, the eternal truths and powers of the ancient genuine religion were grasped with fresh and deep earnestness; nor was there ever again in the history

[1] P. 166.

of the new Jerusalem a period when men could waver between the two, or dream of the possibility of their outward combination. And if it was still necessary for the history of the development of the true religion to be linked pre-eminently with that of a single nation, because, in spite of long and persistent efforts, it was not yet consummated even in this one people, there was now exhibited for the admiration of the world the spectacle of a nation rising again with such genuine power that whatever further development its history might undergo, and whatever sacrifices it might demand, it felt itself strengthened anew to achieve on behalf of its religion even the most difficult and unexpected tasks, and even called afresh to them by God himself. At this point, then, we see the ultimate and highest flight to which Jahveism, conscious of victory, rises in its contest with heathenism of every kind. Under the heavy oppression of the age, the book of Daniel beholds the final judgment of the world threatening all heathenism sufficiently near at hand. The book of Enoch gives us a most profound glimpse into the inner disruption of the existing Judeanism, and exerts the whole irresistible weight of its celestial threats against the party of the indifferentists and free-minded;[1] but the inexhaustible stream of its utterances against heathenism as the imperial power of the day possesses incomparably more force and grandeur.[2] And when in the year 124 B.C. a new storm seemed impending from Egypt against the sovereignty of John, which, during its latter years had been marked internally by such prosperity and peace, we see the oldest and withal the most perfect and noblest of the Sibylline poets whose works have come down to us[3] rise up against heathenism with all the charm of artistic Greek utterance, but, at the same time, with all the earnestness and courage of the true religion.[4] And these writers, with their fresh inspiration, were not alone: the active conversion of the heathen by special missionaries, to be more fully described below, now begins to be more vigorously pursued.

Infinite, however, as was the importance of the revival of the imperishable ancient truths and powers of the people with all their force, before the eyes of the great world and in high honour, it was only the old elements which thus triumphantly reappeared; and the time was not yet come for the great new era towards which the whole age was aspiring. The grand decisive

[1] See in particular the book of Enoch, cc. xcii.–cv.

[2] Ibid. cc. xxxvii.–liv. 6; lv. 3—lxxi.

[3] P. 261.

[4] See this subject further treated in the *Abh. über die Sibyllenbücher*, pp. 10–41.

end of all things which the book of Daniel had announced to this age, in the midst of its most strenuous efforts to reach its purest height, as quite near, was still postponed in its complete fulfilment. Even the glowing hopes for the speedy coming of the Messiah as the judge of the world and the founder of his own kingdom, which flow in an unbroken stream from the book of Enoch, in spite of repeated attempts actually to determine the date of the advent by divine indications, met with as little immediate realisation as the expectations mysteriously hidden under the Greek veil of the obscure Sibylline utterances. Much was indeed speedily enough fulfilled to this effect, and a divine judgment of sufficient severity to make even the unbelievers tremble for a time was executed upon Antiochus Epiphanes, on the apostates, and on so many other ungodly elements of the age. But heathenism, on the whole, remained the same, and there was no sign even in Israel itself of any movement for removing the deeper imperfections which had clung to it from ancient times, and had not diminished in the vehement struggles of its latest days. Between heathenism and Jahveism, and, within the compass of the latter itself, between adherence to the law and neglect of it, there still existed hostility and mutual desire of destruction, which were with difficulty restrained and quieted at times by outward force; and the means by which a higher accord and reconciliation could be brought about continued a subject only of longing and of hope. There was the more reason for this attitude on the part of the better minds of the day, as the age found its greatest strength and most brilliant triumph in nothing higher than the restoration and defence of the past.

From this cause an ineradicable feeling that everything which now existed or which might be newly founded would be only provisional, and that something higher was to be soon expected, penetrated even the most elevated and serene moments of this period. When the people conferred on their own Simon perpetual sovereignty,[1] they did so under the express limitation 'until a faithful prophet should arise' who should instruct the community more clearly and surely how the supreme dignity of the state was to be discharged and to whom it was due.[2] Thus in the slow course of these centuries the Messianic hope penetrates once more without resistance through all their feelings, not merely in periods of

[1] P. 336.
[2] 1 Macc. xiv. 41; cf. iv. 46, ix. 27; and *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 231.

deep distress and longing, but in those also of the highest exaltation and joy: without this outlook and expectation there is no longer any pure satisfaction or tranquillity.—And consequently, that which seemed for the time being about to establish itself on such a firm and enduring basis, in reality carried within it the germ of a speedy dissolution which there was no possibility of averting. Neither the mere restoration of the past and the violent expulsion of everything opposed to it, nor the mere expectation of some better and perfected state to come, can create anything permanent. At the supreme point of the third stage of this history this is shown in the strongest and most instructive manner. The whole age evidently desired at this epoch of its development to apply itself to a higher peace, so as to enjoy the fruits of its great victory, and allow the fulness of its prosperity to unfold itself in content. The violent fermentation and disturbances in the inner life of the people had for a hundred years concentrated themselves within narrower and narrower limits around the forcible opposition of two powerful houses, and had become much clearer through this decided separation. Around the house of the sons of Tobias,[1] too closely allied with the earlier high-priestly house, had gathered the heathen party in growing numbers and eagerness for contest; around the Asmonean the faithful collected with increasing determination. The former house, however, with its partisans, was now entirely defeated and annihilated. The Asmonean by its triumph had covered itself with glory, and John, with all his valour and his passion for war, had no less feeling for the arts of peace; he promoted commerce and industry; he protected and carefully fostered the security of the kingdom,[2] and displayed in all departments a mild disposition.[3] While, however, the age of David and Solomon seemed now about to return, the basis upon which the times reposed soon revealed its utter weakness, honeycombed as it was through and through; and scarcely does the hagiocracy appear to be established in greater steadfastness than ever, when its deepest pillars totter, and in its fall it first drags down the Asmonean house, and then, soon after, the whole people too. The obscure commencement of this ultimate ruin, towards which everything advanced without arrest through all the grave events that intervened, is to be found unmistakably in the reign, outwardly so brilliant, of John Hyrcanus.

[1] Pp. 271 sq., 291 sq.

[2] See below [p. 364].

[3] At a later period innovations in legislation were ascribed to him which no less attested the mildness of his disposition, Mish. מעשר שני, v. 15, סוטה, ix. 10.

Independent as the nation might seem to be abroad, it was indebted for this freedom in a greater degree than it at present suspected to the Romans, whose alliance it had been among the earliest efforts of Judas, the first Asmonean, to secure, and whose friendship his successors had so far invariably regarded as the foundation-stone of the whole structure of their power. Only too soon, however, was the enchantment to disappear in which the fascination of the Roman name had lulled the Judeans, along with so many other remote nations, and which we may still recognise in all its significance, with such unsurpassed simplicity and truth, in the author of the first book of Maccabees. This affords us ample proof of the infinite distance at which, so far as the national energy is concerned, the times of Joshua and David stood above the present, in spite of the strange momentary flights which the nationality still exhibits. As to the national wisdom, it is equally clear how destitute the 'prophetless age' was of the penetrating insight and power of true prophets, for an Isaiah would never have consented to such alliances.

We must, it is true, bear in mind that in seeking the friendship of Rome the Asmoneans were only yielding to an attraction which at that time seized upon all Judeans within and without the holy land with an almost irresistible force. It is the destiny which circumstances force upon those nations who have lost their independence or feel themselves too weak to regain it in its widest scope, that they seek with blind and eager haste to clutch the advantages which a new worldly position, even though it come from strangers, appears to offer. In spite of all the glorious struggles of the Asmoneans, the new Israel, it now becomes perfectly clear, could never become a truly powerful nation. Numbers of the wealthiest, or at any rate the most industrious, Judeans, scattered through all countries accessible to the Romans, wished before all things to prosecute their commerce and industries with the utmost possible security and ease. As those who were dispersed among the heathen annually sent the richest benefactions to the temple in their native land, they looked for protection and assistance from the power which ruled there. Moreover, now that the sea-coast had been conquered, the Judeans in Palestine itself threw themselves with increasing energy into general trade. In their usages and customs all Judeans were resolved to obey only their own law, and they thus claimed many advantages over the heathen. Bound by a new maxim of their teachers, they now refused with more and more decision to serve in

heathen armies,[1] and yet they demanded the privileges of the best citizens, viz. public protection for their gains, and a special court of justice for their co-religionists. Two hundred years before they had eagerly attached themselves to the new Greek power, and sought to extract its advantages; and now the Roman friendship seemed to them of much greater importance for the prosecution of their endeavours among the heathen with greater honour and security, and they seized every opportunity for improving their secular position in this direction. About the year 120 B.C., Antiochus Grypus, son of Antiochus of Sidê, when he had with difficulty obtained a small force, resolved to set up again the old Seleucidic claims, and in particular to threaten Joppa with a garrison, or at least to claim the right of ingress or egress for his ships free of toll. Upon this John despatched an embassy on behalf of the Judeans, which the Romans received.[2] The next step, however, which John hastened to take was to communicate the favourable decree of Rome to Greek cities, such as Pergamus, and by this means to seek afresh their favourable disposition towards the Judeans. Documents of about the same period have been preserved from among the Halicarnassians, the Sardians, and the Ephesians, in which the inhabitants of these cities concede certain demands to the Judeans in their midst in special consideration of their being allies and friends of the Romans.[3] It was the same zeal which some time later induced so many Hellenists, particularly those residing in Asia Minor, to acquire the Roman citizenship, even though at a heavy price,[4] as this gained for them certain eminent advantages and securities. The blame, therefore, does not lie upon the Asmonean princes exclusively. But we see all the more clearly the irreconcilable contradictions in which

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3, 5; cf. xi. 8, 5. See also below.

[2] All this can only be inferred from the document, which will be discussed immediately at greater length, contained in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 22.

[3] Here belong the four documents which Josephus inserts in a very different connection, *Ant.* xiv. 10, 22–25. In this passage he groups together a number of documents about the Roman-Judean alliance, extracted from a still larger collection in his possession, but he has so little historical capacity for judging them correctly that he regards the Hyrcanus mentioned in § 22 as Hyrcanus II. The four last documents, on the contrary, seem to me intelligible only when treated as belonging to the time of Hyrcanus I., for which they are of great importance, and their genuineness is only established all the more securely by the mistakes of Josephus about them.

[4] Thus in the time of Hyrcanus II. the Judeans in many of the cities of Asia Minor and Greece are designated as 'Roman citizens,' Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 13, 14, 16–19; cf. also Philo, vol. ii. pp. 569, 587; Acts xxii. 28. So soon, on the other hand, as any city in ancient Canaan could be brought under Judean supremacy, their heathen inhabitants, as many as could still reside there, were only regarded, in accordance with the right of antiquity (*Alterth.* p. 273), as mere *Metœci*, as in Jamnia and Ascalon at the time of the Herods; see Philo, vol. ii. pp. 575 sq., 594. This relation is very clearly described by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 4, in the case of Machærûs, originally a Moabite-Idumean city.

Israel was now to be engaged. On the one hand it was making the most violent efforts to emerge from its own nationality, and, instead of the Greek, now regarded the Roman as decidedly better; on the other, however, it was resolved to adhere to it, and to aim at getting no advantages from foreigners save such as would promote its material warfare. In religion it desired to be better than all heathens and therefore better even than the Romans, but among the heathen it wanted to pass as their best friend. Is it possible for such internal contradictions to come to any other than a melancholy end?

1. *The Pharisees and Essees.*

1) Within the nation the piety which had sprung out of the knowledge and blessings, as well as out of the efforts and limitations of the preceding period,[1] had been sufficiently genuine and powerful sixty years before to direct the hearts of men once more to the eternal power, and produce champions who preferred immediate death to everlasting ruin and shame. But as it only sought for holiness in the scripture, where it is not to be found pure and clear enough, its outward triumph was no sooner achieved than it began to be full of danger. In a period of calamity affecting the whole nation it was comparatively unimportant whether its elevated truths were derived from the scripture or not. They were efficacious because they were needed, and their influence was indeed strengthened by the sacredness of the source from which they were drawn. But piety had no sooner gained the upper hand in the nation[2] than it began to confound with the instruments of its triumph the source from which it had obtained them; it placed the holy scriptures still higher and paid them a more scrupulous veneration than ever before. One powerful cause of the adoption of this devious course and this misuse of its success was involved in its own existence; but this led its individual adherents to separate themselves into two wholly new parties, so that, even on its good side, it could no longer remain as it had been. A very large number

[1] Pp. 281 sq.

[2] Josephus is quite correct in not saying anything about his 'three sects of the Judeans' till after Jonathan's great victory, *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; although his discussion of the subject is devoid of any deep knowledge, and consequently appears quite abrupt and arbitrary; cf. besides, Jos. *Vit.* cap. 2, and see above, p. 276 *note* 1. The remarks on the three 'Hæreses' in Hippolytus's *Philosophumena*, ix. 18–20, are of no importance; they are derived almost exclusively from Josephus, but confuse many details. The views of Jewish writers of the present day, Geiger and Grätz (and also Jost), on the origin and value of the Pharisees and Sadducees are wholly unhistorical and baseless, because they are themselves nothing but Pharisees, and do not intend to be anything else; cf. *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. pp. 290 sqq.; ix. pp. 103 sqq., 238, 240. On the ἐφορᾶν mentioned p. 278 *note* 1, cf. Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 19.

of the so-called pious, mostly, no doubt, the younger, formed from this time a party of their own, which soon came to be distinguished by the name of the Pharisees, whose careers and enterprises are much more prominent in the history of this period down to the destruction of Jerusalem than their philosophical maxims or their deep and novel views. From the very first their impulse led them far less to quiet knowledge, laborious exploration, or severe toil, than to action and rule among the people. In this they were certainly in their origin true children of their age. After every great victory achieved in the career of a nation there are some active minds whose only object is to grasp its advantages as vividly as possible, and, by whatever means, retain them for themselves. The Pharisees were now in this position. Their principal desire was to retain a firm hold of the triumph which had just been won, and keep all its fruits for themselves. They well understood that even in the nation at large nothing but piety could accomplish such great deeds, keep the community together, and make it strong, but under the impulse of ambition, and devoted more or less consciously to their own interests, they made piety into a sort of art and trade, in order permanently to secure their own power.

This effort was promoted by the hagiocracy, now long established and full of vigorous aspiration, though some of the impulses and powers which it brought to aid it were rather hidden than clearly developed. In concealing what was vitally and originally holy, and giving it no scope for influence on its own account, the hagiocracy tends to encourage and defend hypocrisy, and for hiding piety conveniently behind certain pious words and signs and usages a sacred book of law readily affords plenty of pretexts and support. Such pretexts the Pharisees sought for, that they might be pious and pass as pious among the people, without the trouble of continually making fresh efforts. They found them without difficulty, partly in the sacred book of law, which they examined and expounded in their own sense, partly in the impulses and tendencies whose force had been increasing through the whole of the third stage of Israel's history. Prayer became, as we have seen,[1] the profoundest power of the age. When it had become so, its degeneracy was near in many ways;[2] but the Pharisees did not hesitate to display it intentionally before the people. In the practice of beneficence and the readiest and most liberal

[1] Pp. 23 sq.
[2] Cf. Ecclus. vii. 14; Judith ix. 1; Philo, vol. ii. p. 546.

bestowal of gifts, Israel had already had in this age (like the Buddhists at about the same period in India) an ample training. No other religion taught so thoroughly as that of Israel the duty of doing what was acceptable to God in this respect;[1] but the Pharisees made a regular spectacle out of their good works. In particular, from the letter of the law they hunted out certain outward marks of a genuine devotee bound to the observance of the whole sacred law, and laid on them the greatest stress; the sacred tassel on the dress,[2] although the use of this had probably been long discontinued, the fastening of little rolls inscribed with words from the sacred law on the arm or the forehead and neck,[3]—the latter practice being derived simply from a too rigid explanation of some passages in the law. To this must be added their extreme strictness in keeping the other sacred usages, whether prescribed or voluntary, in the payment of tithes of various kinds,[4] in purifications of every description,[5] in fasts and so forth.

There was another respect, also, in which the Pharisees proved themselves children of their age. Like the pious of previous days,[6] they sprang from a special league and fellowship,[7] and could only conceive of themselves and direct their activities on this footing. Whoever submitted himself boldly and openly in society to the outward marks of a pious man in their sense of the term passed, it is true, as their friend; but those who belonged to the narrower school further distinguished themselves by the performance of certain special duties, without being required at the same time to belong to the learned men or expounders of the law (Scribes). In or-

[1] Besides the numerous passages in the Old Testament, cf. among the latest works Ecclus. xxix. 9–13, xl. 17.

[2] See the *Alterth.* p. 265.

[3] The טוֹטָפוֹת, which a little later came to be reverenced as charms, through the new superstition promoted by the Pharisees, and were hence called *φυλακτήρια*, Matt. xxiii. 5. The Samaritans, on the other hand, consistently reject this Pharisaic explanation and custom; see De Sacy's *Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse* (Paris, 1829, and also in the *Notices et Extr.* vol. xii.), p. 109; and that the opponents of the Pharisees repudiated them, at any rate in principle, even in Jerusalem itself, follows from the words of the Mish. *Sanhedrîn*, xi. 3. In fact, however, the compulsory use of all such signs was rendered possible only by a crude misunderstanding, not merely of Ex. xiii. 9, 16, but also of Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18.—The trivial prescriptions of the schools about the *Tephillîn*, as well as the מזוזה (*doorposts*) and ציצית (*tassels*), are now published in full, according to the Jerusalem Talmud, in three of the שבע מסכתות, Frankf. 1851.

[4] See the *Alterth.* p. 346 *note*, and further particulars in the Mish. *Demâi.*

[5] See my work on *Die Drei Ersten Evv.* p. 264. See also טהרות vii. 4 sqq., viii. 5, from which come the احبار, *Sur.* ix. 11. The whole description of the Pharisees here given, particularly in their growing degeneration towards the time of Christ, receives the most complete confirmation from the *Ascensio Mosis* (especially cap. vii.), every touch of which disproves what certain writers of the present day have so zealously striven to establish.

[6] P. 307.

[7] As חֲבֵרִים, Mish. *Demâi*, ii. 3 sqq.

dinary times they did not number more than a few thousand, even when they had become highly organised and powerful.[1] It was only with this view that they founded a new school, attracted youth, and sought by their new philosophy of life to make themselves respected and beloved by old and young, by powerful and poor. In respect of the substance of their teachings, they proceeded wholly in accord with the great line of development which strict Judeanism had followed ever since the days of Ezra. They placed the law above everything else, without on that account rejecting the other records, traditions, and usages of religion, inherited from the past; they approved of the traditional interpretation of scripture without commending the extravagance of allegory which was striving to prevail,[2] and in other respects delighted to attach themselves somewhat closely in every way to national and established practices, as well as to good moral principles, such as reverence for age. Of Greek philosophy and foreign literature they did not seek much knowledge, nor did their origin permit this, though they were too prudent to repudiate it altogether in this age.[3] But they well understood that their power over the people depended particularly on the knowledge and application of the holy scripture, and some of their ablest teachers accordingly occupied themselves in establishing a special science of the law, with the further view also of being able to dispute with the Sadducees on all important subjects. Moreover, as they desired to secure permanently the fruits of a great popular victory, and wished above all that the triumph of piety might lift them to power, they involuntarily receded more and more from its original rigidity and ruggedness, and, by the consequences of their position and aim, they came to abate or deny the claims which they had originally been obliged especially to confirm and maintain. In questions of more abstruse science they sought to take a middle course between the diametrically opposite views of the Sadducees and the Chasidees;[4]—and asserted that some events but not all were determined by fate (the philosophical equivalent for God), others by chance, while

[1] In the later days of Herod there were six thousand, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2, 4. Josephus, it is true, nowhere states that the Pharisees distinguished themselves by signs of this description: but it may be inferred with certainty from every other indication, and is even observed by Makrîzî in De Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* i. p. 114, on the authority of an older work.

[2] Pp. 257 sqq.

[3] According to Epiphanius, *Hær.* xvi. 2, they even devoted themselves a good deal to heathen astrology; but in this, as in so many other cases, they acted out of regard for the philosophy of the day. In other respects Epiphanius, *Hær.* xv., attributes to the Scribes in general what belonged properly to the Pharisees: in this he only follows the later fashion of setting up exactly seven Jewish sects.

[4] Pp. 278 sq., 282, 371 sqq.

they assigned much scope also for the play of the human will.[1] Towards the people, however, they fell more and more into that hypocrisy which is invariably produced when men attempt to rule by the show of piety,[2] and, closely allied among themselves, they even dared to defy the authorities when it seemed to their interest to do so. Flattering the people in order to govern them, they were ready from a similar cause to devote their services to individuals in power, in particular to eminent women, where they thought they discerned their own advantage;[3] living in poverty before the world, there were many, however, who by no means scorned its treasures and enjoyments. In them, therefore, the various impulses to false religion which were involved in the general tendency of the preceding centuries[4] at length developed themselves with the utmost force, and assumed the clearest prominence; and they, who would be the most pious, and appear as teachers of righteousness of every kind, not excepting the highest, must needs surround the true religion with the greatest darkness and the closest restrictions, like the Jesuits of modern days. No school brought to light the deeper defects of the hagiocracy of Israel so clearly as that of the Pharisees.

A school of this kind, in emerging out of the former pietists, could not long retain the name of the *Chasîdîm*, when it assumed so very different a form. The name of the Chasidees, in fact, disappears from this time from the main current of the history, and with the transformation of the school appears the new name of the *Pharisees*, equivalent perhaps to *separatists* or *specialists*, persons who wished to be distinguished above others for their piety, and to be regarded as of more importance or greater holiness.[5]

[1] In *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9, Josephus plainly endeavours to correct his statements in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14, although in a subsequent passage, *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3, he does not express himself with any great clearness. In any case it is clear that between the two already existing views the Pharisees wished to adopt a medium position, which seemed to involve the greatest advantages and the least risk.

[2] Josephus, himself a Pharisee, does not, it is true, bring this point forward: it must, however, be supplied from the New Testament.

[3] See the story in Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2, 4, where Josephus is compelled almost against his will to use very free language about them.

[4] Pp. 192 sqq.

[5] The name 'Sadducees' is certainly derived, as we have already observed, p. 275, from a leader of the school; but it by no means follows from this that the names of the Chasidees and Pharisees, formed in Greek in a similar manner, had a similar derivation; in fact, it would be difficult to find פרוש anywhere as a personal name. As the destruction of Jerusalem completely put an end to the Pharisees in their original and essential character, that, viz., of a political party, it is not surprising that in this aspect no mention at all is made of them in the Talmudic writings. Only, so far as they entertained opinions at variance with those of the Sadducees and Boëthusians, there is considerable and continuous reference to them under the designation

2) Those, however, who strove after piety, yet would not join the Pharisees, were now either lost in the nation at large, or found themselves driven by the sharpness of the contrast to these tyrannical hypocrites far beyond what had hitherto been called piety. Regarding society as worldly and incurably corrupt, they abandoned it altogether, and formed among themselves smaller associations on a new basis. These constituted the body which Josephus designates that of the *Essenes*,[1] and always represents as one of the three Jewish schools; but, according to the primitive meaning of their name, they were more correctly called *Essees*.[2] In the Aramaic country dialect, which had hitherto been the language of common life,[3] and only now began to give place in literature to the new-Hebrew, which was by this time fully developed and was afterwards firmly established, this name was itself equivalent to *Pious*,[4]

—rather new-Hebrew than Aramaic— פְּרוּשִׁים; the title פָּרִישׁ is found in Rabbinical language with much the same meaning as the old Hebrew נָזִיר, *Alterth.* p. 97, and as a scholastic designation, in spite of all the differences between the two cases, has originally a similar meaning, and is accordingly explained quite correctly in Clem. *Hom.* xi. 28 by the term *ἀφωρισμένοι*. The term in immediate contrast to the Pharisees is always עַם הָאָרֶץ, 'the common people,' Mish. *Demâi*, i. 2, ii. 2, &c. Among Arabic writers the opinion survived that the name was equivalent to العزل, Abulfatch's Samaritan Chronicle in the *Neues Repert.* i. pp. 142 sqq., Makrîzî in De Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* i. pp. 105, 114. This explanation is quite appropriate, though the word has apparently been selected not without reference to the party in Islâm bearing the same name; it is also found moreover in Macc. Arab. [5 Macc.] xxv. On their opinions I shall have more to say in vol. v. [Germ.].

[1] The first Essene occurring in history makes his appearance at the time with which we are now concerned, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

[2] The spelling *Esseni* is found also in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 15; on the other hand we have the *Essæi* in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, 4, and elsewhere, according to many MSS. The original meaning and form of the name may appear doubtful, as it was already obscure to somewhat later writers. We can hardly suppose it to be derived from a town called *Essa*, on the east side of the Jordan (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, 3, if the reading is correct), or from the Wady Haziz (vol. iv. p. 55 *note* 2), the locality of which would be more suitable. With this also Abulfatch accords, *Ann.* p. 102, 11. Philo connects the name with *ὅσιος* (ii. p. 457, cf. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 11), a play of the same kind as Epiphanius's designation of them as *Jessees* (*Hær.* xxix. 50), in allusion to David's father. That they were properly called the *stout*, *στιβαρὸν γένος*, from חָסִין or ⟨illegible⟩, as stout handicraftsmen, is probably nothing but a later joke, which occurs in Epiphanius, and has found its way from the Fathers into Makrîzî (in De Sacy's *Chrest. Ar.* i. p. 114). If, further, the Therapeutæ are, as is shown below, originally the same, only under a Hellenist name, we might refer to the Rabbinical תַּנָּא (properly *keeper, guard*), and suppose that the Essenes called themselves so as *watchers, servants* (of God), since they did not in fact profess to be anything more than *θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ*, as Philo says, ii. p. 457. This name, however, in the form Ἀσσάνται, is usually employed only for the well-known officers of the synagogue, Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 11. That they were originally regarded as אָסְיָא, physicians, and that their name had this signification, is intrinsically preposterous and has not the support of any ancient writer (before Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 17, 3, who only describes them, however, as physicians of souls, and does not even quote the name Essees in this connection at all).

[3] Pp. 180 sqq.

[4] From the word ⟨illegible⟩ common in Syrian but not in Chaldee or Rabbinical Hebrew; cf. my essay *Ueber die Sibyllenbücher*, p. 46. This word is closely

and continued to be employed of their own free choice by this new order of devotees, while the new literary language adopted in place of it the word *Chasídîm*, which entirely corresponded to it in meaning, but was good Hebrew.[1] Many Essees were, in fact, only known to the majority of the people as benevolent wardens of the poor and physicians of the sick, who, from their knowledge of the means and method of cure, specially devoted their lives to the aid of suffering humanity.[2] From earlier times there had not been wanting men who, under the permission and guidance of the law, had quitted society to lead a separate life of holiness. In the first period of the history, however, there were none but Nazirites, of whom each lived separately; in the second, the Rechabites commenced to unite in larger associations;[3] now, however, with the numerous Essees, the conscience of the nation, as it were, withdrew into the wilderness. Coming forth as they did from the Chasidees, it cannot be denied that they present the most direct development and logical issue of Judaism in the best way still practicable after the days of Ezra, while sovereign power was beyond its reach, and before the perfection of the true religion was attained. Since the commencement of the great Syrian persecution, the custom of retiring into the wilderness had become very common, and the first great Asmonean had himself set the example of it;[4] and to this extent the Essees were entirely the product of the age. Their special characteristic, however, lay in the emphasis with which they demanded from themselves that strictness in keeping the law which had been demanded first by Ezra, and after him with still greater vigour by the Chasidees; nor did they shrink in their own persons from whatever labour might be required for carrying it out in every department of life. In their views about God and man, they constitute, like their predecessors the Chasidees, the precise contrast to the Sadducees. On these points it would be fruitless to seek amongst them for any purely original ideas,[5]

connected in its root with the Hebrew חָסִיד and חֶסֶד, so far as it properly means affectionate *attachment*. The *n* in Ἐσσηνοί has found its way in somewhat after the Roman formation, as in *Nazarenus* (cf. Simon ὁ Γιττηνός in Hippolytus); cf. vol. ii. p. 230 *note* 1.

[1] Thus Ben-Gorion, iv. 6, 7 (pp. 274, 278), and elsewhere, always calls them חסידים, and the الحسدنيم in *Macc. Arab.* [5 Macc.] cap. 25, has certainly arisen out of this simply by a clerical error; this is decisive, although this late work often replaces unknown names with known ones, and helps itself out with mere conjectures. The change of פריש into פרוש is of exactly the same character, p. 369 *note* 5.

[2] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 6.

[3] See the *Alterth.* pp. 97 sqq.

[4] P. 309.

[5] Yet, according to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 6 sq., they were bound to *preserve* their ancient sacred books, especially those on the health of the soul and the body, and

although at the time of their origin and primitive influence they had their own characteristic writers, whose works naturally acquired at a later day a higher and even a sacred authority among them.[1] The novelty in their constitution and aim simply consists in the most assiduous and strict application of the requirements of the law, as it had been understood and expounded since the days of Ezra. But this they found to be impossible in society at large, especially in the way in which it was then under the direction of the Pharisees. They therefore preferred assembling themselves in communities in the wilderness; and the extraordinary tension and bold activity of mind which had been kindled by the Maccabean age aided them to overcome all the difficulties of their task. They retired chiefly into the desolate solitudes on the north-west side of the Dead Sea;[2] Josephus estimated their number in his own day at more than four thousand.[3] They were also gradually to be found scattered through the towns; individual members and travellers were recognised by certain signs, and as far as possible their intercourse was limited to their own society. They concerned themselves less and less about literary fame, so that we should possess little certain knowledge of them but for the fact that they flourished in that later period the details of which have been transmitted to us with so much more completeness.[4] Even to the better heathens the strictness with which they grasped the moral principle of life and made it an inviolable law for themselves, seemed worthy of no little admiration; nor was there any class of Judeans which won such general respect among the heathen in later times as the Essees.[5]

those on 'the names of the angels' (that is, their significance and powers). They certainly had therefore specially sacred books of their own.

[1] In my essay, *Ueber das Buch Henôkh*, pp. 47, 56, I have shown that only its latest portions breathe an Essaic spirit, but the whole book might easily become sacred to them. On the *Wisdom of Solomon*, see below.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 15.

[3] *Ant.* xviii. 1, 5; Philo gives the same number, ii. p. 457.

[4] Next to Josephus, Philo describes them with the greatest detail (cursorily in his work *Quod liber sit quisquis virtuti studet*, vol. ii. pp. 457–459, and in a fragment of his defence of the Judeans, quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* viii. 10 sq.). Philo, although a very oratorical narrator, agrees in all the main points with Josephus. Many of Josephus's statements are subsequently repeated by Porphyry, *De Abstinent.* iv. 11–14; but it is incorrect to suppose that Eusebius, who reproduces Porphyry's words (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 3) as though he were the original source, referred to the Essees the description of the bloody sacrifices of the Judeans, which he had himself previously quoted (ii. 26) from the same work of Porphyry. Finally, Epiphanius calls them Ossenes or Ossees, *Hær.* xix. 30, 1, 3; 53, 1, but also Jessees, xxix. 1, 5. He knew of no heresy among them, however, and therefore only dilates on their later issue, saying nothing about the Essees themselves. The Essenes, who, according to Epiphanius, *Hær.* x. 12, belonged to the Samaritans, are quite different. In the celebration of the feasts they wished to make themselves out, however, to be the genuine Samaritans, so that the name probably had originally the same signification in their case also.

[5] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 15; Solinus,

Each member was to dedicate his whole life solely to the service of God, of the law, and of the lawgiver Moses (to whom, as to his work, almost divine honours now came to be paid for the first time). In a strict sense, therefore, he was not to retain or enjoy anything for himself personally. All passions, desires, and sensual enjoyments, were to be shunned; even marriage defiled—only a few approved of it, but they sought at the same time to preserve it at the utmost height of purity.[1] The ancient Nazirites had forbidden wine and all its connected delights; the Essees avoided the use even of meat and oil. The possession of property was only allowed so far as it was indispensable to the maintenance of life, and it was to be common to all; and in the same way all shared the same labours and the same meals, and wore, as far as possible, the same style of dress. Regular work, and united holy song, zealous edification from the holy scriptures, and the strictest observance of the sabbath,[2] constituted their regular occupations. Like priests, they were to be robed in white;[3] and that they might readily recognise each other, they wore a peculiar kind of girdle. The proper food was first to be consecrated by the prayer of an elder acting as priest, and no other was to be tasted. Although the Essee, according to these prescriptions, was to resemble a priest in purity and sanctity, yet, as the holy scripture enjoined, gifts were regularly offered for the temple, but no sacrifices involving the shedding of blood were performed, as the use of flesh was altogether forbidden,[4] and constant personal purification and consecration, accompanied with frequent washing, was regarded as sufficient. Strict obedience was exacted towards the superintendents, whom they elected themselves, and all slavery was expressly excluded. Thus all the members were closely bound together, but the individual was left free to act wherever there were poor to be helped, sick to be healed, or sympathy to be shown in any way. Hence it was by no means rare for one or another to appear in the midst of the people, and, now that the old prophets were no more, they were often regarded as grave censurers of the

Polyhist. cap. 44; Philo, ii. p. 459; and the citation in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 11, ad fin. Even the Samaritans wished to be good friends of their Chasidee neighbours; see Abulfatch in the *Neues Repertorium für Bibl. u. Morgenl. Literatur*, Jena, 1790, i. pp. 142 sqq.

[1] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 13.

[2] Ibid. ii. 8, 9. The detailed description in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, which has evidently been a labour of love, is merely supplemented by a few additional traits in *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; xviii. 1, 5. It is particularly worthy of note how rigidly they avoided all business such as that of a merchant or broker, in direct contrast to the tendency which had now become dominant among Judeans, Philo, ii. p. 457.

[3] According to the *Alterth.* p. 318.

[4] According to Porphyry.

vanities of the world, or as skilled in the arts of magic and prediction.[1] As was to be expected from their ardour, and from the strictness with which their life was fixed on everything divine, they conceived of the connection between God and man and the mutual co-operation of the two in an extremely vivid form. That free outlook, which had now long been thrown open,[2] into all the spaces and stages of the kingdom of the supernatural, and into all the ranks and orders of the angels, they followed up with ardour, and probably held some secret doctrines about them;[3] but details on this subject are now beyond our reach. The habit of letting the thoughts brood and wander among purely celestial regions became, it is true, a more and more general characteristic of the pious of this later period, since, on the one hand, the lofty images of the writings of the ancient men of God hovered before the mind with more and more importance and unique power, while, on the other, the public life of the nation was growing more and more overcast and weak, and only the Sadducees, with their ultra-cool temperament, held aloof from it altogether; but it was the Essees who pursued it the furthest. They read no books except those which were sacred, but in their perusal they felt themselves all the more strongly impelled by their glowing thoughts, so rigidly fixed upon holiness alone, to a process of spiritual allegory; and in this predilection also they went much further than any others.[4]

Many of the external features of their community, their division into three successive stages with a sharp line of distinction between them, their admission and strict examination of disciples under a vow of silence, their solemn oath on their reception into the last stage, accompanied by the demand that they should henceforth abstain from oaths of every kind, might seem to have been imitated from the Pythagorean societies.[5]

[1] Such as the Judas mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2; Manahem, *ibid.* xv. 10, 4 sq.; Simon, *ibid.* xvii. 13, 3.

[2] P. 183 sq.

[3] According to the notice in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 7, of the duty of disciples religiously to keep the names of the angels.

[4] Philo, ii. p. 458; cf. a similar tendency among the Therapeutæ, pp. 475, 483. Hence Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* viii. 10, divides all Judeans into ordinary Judeans who do not employ allegory, and subtler, i.e. allegorists; and the majority of the Pharisees did not at any rate carry allegory so far as the Essees.

[5] Josephus himself suggests this comparison, *Ant.* xv. 10, 4; although in other respects his comparisons of the Judean sects with the Greek philosophical schools are far from appropriate. In general, however, it may be said that all these modes of life existed in Asia and in Egypt from a much earlier date; and at this time a disposition to such forms of new culture by retirement and association in solitude had long been spreading through the whole ancient world, from Buddhist India to Cyrene; on Asoka's efforts in India, cf. the *Journ. of the As. Soc.* xx. 1, pp. 102 sq. (London, 1862). In spite of this, however, the Essean movement was developed with a character entirely its own, as was in fact inevitable,

But these details were accidental and unimportant compared with the essential object of their endeavours. At all events, the Essees were the noblest and most memorable development which the ancient religion ever produced without attempting to pass beyond itself; and they maintained their position, with their honoured characteristics, until the destruction of Jerusalem.[1] Every great movement creates an entirely new order of men, who seize more firmly, and pursue with more consistency, the truly great and eternal elements which lie hid within it. In this way, out of the Maccabees there had now arisen in the Essees a new society, which clung most loyally to the noblest aim of the earlier movement, but was at the same time destined in its development to reveal the twofold truth, first, that there was no longer sufficient scope within the existing limits of the community for this supreme object, and, secondly, that the only possible way in which the movement founded by Ezra could be carried out to its legitimate issue in combination with the prophetic truths of the Old Testament must at the same time inevitably bring most clearly to light all its obscure, exaggerated, and untenable characteristics. For, in general, such separations as those first carried into effect on a great scale by the Essees, and subsequently by the monastic system, are only violent means by which the more earnest mind seeks to save itself when it finds no place any longer in society at large. Hence, even though they be animated by the best intentions, they cannot be in any way permanent or productive of absolute good; they in fact become injurious, because they withdraw from society its best energies without any corresponding compensation. Individually, the Essean movement, in its attempt for the first time to carry out consistently the prophetic truths of the Old Testament, passed as decidedly beyond it, as on the side of Ezra it sank deeply below it, and made itself the slave of the letter.

About the time, however, when the Essees were organising themselves in Palestine, the Hellenistic Judeans, and particularly those resident in Egypt, were also in possession of a very characteristic culture. It is not surprising, therefore, that the system of the Essees found plenty of imitators in Egypt, but at the same time also underwent some modifications. Designated at once by the Greek name *Therapeutæ*, they are only known to us through the highly enthusiastic description of

considering the history of Israel. Even the avoidance of marriage, which might seem the most surprising, was no longer so rare in these later days; the first Maccabee himself (p. 309) remained unmarried till towards the close of his life, 2 Macc. xiv. 25.

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 10.

Philo;[1] but it rests unmistakably upon a historical basis. In this they are represented as simply a more elaborate kind of Essees, the differences between them being such as distinguished the richer and more refined life of Egypt from the simpler life of Palestine. The essential features of the Essees reappear among them. They lived and worked together in desert places, they attached themselves closely to the holy scriptures, they practised allegorical interpretation. But the custom of common work is freely refined into purely spiritual exercises together in the true fear of God and reverence for the great lawgiver (Moses) in the calm of contemplation. Only those, it seems, lived congregated together who could devote themselves exclusively to spiritual interests, for those who entered into these well-arranged institutions found adequate endowments for their support, so that, if necessary, they made over their earthly wealth to their relations. The spiritual service was consequently also far more highly organised. Smaller societies gathered round small sanctuaries or houses of prayer. On the sabbaths, however, they united for more extensive exercises; and on the day after every seventh sabbath a great and solemn festival was celebrated, when the most earnest and energetic divine exercises were performed, accompanied by song and dance, lasting to the morning of the following day. At this those who lived at greater distances were also present. This was the manner of their life in Egypt, and they were to some extent scattered through other countries also. The principal place, however, at which they were established, was in the desert on the shore of Lake Mareotis, west of Alexandria. Severe physical labour being given up, and the whole system being refined, women also were received into the order, modestly standing at the meetings by the side of the rows of men.[2] Together with the explanation of the sacred books and edification out of them, prayer and fasting constituted their daily occupation, bread, salt, and hyssop being the food

[1] In his work, *De Vita Contemplativa*, ii. pp. 470–486. How Eusebius managed to find the primitive Christians in this description of Philo's, and consequently transferred the narrative into his *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 17, is explained in vol. vii. p. 187 [German].—In denying the genuineness of the Philonic writings, and ignoring everything truly Essean, a modern Jew only shows himself incapable of correctly appreciating either the Christian or the Jewish elements of those times. The grave and inexcusable obscuration of this subject which the Tübingen school has attempted to reintroduce has been already discussed; *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. pp. 210, 230 (ix. p. 238).

[2] There could be no lack of sanctions from the scripture for the admission of godly women, i.e. maidens and those who lived as maidens, and also for their partnership with men in sacred dance. According to Philo, ii. p. 485, they appealed for their authority for the latter to Ex. xv. 20 sqq.

adopted as most suitable. Moreover, active spiritual exercises of all descriptions readily gave rise to new sacred songs and poetic creations of varied but characteristic nature. Such are the leading outlines of the charming picture sketched by Philo; but there is every reason to believe that we still possess in the Greek book of Wisdom (which will be described more fully by-and-by), not merely one of the earliest but one of the noblest fruits of this spiritual movement, from which we may see with ample clearness the most glorious achievements of which it was capable. At any rate, this book may have been one of those to which the Therapeutæ appealed in Philo's time as the works of their founders.[1]

But if on one side of their endeavours the Essees passed beyond the previous limits of religion, we are enabled to understand correctly how in the extraordinary earnestness of their life they almost, so to speak, sought new gods, and, wherever they imagined that they found them, embraced them with fervour. This affords us the explanation of their extraordinary reverence for the lawgiver, i.e. Moses. In this they coincided involuntarily, and certainly from quite another quarter,[2] with the Samaritans. They were entirely distinguished from the latter, however, as they were from ordinary Judeans, by the fervour with which in their prayers at dawn they looked towards the rising sun, and (as though they had no need, like the common Judeans,[3] to sanctify Jerusalem), when they prayed, turned in the direction of the sun.[4] This could not be any Zarathustrian adoration of fire or of the sun: it was the eager search, the obscure yearning, for a new God of the true religion who was still unknown to them.

3) While, therefore, with the Essees many of the noblest men retired into the wilderness, the Pharisees could with the less restraint indulge their ambition; wherever it lay in their power they as it were excommunicated such eccentric persons and violently persecuted those whom they presumed to have become disloyal to them.[5] Their one-sided proceedings, however, as soon as they were really in power, called up again into consequence the old party of the free-minded,[6] who had been

[1] Philo, ii. p. 475.
[2] P. 281.
[3] P. 23.
[4] Cf. the descriptions in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 5; and Philo, ii. pp 475, 485, with the expression in the Wisdom of Solomon, xvi. 28, which gives the best explanation of the custom, and the representation in the book of Enoch, lxxxiii. 11, ed. Dillm. Hence, according to the indication in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 9, they explained the law contained in Deut. xxiii. 13–15 [12–14] (see the *Alterth.* p. 182) by the duty of not defiling, as it were, the rays of the sun.—How great a mistake Epiphanius made (*Hær.* liii. 2) about the meaning of the name of the Sampsees will appear subsequently.
[5] Book of Enoch, xcv. 4.
[6] Pp. 274 sqq.

vanquished and dispersed by the Maccabean movement. They might not, indeed, be able now to speak or act so effectively as in former times. They might be obliged to use great caution and to abandon all attempts to encounter many things which had by this time become too mischievous. But they did not share the presumptions and passions, the errors and insincerities of the Pharisees. Maintaining the utmost coolness, they applied themselves to a very stringent method of proof and strict administration of justice,[1] and in their general attitude harmonised rather with the views of the powerful and wealthy persons in the state. Accordingly, they soon reappear unexpectedly but quite in their right place on the great stage, and in their new transformation assume now for the first time, after an honoured leader of former days, the name of Sadducees.[2] But the dissension between these two schools, each struggling for the mastery, became incapable of any settlement, for the continued existence of either depended solely on the obstinate perversity of the other, and neither had sufficient earnestness or courage to strive after true and perfect religion. This irremediable disruption of the state, already abandoned by the better energies of the Essees, inevitably became one of the most powerful causes of its complete overthrow. It was chiefly through inner disunion that the Davidic kingdom also had fallen. But in that case, one party, in spite of individual errors, was still guarded with superior force by an impulse after true religion. Now, however, each of the dominant schools, while in complete antagonism to the other, was equally remote from the true religion, and neither could conceive how it could approach any nearer to it.

2. *The End of the Rule of John.*

The general life of a nation, however, never evaporates into mere scholastic notions and endeavours, especially in a community which possessed so elevated a past and had attained to so many imperishable and active truths as Israel. The tranquil Essee might pursue with zeal his daily task, the Pharisee and Sadducee might fill the land with noise; but these different parties were simply pursuing special aims, and did not exhaust

[1] Matt. xxii. 24 sqq.; Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9, 1.

[2] It is possible that it was at this period that Boëthus (p. 275) gave to the older Sadducean doctrine many of its subtler developments. In the Talmudic writings, which have nothing but ridicule for Sadducees and Boëthusians, both names, it is true, frequently appear; but no clear distinction can be made out between them. Nothing, however, is so absurd as to imagine that from first to last neither of them formed a school.

the whole of Israel. The one-sidedness of each kept them so far apart from one another that they had scarcely a single point in common on which they could co-operate, and the state simply continued to exist in spite of them, on foundations which lay far below them. Moreover, after these three great schools had once established themselves, and had ensnared persons in their tenacious toils, the individual was often better or perhaps worse than his school. Yet we cannot but perceive that the most different impulses and ideas, which were still involved in much obscurity and imperfection since the revival of the community, had now attained in these three parties a firm position and a distinctly stamped vitality. The separate elements for the creation of these three parties had long existed, but in a scattered and feeble condition. The scepticism of the Sadducee, the circumspection and reserve of the Pharisee, and the desire for morose retirement of the Essee, were all contained in the germ in Kôheleth;[1] but the materials, which were there held together by a higher conception and reduced to unity, have here fallen asunder. The Pharisee desires the hagiocracy as an instrument of personal power; the Essee limits it to his solitude and his own spirit; the Sadducee has no share in it, and entertains many doubts about it, but does not venture to repudiate it. Only in one respect do all three parties resemble one another; neither is content with mere learning or eminence, each endeavours to carry out its ideas in every department of life. One definite advantage consequently connected itself with their organisation. They hastened and they rendered more certain the approach of the time when it must be decided whether or not the hagiocracy, the supreme law of the community, which was understood and applied differently by each party, and yet rejected by none, could really hold its ground and make further progress as the fundamental idea of this stage of the history.

Nothing, however, could at this crisis prove more dangerous or fatal than the fact that the very party which regarded itself as the sole support of the hagiocracy, and which, without intending to produce anything new, had issued from the direct course of its development, seized every tolerable means for carrying out its aims through the agency of the whole nation. That the two great parties now struggling for supremacy were irreconcilably at variance, because neither of them recognised or honestly strove for the only possible way of bringing about the true perfection of all things in Israel, has been by this time

[1] Pp. 194 sqq.

amply proved. In such a situation, the one or the other is always exposed to the temptation to grasp at every expedient which may present itself as practicable for attaining and securing the sole sovereignty. It was only the party of the Pharisees, however, which felt itself impelled by a sort of unavoidable destiny to try every means of this description, and did, in fact, throughout the period which yet remained, have recourse to more and more severe and reckless expedients in proportion as its first efforts were successively blunted. During the long and victorious rule of John, which, in spite of the various conflicts in which it was involved abroad, was nevertheless on the whole so peaceful and prosperous, the Pharisees contrived a way of securing general and permanent recognition for their own supremacy which could not have been more judiciously devised or for a while have proved more effective. For a considerable time the practice had been established of introducing new national feasts. The feast of Pûrîm had been established,[1] it had spread further and further[2] and won everywhere more and more favour, wherever any Judeans resided. In Jerusalem itself, at an earlier date,[3] the observance of a regular feast of the temple had become customary. For this tendency the great Maccabean victories afforded peculiar opportunities. The origin of the feast of the consecration of the temple has been already described,[4] and another great festival of victory was readily blended, as we have seen,[5] with that of Pûrîm. The freedom of the Greek age, and the seasons of joy which from time to time fell to the lot of the people amid all their calamities, afforded many occasions for national feasts of this kind, which were gladly repeated every year, and the Hellenists also, as we have seen,[6] organised festivals of their own. In this direction, also, a powerful tendency was at work to bring about an entirely new era. It cannot, however, be denied that the fixed cycle of the genuine old Mosaic feasts suffered in many ways through the intrusion of these new popular festivals. The new ones could not, it is true, be put entirely on a level with those ordained in the holy scriptures, although on the part of the feasts of Pûrîm and the consecration of the temple an effort was gradually made by certain priestly usages to establish a very close connection with them;[7] and if the ancient

[1] Pp. 231 sqq.
[2] P. 358.
[3] P. 166.
[4] Pp. 311 sq.
[5] P. 321.
[6] P. 358.

[7] The details regarding the feast of Pûrîm may be learned from the Mish., *Megillah*. The actual celebration of the other feast may be seen also from John x. 22, but the description of its origin contained in the Gemara to Mish. *Shab-*

festivals had been kept up with sufficient freshness of feeling there would have been no need to establish new ones, or at any rate after a few years they would have been discontinued. But the age relished the excitement of these new feasts and their annual repetition, and it was therefore resolved on the part of the Pharisees to employ them as a new and excellent instrument for increasing their own power and glory. It was laid down as a principle that every good Judean must join with special zeal in these national commemorations of victory. Their number was easily augmented by others, the purpose of which was, even more openly than in the case of the feast of the consecration of the temple,[1] to perpetuate the reiterated triumphs of party only, and thus the attempt was made to elevate mere party conquests, even in questions of purely scholastic significance, to the rank of permanent national festivals. It is in fact probable that the Pharisees, if not under Simon,[2] at any rate during the government of John, drew up a short list or calendar (as it might be called) of public festivities, during which no good Judean might fast or even so much as mourn for the dead. Such a list, with some later additions, has come down to us under the unsuitable name of *Megillath Ta'anîth*.[3] It was originally exceedingly short, and contained nothing but the most indispensable directions. It was, moreover, written in the popular Aramaic dialect, that it might be intelligible to everyone. Several centuries after the second destruction of Jerusalem a detailed explanation of the historical circumstances to which it referred was appended to it in new-Hebrew, in an age which retained only the most untrustworthy traditions of the origin of these days of festivity. To this larger work, how-

bath, fol. 21*b* sq., is utterly unhistorical; cf. p. 312. Though it was to be an eight days' festival it became a mere sequel to the ancient festival of autumn (*Alterth.* p. 404), just as the Pûrim was a celebration preparatory for the Passover, p. 232.

[1] P. 312.

[2] P. 335 *note* 1.

[3] This has been edited, with a Latin explanation of much length but little use, by Joh. Meyer, Amsterd., 1724. The title of the work should be 'List of the Festivals;' but a late anonymous elucidator designated it 'Book of Fasts,' because he appended to it of his own accord a list of the numerous fast days to which the Rabbis in the Middle Ages had given the force of law; besides, in the Mish., *Ta'anîth*, iv. 4 sqq., an enumeration of the festival days was really begun. The author of the little festival book is described by the mediæval interpreter at the close of his work as the *school* (מדרש, المدرسة) of Eleazar, son of Hanînah, son of Hezekiah, son of Garon. This very uncertain expression is to some extent appropriate, for the work could not have been completed in its ultimate form till the time of the Roman wars, for some of its festivals are actually derived from them. But even this late and unhistorical interpreter, who probably did not write till the time of Islâm, has still an obscure feeling that the book first arose in the Asmonean-Greek age, and looks there for an explanation of everything which he could not explain from the Old Testament. A closer consideration, however, of the separate days of the calendar must be deferred to vol. vii. [German].

ever, we are at any rate indebted for preserving to us the calendar, which supplies us with clear evidence of the means by which the Pharisees attempted to confirm and increase their power in the nation.

After the great Asmonean victories, therefore, we observe the government in its most important aspects committed entirely into the hands of the Pharisees. John Hyrcanus, who grew up while they were organising themselves and acquiring their power, was himself their disciple and was greatly beloved by them. In the outward circumstances of life, it is true, he was evidently somewhat inclined to the usages and fancies prevailing among Greek princes. Following the fashion which had become general since the days of Alexander, he built a strong castle called Hyrcanium (or Hyrcania), after his own name, probably in the north-east, beyond the Jordan.[1] Further south he erected a second castle, Machærûs, the name of which often occurs in later days.[2] In like manner, his son Alexander Jannæus built an Alexandreum north-east of Jerusalem,[3] and another Asmonean prince, probably later still, constructed the very strong fortress of Masâda, on the south-west of the Dead Sea, which played so important a part in subsequent history.[4] John also certainly added to the castle of Baris in Jerusalem.[5] The Pharisees, however, assuredly did not find fault with him for this princely inclination, for in gratifying it he was at the same time promoting the security of his treasures and his country; and to surround Judea with a girdle of fortresses could not appear anything but a wise precaution against enemies on every hand. On one occasion, however, at a banquet to which he had invited a large number of them, in the course of conversation he jokingly inquired of these severe judges of morality whether they had any failure of righteousness to find fault with in him, as he would gladly amend it. Upon this one of them named Eleazar hastily objected that he should content himself with sovereign power and lay down the high-priesthood, as his mother in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 3; xiv. 5, 4; xv. 10, 4; xvii. 7, 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 2, 5; 33, 7. It must be confessed that the position of Hyrcanium, and the question whether it was John Hyrcanus who built it, are alike uncertain.

[2] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 5; *Ant.* xiii. 16, 3; xiv. 5, 2; 6, 1; xviii. 5, 1, &c.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 16. Cf. vol. v. p. 194, and vol. vi. [German].

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 3, and still more expressly, xiv. 3, 4; 5, 2, 4. It has been supposed that this is the modern Istuna, on the northern boundary of Judea (Ritter's *Erdkunde*, xv. 452 sqq.), but this is so far somewhat uncertain.

[4] The name of this fortress does not occur before the time of the last Asmoneans, and first appears in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11, 7. In *Bell. Jud.* vii. 8, 3, however, its first construction is referred to Jonathan; it is not clear whether John or Jannæus is intended. See further in vol. vi. [German].

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

had been a slave. This impudent scribe, who was probably only very young, actually wished, therefore, to give a retrospective efficacy to a literal application of the prescriptions of the law about the wife of the high-priest.[1] Unfortunately, however, the story had its origin in a misrepresentation very easily explained. Upon this the Sadducee Jonathan exclaimed that that was no doubt the opinion of all the Pharisees; let the prince only ask them what they considered the proper punishment. They did not propose to punish the insolent slander of their companion with anything more severe than stripes and imprisonment, although the law regulating the privileges of the king had once imposed the penalty of death on such an offence as high treason; and this (relates Josephus) was the immediate cause which led John and his sons to withdraw from the party of the Pharisees. What a great change was thus introduced into the entire administration of the kingdom it is not difficult to estimate. It was a change not merely in the men at the head of affairs, and in a few fundamental principles, but also in the customs and usages of life, for the Sadducees rejected all the practices approved and introduced by the Pharisees which they did not expressly find in the law, and which they considered to have arisen from mere 'tradition.'

Let us now finally fix our attention on the immediate support of the existing situation, the Asmonean house. For the moment nothing seemed to possess more strength or promise a longer duration. It was because they had devoted such intense labour and had been proved in the severest crisis, that the Asmoneans, like David of old, had attained supreme power, which came to them unsought and yet, by the inevitable necessity of circumstances, backed by the acclamation and most earnest co-operation of the people. They had not the remotest hostility to the hagiocracy, and in accordance with its spirit they were first of all high-priests and then princes. They had now at last no longer to contest the claims of any other house, for Onias[2] had already emigrated to Egypt, and was there perfectly contented. Their position as rulers, therefore, was if possible more prosperous and full of brighter promise for a long future than David's had ever been; and in John, with his five blooming sons, it seemed that the perpetuity of their house was secured. But as the elevation under the Maccabees had brought with it no complete new birth of the spirit, and for a long while

[1] See the *Alterth.* p. 332. The same reproach was brought up again from the same quarter against Alexander Jannæus; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, 5.

[2] Pp. 355 sqq.

the age produced nothing better than the Essees, the traces of their noblest efforts were soon obliterated from the rising generation. The sons of John had only seen the power and prosperity of their father, and the practices of the dominant schools could not have any good effect upon them. This rendered them again all the more accessible to the evil spirit which had for centuries been corrupting the Greek princes of those countries, nor can anything reveal the deep and rapid decline which lay concealed beneath the brilliant surface of the age more clearly than the swift and terrible fall of this ruling house, which had arisen with every sign of prosperity.[1]

The position of John himself was, it is true, too firm. Even the hostility of the Pharisees after he had quitted their party could not injure him, and as he advanced in age he was regarded by the people more and more as a saint and a prophet. He was the object of envy for his rare and threefold good fortune in possessing the high-priesthood, the supreme power, and the gift of prophecy. The idea of making himself king, on the other hand, was never seriously entertained by him, for it was not compatible either with the conception of the original theocracy in Israel, of which the hagiocracy was but the reproduction, or with the Messianic hopes which had now[2] been awakened to new life. This was certainly also the view of all the better minds of the age, and John was in no respect disloyal to it. The case was somewhat different with prophecy. In the eyes of the people the high-priesthood naturally appeared to possess somewhat of the prophetic character,[3] and it is easy to understand how this should be gradually attributed to John. Accordingly, it was related that when his two sons were in the field against Antiochus Cyzicenus,[4] he heard a prophetic voice, as he was sacrificing in the temple, announce their victory, and proclaimed the tidings to the listening people.[5] And, it was said,[6] he further anticipated that both his sons, when in power, would be overtaken by misfortune.[7]

[1] Cf. the survey given by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8, which, being taken from the close of the period, is by no means too dazzling. The age of John and his immediate successors is also treated by Justin, *Hist.* xxxvi. 1, 3.

[2] Pp. 301 sqq.

[3] See the *Alterth.* p. 334.

[4] P. 353.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 3.

[6] Ibid. xiii. 10, 7.

[7] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 8, assigns him thirty-three years; in *Ant.* xiii. 10, 7, however, thirty-one, and in *Ant.* xx. 10, 3, only thirty years of power; the *Chron. Pasch.* (see above, p. 124 *note* 1) reduces this number to twenty-seven, and Eusebius, in the Chronicle, to twenty-six. A correct estimate of these various statements must be based on a general chronology of the period.—The *Sêder Olâm Rabba*, cap. xxx. does not name the individual Asmonean and Herodean princes; but it ascribes to the former and to the latter a total of one hundred and three years each. The *Sêder Olâm Zutta* assigns thirty-seven years to John: but for these questions these books are almost devoid of value.

C. THE END OF THE ASMONEANS AND THE HERODEANS.

I. The Sons of John Hyrcanus, Kings Aristobulus I. and Jannæus Alexander; Alexandra; B.C. 106–70.

As, in the fluctuations of the dance, the strain of the lute reaches its highest note, and its descent through the whole scale may then be divined beforehand, so is it in the graver dance of human destiny. The triumph of the Maccabees was followed by a decline, of precisely such a character that the greater the reliance which was placed on either of the three parties which were erroneously looked to for support, the more swiftly was its feebleness evinced.

1. The first symptom was the corruption of the ruling house, which was already gross enough. With dim prevision of the unfitness of his five sons, John had nominated his wife to the supreme power; for in those days, both in Egypt and Syria, queens often governed better than kings. Only a man, however, could fill the office of high-priest; his eldest son, therefore, Aristobulus,[1] took the high-priesthood. Scarcely, however, was he installed when he imitated the Greeks, of whose manners he was so fond,[2] and was the first of his house to assume the title of king.[3] He threw his mother into prison, and caused her to be starved to death; he also imprisoned his three youngest brothers, and only left his old companion in arms, Antigonus, at liberty. In other respects he was not destitute either of deeper feeling or courage. By a successful campaign in the north-east he so completely vanquished the unruly Itureans, that they resolved to adopt circumcision. Like the Nabateans already mentioned,[4] these Itureans were a very old Arab tribe. When the Syrian kingdom fell into irreparable ruin and ultimately broke up in a hundred pieces, each of which aimed at becoming independent, the Itureans rose once more with energy, and in the north-east and north of Palestine they occupied numerous heights and caves, and succeeded in spreading from this quarter in the same way as their kinsmen the Nabateans had formerly advanced from the south-east. From this time, in fact, they formed a small kingdom, whose princes maintained their position through every vicissitude for almost two centuries, as the Asmoneans did not

[1] His real name was Judas; Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10, 3.

[2] He was fond of calling himself Philhellên; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 3.

[3] According to Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 40, it was his successor who first adopted it, but this statement is certainly not so correct.

[4] Pp. 351 sqq.

permanently subdue them.[1] Their kingdom did not, however, reach the same vigour as that of the Nabateans, as they never rose to the height of the Nabatean culture. On the contrary, in them was specially developed the savage element of the northern Arab tribes of that age. They were in great request as archers, and readily served in foreign armies.[2]—The course of Aristobulus, however, was destined to be very brief. In the year 106, as the feast of tabernacles was approaching, he lay ill at Jerusalem, when he was induced by the suspicions constantly cherished on the part of his queen and some of his courtiers against his brother Antigonus, who had just returned victorious from the war, to make trial of his fidelity. He desired him to attend unarmed at the castle (the Baris, on the north side of the temple),[3] and gave orders to put him to death if he should present himself armed. His enemies, however, had taken good care to mislead him; he came armed, and fell innocent.[4] But the thought of having murdered a mother and a brother caused the king such frightful anguish that he died after the first year of his reign. It was as though the Asmonean spirit in him could not yet bear the shame of thus disgracing the dignity of high-priest and king; in this respect, however, he was the last of his house.

2. His childless widow transferred the sovereignty, together with her hand, to the eldest of the three surviving brothers, Jonathan,[5] more generally known by the abbreviated form of his name Jannâi (Jannæus);[6] he preferred, however, to call himself Alexander.[7] He was regarded as the best among the brothers,

[1] Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 10 sqq.; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 8. See also vol. vi. pp. 399 sq. [German].

[2] Virg. *Georg.* ii. 448. The Roman poets always pronounce the name correctly, *ĭtûr*.

[3] On the situation of this castle, see the explicit testimony of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 5, 4; cf. above, p. 382.

[4] This was predicted on the same day, so it was said, by an Essee named Judas, *Bell. Jud.* i. 3, 5; the same story is repeated word for word in *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

[5] According to the law of marriage with a brother's wife. The rule that the high-priest should only marry a virgin was the less regarded in this case as these princes looked on themselves first of all simply as kings.

[6] It is by this abbreviated form ינאי, that this king is always known in the Talmudic writings, as in the Gemara to *Avoda Zara*, fol. 50*a*, to סוטה, fol. 22*b*, where at the same time the later popular traditions are adduced about the different varieties of the Pharisees. The names Johanan and Jonathan were also, it is true, confused at a later day in this shortened form (p. 123, *note* 1), but even in the Talmudic writings (p. 362) the high-priest *Johanan* is always kept quite distinct from the king Jannâi. The reference to king Jannâi (Gemara to קדושין, fol. 66*a*) of the story of the breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees which we find in Josephus (p. 382), is simply a later confusion, not of the names and offices, but of the princes: in other respects also the narrative has in this place an entirely legendary air. It was the attempt of a subsequent date to foist all the hatred entertained for the Pharisees on Jannâi alone.

[7] A coin of his was known long ago, bearing on the obverse the legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, with the anchor of the Seleucidæ, on the reverse יהונתן המלך in small but clear letters between

and yet his father (so it was said) had been filled with dread to see him in a dream as future sovereign, and had therefore sent him away to Galilee to be brought up. The first act of his reign was the murder of one of his two brothers, whom he thought too bold and warlike, though he himself had no greater pleasure than war, except in women and drinking. By this time a number of towns in the Syrian kingdom had liberated themselves, while others were in the hands of men who had risen to a few days of power, and Jannæus accordingly thought it would be an easy task to conquer the outlying fragments of the old Davidic kingdom. He therefore left the Sadducees in possession of the authority which they had exercised since the early days of his father, and despatched his troops against the fortress of Ptolemais, Dora, and the tower of Strato (south of Dora, and subsequently the site of Cæsarea), now in the hands of an upstart prince named Zôilus, and into the far south against Gaza, the only cities on the coast not yet reduced. The sole quarter from which these cities could look for aid was Cyprus, where Ptolemy Lathûrus was residing after his expulsion from Egypt by his mother Cleopatra. By the advice of Demænetus, Ptolemais was ready to open its gates to him. Demænetus, however, had been negotiating at the same time with Ptolemy Lathûrus and with his greatest enemy, his mother. Bitterly deceived by this faithlessness, Ptolemy Lathûrus fell upon Asôchis,[1] not far from Ptolemais, on the sabbath day. He next attacked Sepphoris (subsequently known as Dio Cæsarea), in the middle of Galilee, marched north-east by way of Saphôn,[2] to the Jordan, where he won a great victory, chiefly through the military skill of a certain Philostephanus,[3] and then

the spokes of a wheel; see the appendix to Bayer's *Vindiciæ*, p. ix. Since that time several coins of John Hyrcanus and Judas (Aristobulus), as well as of Alexander and his queen and successor Alexandra, have been discovered, so that we are enabled by them to recognise perfectly the genuine style of the coins of the Asmoneans. They are entirely different both from those of the Herods and those of the last Roman wars. They more resemble the Syrian; they bear no dates, but after the time of Hyrcanus gradually adopt Greek letters. All that have been found hitherto are of bronze only. Upon some of them Jannæus does not yet bear the title of king. See further the essays cited, p. 339, *note* 6.—The highly compressed form יונתן, for יהונתן or יונת, which is never found in the Old Testament, strongly suggests Phœnician antecedents; moreover, the old-Hebrew letters were selected in the inscriptions on the coins evidently with reference to their resemblance to the Phœnician, cf. p. 132, *note* 2.—The latest-discovered coins of John Hyrcanus, Judas (Aristobulus) and Jannæus, and also one of Antigonus, have been published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, pp. 269 sq., but unfortunately the writer still holds the erroneous view about the coins of Simon.

[1] The situation of this place can only be conjectured from Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 12, 4 sq.; cf. *Vit.* 41; the situation of the modern Shefa, between Akka and Sepphoris, would be suitable; cf. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* iii. p. 103, ed. 1856.

[2] This is probably the modern Safed, with which we may also identify Seph; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 6.

[3] The description of this battle in Jos.

advanced, laying waste the country, with much cruelty, towards the south. From this danger the Judean king might well be glad to be delivered through the jealousy of the mother of this Egyptian prince and her two Judean generals,[1] especially through the generosity of one of them named Ananias, who frustrated the malicious designs of a number of Judeans against their own king.[2] No sooner, however, was Jannæus released from this peril than he turned against the rising and wealthy commercial city of Gadara, on the south-east of the lake of Galilee, and reduced it after a siege of ten months. His next efforts were directed against Amathûs,[3] further south, then the fairest possession of a certain Theodorus, son of Zeno.[4] Through a sudden attack he sustained severe losses; but he soon laid siege successfully to the cities of Raphia, on the Egyptian boundary, and Anthêdon, south of Gaza. Gaza itself fell into his hands by the treachery of one brother against another, and was cruelly destroyed.

These campaigns, carried on with varying fortune but with great perseverance and finally with success, seem to have amply occupied the first nine of the twenty-seven years of Jannæus' reign.[5] This valiant prince does not appear to have thought much of Roman friendship; at any rate, we hear nothing during his day of negotiations with Rome, and the ablest of the Asmoneans who succeeded him no longer displayed the same zeal (it was, indeed, by this time too late) for the alliance of Rome. In the meanwhile, the discontent of the Pharisees and of a large portion of the people, who after all chiefly looked to them for guidance, had risen to the highest pitch. Collected on the feast days in large masses, the people were easily inclined to raise disturbances, and at the sight of the sacred solemnities probably gave vent to their secret thoughts against the hated superior priests who were taking part in them. In this way, on one occasion, at the feast of tabernacles, the king, as he was about to offer sacrifice at the altar, was pelted with the citrons which it was the custom at this feast to carry together with palm-branches. Enraged at this

Ant. xiii. 12, 5, is evidently derived from a very trustworthy source, and is instructive for military history.

[1] P. 357.

[2] For further details, see *Ant.* xiii. 13, 1 sq.

[3] This place is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 10, 6, from which we learn that it lay close to the Jordan. The ruins of an *Amatha* were seen by Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 346.

[4] Certainly the same who has been already mentioned, p. 343.

[5] In the life of Jannæus, as in that of John, Josephus neglects to give exact dates, evidently because he did not find much information on the subject in his authorities; for wherever he did find them, as for instance in 1 Macc., he was glad to reproduce them.

insult, he savagely ordered six thousand of the people to be apprehended and put to death; and he replaced the low railing which had hitherto run round the court of the priests where the altar stood by a high wooden palisade, in order to prevent any possible attack by the people. His next step was to march again across the Jordan with his Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries and the rest of his troops. There he made the Arabs tributary far and wide, and finally reduced Amathûs, which on a former occasion had resisted his attempts.

3. In a contest, however, with the Arabian king Obedas, he was caught in a most dangerous ambush in a narrow pass,—his army was run down in a deep ravine[1] by an immense troop of camels, and he with difficulty escaped with his life to Jerusalem. His prestige was now gone, and this was the signal for the outbreak of rebellion against him. For six years the 'people of God' were distracted by civil wars inflamed by those who set themselves up as champions of piety; nor could these wars have been more mischievous in the Syrian kingdom, which had by this time sunk so low, from whose sway indeed the Judeans were now entirely free. It is worthy of note how rapidly Josephus passes over them, only supplying a few details under a sort of compulsion.[2] As a Pharisee, it was no pleasant subject for him to linger over. It was in these years that the party committed their first and blackest treachery against their country, and though the savage soldier offered violent provocation, they repaid him sevenfold. They hired foreign troops against him, and no insult and contumely, no affront and humiliation, was too petty for them to inflict. As a true Judean, he was desirous of defending his conquests even during the civil wars, and for this purpose marched across the Jordan. After ineffectual attempts, however, to retain them, he was obliged to cede them to the Arabian king, as the Pharisees would otherwise have formed an alliance in that quarter against him. Softened at length by such continued misery, he entreated them to moderate their enmity against him; but his request only increased their hatred of one whom they had brought so low. He asked them, accordingly, what he must do. He must die, they replied, and they called to their aid one of the last of the Seleucidæ, Demetrius Eucærus, then reigning over Damascus. Then two strange armies encountered one another near the ancient city of Shechem. Judeans stood up

[1] 'At the village of Gadara in Gilead;' Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, 5; this little place must not be confused with the large town mentioned above, p. 388.

[2] The circumstances which he somewhat obscurely brings up in *Ant.* xiii. 14, 2 must be closely connected with his statements in xiii. 13, 5.

against Judeans, and mercenaries against mercenaries; but the troops of the Syrian were as usual the most numerous, and included in particular a strong body of cavalry. Each party made great efforts to bring over their antagonists in this painful contest to their own side; it was in vain, and in the end the opponents of the king were victorious. In the meantime he retreated unsubdued into the mountains, where a large number of Judeans joined him unexpectedly, out of sheer compassion; and after Demetrius had withdrawn into his own country, and the Pharisees had sustained several defeats, he at length shut up all their most powerful leaders in Bethomes,[1] reduced that fortress and carried his prisoners to Jerusalem. There, it must be confessed, the tiger awoke within him once more. In the midst of his drunken festivities, he crucified about eight hundred of his captives, and slew their wives and children before their eyes. Upon this, the rest of his enemies, to the number of about eight thousand men, fled in a single night. He was generally designated by the insulting epithet of 'son of a Thracian,'[2] and it was estimated that he had caused the death of fifty thousand people in the civil war; but for the rest of his life tranquillity was so perfectly restored that he had nothing more to fear. To what consequences, however, this led after his death will soon appear.

4. Surrounded by Pharisees who were reduced to silence, though they still gnashed their teeth, and who, though always on the watch, refrained from annoying him, Jannæus could now, during the last nine years of his reign, indulge his insatiable passion for conquest. Much, however, had first of all to be recovered which had been lost in the civil war. Aretas, an Arabian king, living in the south of Petra, and often[3] designated more precisely as king of the Nabateans,[4] had some time before acquired considerable power, so that the people of Gaza, when they were previously besieged by Jannæus,[5] looked to him for aid.[6] There was, however, another military leader named Ptolemæus, son of Mennæus, who was desirous of establishing

[1] In *Ant.* xiii. 14, 2, this place is called Βεθομή, or, according to another and certainly better reading, Βεθομᾶς; on the other hand, in *Bell. Jud.* i. 4, 6, we find Βεμέσιλες; as the prefix בית often takes the form in Greek of Βηθο- or Βεθο-, and is often also abbreviated into Βε-, these are probably only two different modes of pronouncing the same name; and we may very appropriately refer to the hill now called Sânûr, lying near Meiselûn and Misiliah, between Samaria and Ginæa. The Βηθμαούς in Jos. *Vit.* 12 is a different place.

[2] *Thrakidas*, a Hellenistic equivalent for 'brutal soldier'; from the time of Alexander many Thracians served as hirelings at the Hellenic courts.

[3] As in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 2, 3; 6, 4.

[4] P. 351.

[5] P. 388.

[6] Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 15, 1 sq., with xiii. 13, 3, and xiv. 1, 4.

himself in power on the eastern side of the Jordan, and pressed very hard on the wealthy city of Damascus. At this juncture, Antiochus Dionysus, the last of the Seleucidæ who is worthy of mention, made preparations for starting from Joppa and crossing the Jordan so as to fall on the flank of this dangerous enemy. Jannæus was anxious to save his country from being made the arena for the contest of the two foes, but could think of no other means for the purpose than constructing a great ditch, fortified with wooden towers large and small, on the only weak side of the western boundary, from Joppa north-east to Caphar-saba (subsequently known as Antipatris). Dionysus, however, soon broke through this intrenchment, and marched straight across the Jordan, where he fell after a valiant struggle; the remnants of his army fled to Cana in Galilee, and there perished by famine. Aretas then took Damascus, and defeated Jannæus, who advanced against him, at Addita.[1] Soon afterwards, however, he concluded a treaty with him, and evacuated the whole country. Jannæus now began a war of conquest, which lasted three years, against all the districts on the east of the Jordan. He first of all took Dion, and then Heshbôn, further in the south.[2] He next proceeded eastwards against the wealthy commercial cities of Pella and Gerasa,[3] where Theodorus[4] had concealed his treasures, and took them both, the latter requiring a long and elaborate siege.[5] Finally, he turned northwards, where he reduced Gaulon, Seleucia and Gamala, over against the Lake of Galilee, and then subdued a number of places further east in the ancient Hauran.[6] All the

[1] We may be pretty certain that this is not the Adîda already mentioned, p. 332, but is rather to be identified with the modern Kadîtâ, north of Safed, or with Haddâta and Hadîth, near Tibnîn, still further north-west.

[2] The whole representation in the text of the direction of the campaign has to be derived from the very brief and unsatisfactory words in *Bell. Jud.* i. 4, 8, and *Ant.* xiii. 15, 3 sq. Dion and Essa are only named in *Ant.* xiii. 15, 3; the former is associated with Pella as belonging to the Decapolis, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16; Essa is an incorrect reading for what in § 4 is correctly designated Essebôn—the ancient Heshbôn, vol. ii. p. 205.

[3] The Greek inscriptions of Gerasa have been at length more carefully examined and made known; see the *Berliner Akad. Monatsberichte*, 1853, pp. 13 sqq. At a later period Pella had a Semitic name among its own people, and had perhaps borne it originally, פחל (see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 236), but it was certainly Hellenised at an early date. The principal passage for fixing its situation is in Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 3.

[4] P. 388.

[5] In *Ant.* xiii. 15, 3, for 'Zeno' we should probably read 'Zeno's son'; as the description moreover agrees with that of Gerasa in *Bell. Jud.*, we may safely conclude that after 'Εσσα the whole passage referring to Pella and Gerasa has fallen out. For Gabala in *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4, the more correct form is Gamala.

[6] As the enumeration of the foreign places in *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4, clearly possesses a certain order (e.g. from Scythopolis to the north-east, ending with those furthest east), we may probably identify Lembâ with Anebta in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* iii. pp. 125–27, ed. 1856, and Telitôn with Hælithâ on Danville's map (hardly with the modern el-Salt, which, as early as the first centuries after the Christian era, was called Σαλτών): and of Zara, if this is

cities on the coast from Rhinocolûra on the Egyptian boundary to Carmel (though not the important fortress of Ptolemais, to the north of it) were also in his power, so that south of Damascus he had in fact almost re-established the whole of the Davidic kingdom. Moreover, in these foreign towns he administered strict justice.[1]

This victorious campaign lasted three years, and on his return to Jerusalem he was received with honour. But his enormous exertions and the violence of his passions had early shattered his constitution, and he now fell into a quartan fever. For three years more, sickly in frame, but with a warlike spirit still fresh, he moved about through the remote districts beyond the Jordan, which were never tranquil; but at the siege of Ragaba, in the territory of Gerasa,[2] which had been already conquered, he felt death approaching him at the age of forty-nine. While his wife was violently lamenting over the destiny awaiting herself and her children, Jannæus advised her to entrust her future sovereignty and the honours to be paid to him after his death to the Pharisees. This was the last act of a ruler who, favoured by the complete decay of the Syrian kingdom, before the intervention of the Romans was actively pursued, might have achieved as a conqueror a grander position than Herod the Great, had he been equally cunning, and had not the first outburst of fury between the two schools struggling for ascendency over the people taken place in his days.

5. The inability of the Sadducees, with that indifference towards the religion of Israel which was almost a fundamental principle with them, permanently to satisfy the requirements of the people and act as its guides, had now been brought home to the king by the bitterest experience. They themselves, indeed, were still unwilling to face the fact; but, with the hand of death upon him, the king was honest enough to admit it. If it was a question which of the two schools was the better fitted to lead the people, the Pharisees certainly had the advantage; and, since the sanguinary civil war, they had, moreover, made great progress in prudence and pliability, but it

the same as Zorava, Burckhardt (*Syria*, pp. 56 sqq.), guided by the inscription in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* iii. p. 250, found the ruins in the modern Ezra (a name which, like the large number of others beginning with *Adra*, is connected with the Damascene Hadrach, Zech. ix. 1). This determines the situation of Seleuceia; evidently a place built by the last Seleucidæ, and of the 'Cilician pass.' Ὀρῶνα is probably חֹרֹנַיִם, Is. xv. 5; other places conquered by Jannæus are specified in *Ant.* xiv. 1, 4; see below.

[1] Of this an example (only, however, too obscure) is afforded by the deposition of a governor, Demetrius, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 4, 8, repeated in almost the same words in *Ant.* xiii. 15, 3.

[2] *Ant.* xiii. 15, 5; a river *Râgib* is still found west of Gerasa; cf. also the *Argob*, vol. ii. p. 299, *note* 5.

must be added also in hypocrisy. The widowed queen Salôme[1] Alexandra, a woman of great acuteness and resolution, carried out to the letter the advice of her deceased husband. She concealed his death till the fortress was reduced, then proceeded with the body to Jerusalem, and, with the most complete renunciation of her own wishes and opinions, declared for the Pharisees. They, on their part, prepared the most splendid burial and the most laudatory funeral oration for their dead enemy as one of the righteous; the people, however, even before this held the queen in the highest regard, as she was considered innocent of participation in the cruelties of the king. Accordingly she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus,[2] an indolent and weak-minded man, and consequently quite unfit for power, to be anointed high-priest. Her younger son, however, Aristobulus by name, who was of too passionate a character, she kept out of public affairs. In this way she reigned with great outward prosperity for nine years (79–70 B.C.) until her death. She also contrived to maintain the conquests of Jannæus, held in awe all the neighbouring states, and, in spite of having given high pay to numerous foreign mercenaries, she left behind a well-filled treasury. When the Armenian king Tigranes occupied Syria, and, about the year 75 B.C., besieged Ptolemais, she sought to establish good relations with him by presents and assurances of peace; and in this she succeeded so well that he soon retired again to Armenia.[3]

The Pharisees, however, were not content with carrying out their scholastic opinions among the nation at large, recalling those who had been banished during the previous reign, and opening the prisons. They further required that those who had advised Jannæus to crucify the eight hundred martyrs[4] should be put to death, and they began with the execution of Diogenes, the most eminent of the friends of Jannæus, which was followed by an increasing number. Thus violently threatened and chased out of almost all their offices, the adherents of

[1] Instead of this name, Eusebius in both portions of his chronicle always writes *Saalinê* or *Salinê*, and in this he is followed by all his successors; this is probably not a clerical error, but an abbreviation of the diminutive Salôminê. In the *Arm. Chron.* of Moses of Chorênê, ii. 14, it has actually been changed into Messalinê.

[2] What was the Hebrew name of this prince we do not know: the name Judas Hyrcanus in Cedrenus, *Hist.* i. p. 291, Bonn, has probably little foundation; we should rather expect John Hyrcanus.

[3] It has been supposed that among the results of this contact between the Armenians and Judeans may have been the removal to Armenia of a number of Judean families which flourished there at an early date; see Chahnazarian, *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 9 sqq. But some of these may have remained there from the time of the exile, pp. 88 sqq., and others not have removed thither till the late period of Herod and his successors.

[4] P. 390.

the late king gathered more and more closely around Aristobulus, whose hot-blooded temper had caused him to be thrust into the background. Accompanied by him they represented to the queen with tears what disgrace and danger it would involve for the kingdom if they should be compelled by the rejection of all overtures of reconciliation to flee from the country, and take service with the Arabian Aretas, or the Seleucidæ, and other Greek sovereigns.[1] Thus tormented past endurance by the rival parties in the struggle for ascendency, she chose what seemed the lesser evil, and assigned to her petitioners posts of command in the fortresses, with the exception of Jerusalem and the three castles of Hyrcania, Alexandreum, and Machærûs.[2] Aristobulus himself received permission to attack Damascus, which was still oppressed by Ptolemæus,[3] but he did not effect anything of note, and soon returned again to the indolent tranquillity of the capital.[4] As soon, however, as his mother fell ill, in the conviction that the sovereignty ought to belong to him, instead of to the incompetent Hyrcanus, he fled by night quite alone from the capital, betook himself to the fortress of Gabatha[5] in the north, the nearest place in command of one of his Sadducean friends, almost within fourteen days won over twenty-one fortresses to his side, and, as his army gathered in the north and north-east, seemed likely to be able easily to obtain possession of the whole country. At this juncture the queen died. In the pangs of her last moments the Pharisees importuned her to make known her wishes; she could do nothing but refer them back to themselves.[6] The wife and children of Aristobulus were shut up in the Baris.

II. The Last Asmonean Rulers, B.C. 70-37.

The two first supports of the Asmonean power, and with it of a large portion of the hagiocracy, were now practically shattered,

[1] This is the meaning, according to the usage of the time, of the term 'Monarchs,' Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 2, 5. On the relations of the last kings of Syria to the Arab prince Aziz, cf. also Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. pp. xxiv. sqq.

[2] P. 382.

[3] Pp. 390 sq.

[4] *Bell. Jud.* i. 5, 3; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 3.

[5] For Ἀγαβα, *Ant.* xiii. 16, 5, we should read Ἀγάβαθα. This is probably not to be identified with the Gabatha situated, according to Euseb. *Onomast.*, in Judah; but (as Aristobulus obviously wished to collect his forces in the north) with the place of the same name in Galilee, south of Nazareth.

[6] Josephus spends a great deal of trouble in trying to thrust on the queen alone the responsibility for the great disaster which was impending on the country, because as a Pharisee he could not see the deeper causes at work, or look for the guilt where alone it was to be found.

viz. the sanctity of the ruling house, and the simple power of piety. The third and last, also, was destined to give way soon enough, and, in doing so, to accelerate the fall of the whole.—The subsequent events down to the direct supremacy of the Romans are known to us with great exactness; for, with Herod's father and the commencement of his own career, an entirely new spirit soon entered into the history, the permanent effects of which could still be traced in the time of Josephus. Herod was the last great Judean prince of whom the people at a later day could boast, in spite of all his grave faults; for he had at least cast over Judea the last far-gleaming light of power and prosperity. Moreover, it was through him that Judean history was woven in the closest manner into the general history of Rome, and consequently heathen writers and historians also at an early period paid much attention to his career. In fact, after the death of Alexander Jannæus, the great work of Josephus becomes more and more eloquent and complete; but it is with the life of Herod and his father that it reaches its greatest brilliance. In this part he industriously availed himself of the works of heathen historians,[1] and found a particularly rich source in the gigantic work of Nicolaus of Damascus, which will be mentioned below.[2] In his detailed and glowing descriptions, and in the insertion of long speeches by the leading personages, he even imitates and rivals the Greco-Roman historians of his day; as though it were necessary, now that the destinies of Judea were more and more inextricably interwoven with those of the Greco-Roman world, that even the history of the period should be marked by the same colours. For this very reason, we, on the other hand, can deal the more briefly with many of the details.

1. Immediately after the death of Alexandra, a battle took place at Jericho between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. The former was victorious, and many of the troops of Hyrcanus went over to his side. Hyrcanus next shut himself up in the Baris, while Aristobulus seized all those who had taken refuge in the temple. Hyrcanus, therefore, sought for peace; and after the two brothers had come to the understanding that the younger was to rule, but to allow the elder to retain his whole

[1] Such as the great historical work of Strabo, composed before the Geography, which had even at an earlier period referred to Jewish events; *Ant.* xiii. 10, 4; xiv. 3, 1; 4, 3; 6, 4; 7, 2 (this passage deserves special attention); 8, 3; the work of Timagenes (on which see Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. pp. 317 sqq.) is directly quoted at any rate in *Ant.* xiii. 12, 5; cf. also 11, 3; Josephus also appears to have availed himself of the lost portions of the work of Livy, *Ant.* xiv. 4, 3.

[2] *Ant.* xiii. 12, 6; xiv. 1, 3; 4, 3; 6, 4; xvi. 7, 1; cf. also in the reign of Hyrcanus, xiii. 8, 4, and *Contr. Ap.* ii. 7.

fortune, and reside in Jerusalem unmolested, they publicly sealed their agreement with an oath, each gave the other his hand in pledge, and they embraced. On the part of Aristobulus, the agreement was faithfully maintained; and he did not neglect to purchase the favour of the Roman generals in Syria.[1] The reign of Hyrcanus II. had lasted only three months.[2]

It happened, however, that an Idumean named Antipater (abbreviated into Antipas), who had hitherto been an adherent and friend of Hyrcanus, found that by this new arrangement all the hopes which he had built on his friendship with Hyrcanus were frustrated. It was by this half-foreign upstart and by his house that the most important portions of the external history of Israel were guided for more than a century. The first successful attempt to judaise the Idumeans by force had been made, as we have seen,[3] by the grandfather of Hyrcanus; but the lesson is repeated here which has often been afforded by the history of nations, viz. that the less civilised subjugated nations soon become, even in outward power, the masters of their conquerors, who for a time stand higher, but are visibly wearing themselves away. The Greek supremacy was succeeded by the Parthian and Roman, the Arabs in Spain and Africa by the Moors, and in Asia by the Turks; and in the same way the Asmonean and the pure Judean power rapidly sank before the Idumean completely into the dust. These rising races, constituted of coarser material, stand outside the subtler aims and tendencies and divisions which agitate a long-established nation, or, at the most, they take in them only an external part. Thus the Idumeans were indifferent to the deeper distinctions between Pharisees and Sadducees. In cunning, however, and apparent straightforwardness, as well as in a certain outward piety, they have decidedly the advantage; and when they mingle in the internal disputes of a community, they operate like a corroding lye or cankering poison. A long time previously, the Idumean people had made their way far within the ancient Canaan,[4] but with purely hostile intent; and on this account, since the rise of the Asmonean power, they had again been wholly subdued. They now, on the other hand, penetrate in the unexpected guise of feigned friendship and apparent equality, in order to involve the ancient Israel in the deepest ruin; and the name Idumea, which at an earlier period had been employed without exciting attention for the

[1] According to the casual intimation in *Ant.* xiv. 3, 2; so far as we know, however, Gabinus was not in Syria at so early a date.

[2] *Ant.* xv. 6, 4.

[3] Pp. 350 sqq.

[4] Pp. 80 sq.

similar sounding Judea, is now used in this way still more frequently.[1]

The father of Antipater had been appointed by Jannæus general over all Idumea, and confirmed in this position by his widow; and, being a wealthy man and on friendly terms with the Arabs, as well as with the people of Gaza and Ascalôn, he had often been employed in various capacities. Antipater himself stood in similar confidential relations with these surrounding tribes. He could easily find means of carrying on intercourse with them, and deriving advantage from them.[2] It was, however, among the Idumeans that he was most in repute, and from them he took his wife Cyprus, who was also descended from a noble Arab house, and bore him four sons and one daughter. Of these sons, the second was Herod, afterwards so famous. The family had settled in the city of Ascalôn, formerly occupied by the Philistines,[3] certainly for no other reason than because at one time[4] the Idumeans ruled over the whole southern portion of the country.[5] Exceedingly active, but apparently very calm, and outwardly pious, gentle, and persuasive when needful, but inflexible against his prominent foes, taking everything easily, and zealously devoted to his master Hyrcanus, or to others whom the vicissitudes of time brought to the top, he did not permit any obstacle to stop or terrify him in the pursuit of his own interests. For some time Hyrcanus lent no favourable ear to his insinuations against Aristobulus. At length, however, he allowed himself to be induced by him to flee by night from Jerusalem to the Arabian king Aretas at Petra. With this prince an arrangement was soon made, by which, in return for his assistance, he was to obtain security for his possessions, and was further to receive twelve cities, conquered by the predecessors of Hyrcanus, on the east and south of the Dead Sea.[6] Aristobulus was vanquished by the

[1] This often happens in the MSS.; see further Virg. *Georg.* iii. 12; Martial, ii. 2; x. 50.

[2] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, 3, with 5, 1; 7, 3, and 11, 3; *Contr. Ap.* ii. 9.

[3] According to Euseb. *Chron.* ii. pp. 251, 255; cf. *Eccl. Hist.* i. 6.

[4] Pp. 80 sq.

[5] 'As far as Pelusium,' Solinus, *Polyhist.* 43.—Only later flattery could try to make the ancestors of Antipater return from the captivity with Ezra as good Judeans; according to Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, 3, Nicolaus of Damascus was the inventor of this view. Others, on the contrary, set to work to lower the origin of the Herodian family as much as possible, as may be seen from the story in Africanus quoted by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 6 sq.

[6] These twelve towns are enumerated in *Ant.* xiv. 1, 4; but some are very obscure. If Marissa is the same as Mareshah already described (p. 350), Mêdebâ, which stands at the head of the list, might be the place furthest to the north-east, and the series would pass by the well-known Zoar towards the west and south, so that Lussa would be identical with Alussa; see Reland's *Palest.* pp. 755 sq. Ἀγαλλα is perhaps עגלת, Is. xv. 5, not far from Zoar. Cf. the statements in Epiphan *Hær.* xx. 1.

powerful army of the Arab king in the very first battle, numbers of Judeans deserted him, and he fled to Jerusalem. The capital was then besieged by the Arabian and Judean troops. Guided by the Pharisees, the majority of the people were against Aristobulus; but the priests, who might well be ashamed of a league with Arabs, took his side. The truest feeling was shown by a certain Onias,[1] who was famous for his holiness and his magic powers. Called upon by the besiegers to curse Aristobulus and his adherents, he refused to invoke evil on either party, and for this he was stoned by the bystanders. These brutal besiegers cheated the besieged at the feast of the Passover by not supplying them with the animals for sacrifice, which they had already sold to them at a high price, and thus showed how far they stood below the Selucid prince, Antiochus of Sidê;[2] no wonder that the unproductiveness and dearth which marked the year should be ascribed to the wickedness of man. In the presence of an enemy but little acquainted with the arts of siege, the city was also enabled to hold out longer through the absence of many of its inhabitants, who had fled before the Passover to Egypt. The next step was for deputies from the two contending parties to repair with rich gifts and requests for help to Damascus, where Scaurus, a general of Pompey, who was at that time (B.C. 64) carrying on his war with Mithridates and Tigranes, had arrived. Scaurus rightly decided for Aristobulus; and, when the Arabian army reluctantly withdrew, Aristobulus inflicted a defeat on it at the Capyrôn.[3] Hyrcanus retained only a small portion of the country,[4] probably in the far south.

In the same year, however, Pompey himself arrived in Damascus, and this was the signal for the renewal of the same game. This time Aristobulus went so far as to present him with a golden vine, which was afterwards preserved in the Capitol,[5] and, in doing so, he also appealed to the gifts which

[1] This is the famous Onias surnamed הַמְּעַגֵּל, i.e. 'the maker of a (magic) circle,' of whose art in charming down rain later writers relate so many fabulous stories; see *Mass.* תַּעֲנִית, iii. 8, and the Gemara to it, and *Megillath*, תַּעֲנִית, cap. 12.

[2] P. 344.

[3] According to a reading for Papyrôn. The enemy had already retreated across the Jordan, according to *Bell. Jud.* i. 6, 3, as far as Philadelphia (i.e. Ammon), and we must look, therefore, for some place there. The form of the expression at first suggests a river; but the village of Caprôn mentioned in the *Corp. Hist. Byz.* (Reland, p. 218) was certainly situated upon it.

[4] According to the passing remark, *Ant.* xiv. 3, 2.

[5] This work of art, which, according to Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3, 1, was seen by Strabo still in the Capitol, and was valued at five hundred talents, had certainly been originally presented at a ceremony of homage by the subjects of Alexander Jannæus as a symbol of Palestine. According to the passing observation in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xii. 54, it was carried through Rome in Pompey's great triumph.

he had previously bestowed upon the Romans. But there was yet a third party, which now brought its complaint before the great Roman. It evidently consisted for the most part of Pharisees; and claiming the restoration of the original theocracy, without any human king, it declared itself opposed to both the contending princes as degenerate priests. This view, which welled up, as it were, from the blood of the holy Onias already mentioned, gained no notice, it is true, on this occasion; but we shall see it gradually growing in power and at length acquiring the ascendency. It could not be denied that, according to the current exposition of the book of Law, it was internally consistent, and it seemed further to derive outward confirmation from the evident corruption of the rulers. Pompey, however, postponed his consideration of the matter till he should have duly established himself in the country, and although Aristobulus had been several years in power, he required witnesses in support of the assertions of both the princes. At the instigation of Antipater, a large number of highly honourable persons appeared for Hyrcanus, while Aristobulus was defended only by a few vain young men. In outward right, Aristobulus certainly appeared nothing but a despot. Before the decision was pronounced, he retired from Damascus across the Jordan,[1] and shut himself up in the fortress of Alexandreum,[2] north-west of Jerusalem. Upon this Pompey hastily collected a large army, advanced by Pella and Scythopolis to Corræa,[3] opposite to Alexandreum, summoned Aristobulus before his tribunal, and renewed his negotiations with him. Aristobulus wavered between pride and fear; and when Pompey ordered him to give up the fortresses, and with his own hand to send injunctions to that effect to their commanders, he gave way a second time, but at once escaped to Jerusalem and prepared for war. Pompey next marched thither through Jericho. Aristobulus was again irresolute, and repaired to him with offers of rich gifts, and the surrender of the city. Gabinius, however, who was despatched by Pompey to carry out these conditions, was repelled by the king's troops, and upon this Pompey arrested the king and began the siege.

Thus for the first time, in the year 63 B.C., the pride of Judea was confronted by that of Rome, with its crushing power; and for the first time the more cultured half of the

[1] On his way he passed through the city of Delius, *Ant.* xiv. 3, 3; instead of this name, however, in *Bell Jud.* i. 6, 4, we read Diospolis; but this in its turn is to be amended into the Δίον πόλιν, mentioned in p. 391, and quite appropriate here.

[2] P. 382.

[3] Recognised by Robinson in Kŭriyût north of the ancient Shiloh.

people[1] at any rate was destined to feel bitterly what fruits the Roman friendship, formerly cherished so carefully, had brought with it. The city was at the outset divided in opinion; but while the sight of the disgraceful arrest of the king made the more courageous blush for shame, those who were more timid, and favoured Hyrcanus, surrendered the southern portion of the city and the Baris on the north. On this the opposite party retired to the temple-mountain, and broke up the bridge which connected it on the north with the Baris. Pompey first pitched his camp south of the city on a hill which was in after years still known as the hill where Pompey encamped.[2] He easily discerned that he would only be able to take the temple-mountain from its weaker side upon the north; but, although the Romans were zealously supported by the followers of Hyrcanus, who repelled with special ferocity all attacks on the part of the Judeans of the country, the strength of the fortifications and the courage of the besieged rendered their labour very severe, and protracted it for three months. At last the Romans observed that on the Sabbath the Judeans would do nothing more than defend themselves against open attacks, and of this they dexterously availed themselves to erect undisturbed upon these days the engines of siege which they had fetched from Tyre. When the final assault took place, although the Romans had lost but few men, the destruction of life in consequence of the fury of the victors was very great; moreover, numbers out of despair set fire to their houses, and killed themselves. Pompey allowed nothing to deter him from casting an eye of curiosity into the Holy of Holies, but he carried away none of the treasures of the temple,[3] acting in this respect much more nobly than Crassus, who, in the year 54, when simply on his way to the Parthian war, came and plundered it.[4] He executed the ringleaders, and finally designated Hyrcanus high-priest and prince of the nation (Ethnarch), without the title of king. He imposed on him annual tributes to the Romans, demolished the walls of Jerusalem, and the most important fortified places in the country, and limited Judea to its narrower boundaries. Gadara[5] he gave to his freedman Demetrius,

[1] The supposition of Orosius, *Hist.* vi. 6, that the *patres* were for Pompey, and the *plebs* against him, is very far from accurate.

[2] According to the passing remark of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 12, 2.

[3] Cicero extols this as extraordinary goodness, *Pro L. Flacco*, 28; cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9.—The detailed narrative in Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 15 sq. is in essential agreement with Josephus; so also are Strab. *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 40, 46; App. *Syr.* 50; *Mithr.* 106, 117; Liv. *Epit.* 162. According to the *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 351, Pompey captured on this occasion the *table of Solomon*; see vol. iii. p. 319.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 1.

[5] P. 388.

who had been born there. Many of the northern districts, particularly Galilee, he placed under the Roman governor of Syria, and all the cities which had been independent before the Maccabean conquests became once more free. Among these was included Samaria, with its province, which now sought to recover swiftly from its recent disasters;[1] the loss of Joppa also was very keenly felt.[2] Thus the Maccabean conquests were lost at one blow, and the Asmonean house was most deeply humiliated. Only one person was the gainer—the Idumean Antipater.[3] He also contrived, when Scaurus marched against Petra and its Arabian king Aretas, by various good offices to make himself still more popular with the Romans.[4]—From this year many of the liberated towns reckoned their independence;[5] and, on rising from its ruins[6] the city of Samaria even took the name of Gabiniopolis,[7] a name which, after its much more vigorous restoration by Herod at a subsequent date, gave way to the new designation of Sebastê.

The brilliant triumph which Pompey celebrated in Rome for his Asiatic victories, including his conquest of Judea, afforded the Romans[8] for the first time a nearer view of the wealth possessed by this country and its temple, and thus did not a little to stimulate the disgraceful passion for booty on the part of the Roman nobles. Still more important effects, however, sprang out of the presence of the crowd of Judean captives, who

[1] Pp. 353 sq.

[2] Pp. 344, 364.

[3] How long the reign of Aristobulus lasted appears doubtful. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 6, 1, assigns him three and a half years, but in *Ant.* xx. 10, 4, only three and a quarter; but according to *Ant.* xiv. 1, 2, Hyrcanus acceded to power after the death of Alexandra in Olymp. clxxvii. 3, in the consulate of Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus, and according to *Ant.* xiv. 4, 3, Pompey conquered Jerusalem in Olymp. clxxix. (2), in the consulate of C. Antonius and M. Tullius Cicero. According to this, he reigned more than six years; and this is in fact proved by the general chronology, as well as by the thirty-two years covered by the fourteenth book of the Antiquities of Josephus himself. For the reign of Hyrcanus lasted from this point for twenty-four years, *Ant.* xx. 10, 4 (the number forty, *Ant.* xv. 6, 4, is only an error of Josephus), and then Antigonus reigned for three years and a quarter. The thirty-two years might therefore be divided into three periods of about six, twenty-four, and three years respectively. Eusebius and those who follow him assign to Hyrcanus a total of thirty-four years instead of thirty-two.

[4] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 1; *Ant.* xiv. 5, 1. Cf. the coins in Eckhel's *Doctr.* v. p. 131 sq.

[5] Cf. Eckhel's *Doctr.* iii. pp. 345, 350 sq., 363, 376. Scythopolis was probably now called Nysa for the first time, in allusion to Bacchus, who was worshipped there, as if it was a heathen city (p. 89), while its ancient name of Beth-shean might at an earlier period have been pronounced by a dialectic variation Neash. The name appears in this form upon coins, Eckhel, *op. cit.* p. 439 sq.

[6] P. 353.

[7] The name is rarely mentioned; Cedrenus, *Hist.* i. p. 325, Bonn, even designates it by mistake ἡ τῶν Γαβινίων πόλις. —On Gabinius, see Dio Cassius, xxxix. 56. —The mountain fortresses Threx and Taurus, near Jericho, which Pompey destroyed, according to Strabo, xvi. 2, 20, were probably different from Dag (p. 342), and were perhaps erected by Jannæus; but they are not mentioned anywhere else.

[8] P. 398 *note* 5.

(as at Nineveh in the Assyrian age) were led in the procession, and were afterwards obliged, even when set at liberty, to remain in Rome. Numbering some thousands, they formed the basis of that considerable Judean community[1] which was speedily destined to acquire so much significance, even for the Roman empire itself. The Roman poets and prose writers, Horace and others, were soon full of Judean topics, which were now brought close within their notice.

2. It is easy to understand, however, that the vanquished Judean chiefs who had struggled for the freedom of the people, and who on that account had found among the people an increasing number of adherents, could not bear their defeat with tranquillity. No long time had elapsed since the Sadducean leaders had proved their valour in the field, and now Aristobulus rose from the midst of his overthrow to fresh courage. With his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, together with some other relations, he was carried to Rome. On the way, however, Alexander escaped. North of Jerusalem he collected a large army, with which he surprised the city and compelled the Roman garrison to retire into the citadel. He even purposed restoring the walls which Pompey had destroyed, so that the city would have been divided, as in the Maccabean struggles, between two masters. This design, however, was frustrated by the Roman garrison, upon which he threw himself into the surrounding country, brought together a large armed force, erected fortifications in various quarters, and particularly garrisoned the three Maccabean fortresses.[2] In the meantime, Gabinius opportunely arrived from Rome and assumed Pompey's command. He advanced against Alexander with a large army composed of Roman, Judean, and Idumean troops, compelled him to take refuge in the fortress of Alexandreum,[3] marched through the whole country to put down the disturbances, giving special encouragement and support to the liberated towns in the task of restoring themselves, and then began to besiege the fortress. Upon this Alexander submitted, chiefly at the request of his mother, who was anxious for the fate of the captives in Rome, and now succeeded in obtaining a promise that all her children should be set free. The Roman general, however, had by this time learned better to understand the close dependence of the country far and wide upon Jerusalem. In order to break up the unity of the Judeans

[1] P. 240.

[2] P. 394. In Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, 2, the word ἀλλὰ before *τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἔπεσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι* should be erased, adopting Paret's emendation. The language of *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 2, which is in part more concise, refers to the same thing.

[3] P. 382.

as effectually as possible, he left to Hyrcanus only his purely spiritual office, and divided all the districts inhabited by Judeans into five circuits, with a supreme tribunal in each. These were located in Jerusalem; in Gadara for the northern, and Amathûs for the southern district east of the Jordan; in Jerîcho for the central division; and in Sepphoris for Galilee. No one from either of the other four circuits was any longer to carry his cause to Jerusalem. In each circuit several wealthy men were appointed to the administration, so that many persons congratulated themselves that the monarchy was now replaced in Roman fashion by an aristocracy!

Soon after this Aristobulus himself escaped with Antigonus from Rome. Although entirely destitute of resources, he found plenty of adherents in the country, amongst whom there was even an officer named Pitholaus who had previously fought against Alexander. His first step was to throw himself into Alexandreum north of Jerusalem, and restore its demolished walls. Here he was surrounded by the Romans, but, with great bravery, though also with great loss, he cut his way through to Machærûs, on the east of the Jordan. He was soon, however, obliged to surrender to Gabinius,[1] and was again carried off a prisoner to Rome.—In the Egyptian campaign undertaken by Gabinius immediately afterwards, about the year 56 B.C., Antipater contrived, by supplies and money, as well as by winning over to the side of Gabinius the Egyptian-Judean troops[2] stationed at Pelusium as guardians of the frontier, to secure a high place in his favour; and when, on his return from Egypt, Gabinius found almost the whole of Palestine again in uproar under the banner of Alexander, and heard that a number of Romans had taken refuge on Mount Gerîzîm and had there been massacred by the Judeans, Antipater well knew how at his bidding by flattering words to pour oil on the fire until the insurgents were defeated in a great battle at Mount Tabor.—The overthrow of Crassus, however, by the Parthians, and the advance of the latter across the Euphrates, 52–51 B.C., again fanned high the smouldering fire among the Judeans. Cassius was obliged to march against them from Tyre into Galilee; he defeated them near Tarichææ, on the Lake of Galilee, and carried away three thousand of them as slaves: by the desire of Antipater he also put to death their leader Pitholaus.—Such persistent efforts to overthrow Pompey's arrangements attracted attention in Rome. After the flight of Pompey from Rome,

[1] Cf. also Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 2; Plutarch, *Anton.* cap. 3.
[2] P. 358.

Cæsar, following his practice of revoking Pompey's decrees in Asia, set Aristobulus free, and in the year 49 B.C. proposed sending him with two legions to Syria. The Pompeians, however, so we are told, managed to remove him out of the way by poison before he started; yet his body was subsequently buried at Jerusalem with royal honours. His valiant son Alexander was executed by Pompey about the same time in Antioch. His widow, with her surviving son Antigonus and her daughters, was tempted to the court of a prince named Ptolemæus son of Mennæus, of evil memory, ruling in Chalcis in the Anti-Lebanon. He was probably of Judean extraction, and he allied himself with them by marriage.[1]

The important revolution in affairs caused by the victory of Cæsar might have proved in the highest degree perilous to Antipater. He quickly, however, determined on his course, and in the year 48 B.C., when the great general was seriously embarrassed in Egypt, he succeeded in exciting a general zeal among the petty Syrian and Arabian princes, hastened to his aid with a large body of picked troops, and, by his great coolness, judiciousness, and bravery, materially contributed in the Egyptian struggles to the ultimate victory. Moreover, he again contrived with the address of a master to detach the Egyptian-Judean troops on the frontier from their long-tried fidelity,[2] in particular by holding over them the will of Hyrcanus as their high-priest.[3] As he had already anticipated Antigonus, and put Cæsar under so many obligations to him, the application of Antigonus to be allowed to take possession of his paternal inheritance was quite fruitless. Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and had conceived for Antipater a decided partiality; and further, for the honour and

[1] This prince, after the fall of the Seleucidæ, had at first obtained possession of Damascus, pp. 390 sq.; but he was bitterly hated there, and finally only succeeded in defending Heliopolis and Chalcis, Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 10; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, 2, 16, 3; cf. xiv. 3, 2; 7, 4; 12, 1; 13, 3. He was the ancestor of Lysanias, Luke iii. 1; cf. *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* 4521, 4523. Whether he was a Judean, a proselyte, or a heathen, is nowhere clearly indicated by Josephus; we know, however, from other sources, that among the many independent rulers who grew like worms out of the corpse of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, there were also some Judeans, like Silas, the Tyrant of Lysias, whom Pompey destroyed, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3, 2 (on the situation of Lysias, east of the Jordan, see Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 40), and Bacchius Judæus, who appears by the side of a camel, holding out an olive branch to the victor, on a coin recently published (*Rev. Archéol.* 1859, pp. 326 sq., by Luynes; cf. Eckhel's *Doctr.* iii. p. 499): and that an Asmonean princess should have married a heathen is the more improbable at that period, for even princesses of the Herodian family were reluctant to do so, Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 1–3.

[2] P. 358.

[3] See the further details in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8, 1 sq. Whether or not Hyrcanus was himself in Egypt, as is presupposed in Cæsar's decree in his favour, *Ant.* xiv. 10, 2, is hardly of any importance, considering his well-known feebleness of disposition.

praise of the Alexandrian Judeans, he erected a public monument, ratifying at the same time their ancient privileges.[1]

The co-operation of these two men is one of the most remarkable events in this portion of the history, and led to the most important results. Different as they were in position and religion, they were inwardly of kindred dispositions. Each desired to have supreme power in his own sphere, each employed without hesitation every expedient to secure it, and both came to a similar end. Cæsar quicky recognised the great abilities of Antipater, confided in him and promoted his aims and those of his clients, showing in both respects more judgment than Pompey; but Antipater was always on his part most readily devoted to Cæsar and his connections,[2] and for this received from him even in the brief period of his supreme power the most important marks of friendship and gratitude. The Idumean was always judicious enough to give active prominence in every way to the honour and interests of the Judeans, so far as they coincided with his own, to promote their commerce and security in all countries far and wide, and even to pay the utmost attention to all foreigners engaged in trade, so that on one occasion the Athenians decreed to him, though the honour was nominally given to Hyrcanus, the erection of a statue and the gift of a golden crown.[3] In this endeavour to gain power by foreign trade and the consideration in the world which accompanies it, he was most readily aided by a large number of Judeans[4] within and without the sacred land; and he was aware that nothing would bring him more popularity than indulging their love of esteem and desire of gain. He accordingly availed himself most zealously of the friendship of Cæsar in this direction, and obtained for the Judeans throughout the whole Roman dominions advantages which render their loud lamentations after the murder of Cæsar[5] only too intelligible. Cæsar first of all made him a Roman citizen, with immunity from taxes, and next appointed him administrator (*procurator*) of all Judea in the more ex-

[1] P. 241. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, 7. To this, as to the other great favours and distinctions accorded to the Judeans by Cæsar and Augustus, Philo often alludes in his apologetic writings.

[2] The last occasion was after the murder of Sextus Cæsar in Syria, *Ant.* xiv. 11, 1.

[3] According to the decree which Josephus gives us, *Ant.* xiv. 8, 5, of which there is no cause to doubt the genuineness. Whether the Hyrcanus specified in it be the second of that name or the first, to whose reign the circumstance would be more appropriate, depends on the determination of the date of the Athenian magistracy in the document.

[4] Pp. 363 sq.

[5] Suet. *Cæs.* cap. 84.

tended sense (i.e. including Galilee and Samaria), thus revoking the decrees of Gabinius and the greater part of Pompey's arrangements; he also gave him permission to restore the walls of Jerusalem.[1] In the year 46 B.C., when he was preparing for the African war, Antipater came to him with further aid and fresh requests. In reply, after various negotiations, Cæsar made very extensive concessions, which, however, were not fully carried out until a short time after his death, when they were urgently pressed by a Judean embassy in Rome.[2] These decrees settled the immunity of the holy land from all military burdens, as well as the nature and amount of the tributes, with special reference also to the high-priest. Joppa was to belong to the estate of the high-priest; Galilee, Lydda,[3] and other places, were once more to belong to Judea; the Judeans were to be allowed throughout the whole Roman dominions to live in accordance with their own special laws, and to hold their own meetings; on account of the observance of the sabbath, special exemption was granted them from military service; and other privileges of a like nature were conceded.[4] To secure the strict observance of these decrees wherever there was any considerable number of resident Judeans, Antipater resorted to special embassies and other means of intercession.[5]

3. With friendship and concessions such as these, Antipater succeeded in establishing tranquillity throughout the country. He was in fact king, although he prudently avoided the name. In the meantime he appointed his eldest son, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; and his second son, Herod, governor of Galilee. This youth, who is said to have been only fifteen years old at the time,[6] could not display

[1] According to the decrees quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 8, 3–5, and 10, 2–5. The most important decrees, those, viz., in cap. 10, were first published from the MSS. with a more complete and certain text by Gronovius. It is partly perhaps the fault of Josephus himself that even he has not been able to reproduce them in their exact order and original form, but there is not the remotest reason to doubt their historical character; Josephus refers too often and too distinctly to the fact that the most important of them were still to be seen in his day in the Capitol.

[2] *Ant.* xiv. 10, 1, 9 sq.

[3] P. 228.

[4] *Ant.* xiv. 10, 6, the longest and most important decree: on the exemption from military service, see §§ 12–14, comp. with xviii. 3, 5. The taxes to be paid to the Romans after the conquest of Pompey were to be taken, according to these documents, to Sidon; but they probably ceased altogether when Herod became king. According to Epiphan., *Hær.* li. 9 sq., 22 sq., these taxes were still in force after the battle of Actium.

[5] The results of these are seen in such documents as are contained in *Ant.* xiv. 10, 8, 11–21.

[6] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, 2; but in that case he could hardly have been almost seventy years of age at his death, *Bell. Jud.* i. 33, 1; *Ant.* xvii. 6, 1. As far as numbers go, however, Josephus is very inaccurate in the latter part of his work. Whether the number 25, which Imm. Becker has printed, was found in some MSS. instead of 15 (as was recently maintained), I do not feel certain: the so-called Hegesippus, i. 25, leaves the number out altogether.

soon enough his uncommon abilities and his still greater ambition. The times were certainly favourable to the prudence of great ventures, and what was there which in such a situation a son of such a father, himself distinguished by more than ordinary gifts, could not attempt and dare? He at once managed to let the world hear of him; he cleared Galilee of the robbers who since the last disturbances[1] had made it their resort in considerable numbers, and thus won a high place in the favour both of the people and of the Roman general in Syria, Sextus Cæsar. But the sagacious elders in Jerusalem soon saw through him. Among the robbers whom he had captured were some born Judeans, like Hezekiah. These he had executed without consulting the Synedrium. This body had just regained its judicial powers over the whole country, and insisted all the more strictly on its sole right to inflict the penalty of death. Hyrcanus was obliged, therefore, even though against his will, to summon Herod before this supreme tribunal. His behaviour, when he appeared, was so defiant that only the stern voice of Sameas[2] recalled the judges to their duty. Before the sentence was pronounced, he retired to Damascus to the Roman general, and even proposed commencing war against Hyrcanus; and nothing but the representations of his father and elder brother induced him to adopt a more prudent course.

His father, however, was soon about to provide free scope for his boundless ambition. The third great revolution in Roman affairs which Antipater witnessed, resulting from the murder of Cæsar in the year 44 B.C., was wholly unexpected even by his sagacity. He endeavoured to address himself to the new situation, and undertook the heavy task of collecting the sum of seven hundred talents demanded from Judea by Cassius, who had just arrived in Syria, while Herod was ready as soon as possible with the portion assigned to him, and by his whole behaviour at once secured the good will of Cassius. But this fresh revolution, followed as it was by the inconsiderate severity of the levies of a Cassius,[3] made so deep an impression on the entire people that the hatred of Rome and the hope of winning some independent advantages from this desperate situation

[1] P. 402 sq.

[2] This stern teacher is certainly the same as the Shammai named in the Talmud, the opponent of Hillel; see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 63 sqq.—This episode, related in *Ant.* xiv. 9, 4 sq., has been altogether omitted by Josephus in *Bell. Jud.* i. 10, 7 sq.

[3] This assassin of Cæsar even caused the inhabitants and possessions of whole cities, including the magistrates, to be sold, if the whole sum required was not paid instantly; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11, 2; 12, 2; cf. Dio. Cassius, xlvii. 28.

involuntarily met and combined in restless minds. Some time before, Pitholaus[1] had deserted the cause of Hyrcanus II. and become an open antagonist of the Romans. In the same way a certain Malich,[2] who had been highly esteemed by Antipater and constantly promoted by him, now thought that by getting rid of his benefactor he should render a service to his country. An open attempt upon his life was frustrated at the very outset, and he therefore caused him to be secretly poisoned. Universally condemned for such base ingratitude, and suspected of personal ambition and of desiring first of all to get the high-priest in his power, and then to murder him, he effected by his crime nothing more than the excitement of a feeling that Antipater died as a pious and just man. Moreover, his malice immediately found its master in Herod, who calculated that the rebellion ought not to break out till after the departure of Cassius against Antony and Octavian; and although he rose in the regard of Hyrcanus, who had long been in mortal fear on account of the sovereign power of the house of Antipater, Herod allowed himself to be persuaded by Phasael to spare him for a time. Malich, however, though avoiding Cassius, suffered himself to be enticed to Tyre, where his son was placed as a hostage; and there Herod gave orders that he should be stabbed upon the shore by Cassius' own soldiers. The rising, which actually did break out in Jerusalem, with the support of the people, under the Roman governor Felix, after the departure of Cassius, while the brother of Malich was in possession of several fortresses, particularly Masâda, on the Dead Sea, was easily suppressed by Phasael and Herod. Herod, however, was now betrothed, with the consent of Hyrcanus, to his granddaughter Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, whose death we have already mentioned;[3] her mother, the sagacious Alexandra, the only child of Hyrcanus, who was of a kindred disposition to Herod, having made special efforts to secure this alliance for her daughter.

4. But there was now in the field again a far more dangerous enemy of the Romans, with a much better justification for his opposition, in the person of Antigonus, whose claim Cæsar had rejected, and who was now supported by the Roman general Fabius, in Damascus. He was brought back by his kinsman Ptolemæus[4] and a certain Marion, who, with the aid of Cassius himself, had made himself despot of Tyre. He had advanced as far as the mountains of Judah, when Herod, who was in the full tide of

[1] P. 403.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, 2; 11, 2–6.
[3] P. 404.
[4] *Ibid.*

victory, defeated him, and was received with honour by his friends in Jerusalem for his success. But the number of Herod's real friends had by no means increased. Those who looked deeper saw only too clearly that the sole design of the sons of Antipater was to obtain sovereign power, and it was already perceived that Herod was pursuing all the objects of his father, but with far more reckless self-seeking, and that he knew no greater pleasure than to win honour and glory for himself through the sweat and blood of others. If the choice had been between a capable member of the illustrious Asmonean house and a new house only half Judean, intent first of all on establishing its power by force, and, besides, in no way entitled to reign, in consequence of its Idumean origin, no conscientious Judean could have doubted for a moment. A burning question, therefore, now made its appearance in the history: was it right to be a Herodian, i.e. to pay homage to a sovereign who might be able to bring the friendship of Rome and other worldly advantages, but who had personally no title to reign by law and by religion? Before the gravity of this question the scholastic disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees fell more and more into the background, as they had done before when Pompey invaded the country and the first Roman wars broke out. They could only be carried on with real vigour beneath a sovereignty recognised by all; and while from this time forward the Sadducees, as mere philosophers of the schools, having no partisans among the people, held proudly and morosely aloof from public affairs, in the attitude described by Josephus and the New Testament, the new party of the Herodians was gradually formed.[1] The idea that all human sovereignty was to be rejected could not yet make any real way,[2] but in its heart of hearts the national consciousness resisted with the utmost determination the notion, now struggling for ascendency, of the purely worldly significance of the sovereignty as a matter to be decided merely by its momentary and outward advantages; and the gravest struggles took place before even so uncommonly able a man as Herod could form a party of Herodians. In the general movement of the times, the object which Herod had in view was, it is true, only too well founded. It was not in vain that the examples of a Cæsar and an Antony floated before him; but he was destined to learn without delay, in the first serious step to such power, how difficult it was to establish it in a community which he so little understood. Events were wind-

[1] On these see my work on *die drei ersten Evv.* pp. 196 sq.; and the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 1207.
[2] P. 399.

ing a more and more intricate coil, within which lay the question what was the true sovereignty, and what the true religion for establishing and maintaining it. This is in fact the one question upon which the whole history of Israel always finally turns, and it now led to a new and important crisis, before which the disputes of the schools faded away. But even those who would not join the party of Herod could not set up a sovereignty and religion intrinsically superior, nor could they find a proper instrument for it in Antigonus; and consequently the contest which is now kindled involves all those dark and destructive elements which reside in all obscure struggles for a higher good; and in the five years which follow we see the exact prelude to the great tragedy which was unfolded a hundred years later.

In the year 42 B.C., Antony, who had fought in Palestine under Gabinius, and had then learned to know Antipater as a valuable friend,[1] came to Asia Minor after the great victory over the murderers of Cæsar. There he was at once met by some of the principal Judeans with complaints against the 'two brothers.' The son of Antipater, however, who carried his future father-in-law along with him, soon contrived to win him over entirely by rich gifts and flatteries. He further obtained from Antony favourable decrees for the liberation and restoration of all who had suffered at the hands of Cassius, and for the inviolability of the whole Judean territory,[2] in its widest sense. Thus he gained honour from numbers as a benefactor, a part which he would play with brilliance and captivating condescension when he could discern his own advantage in it.[3] When Antony, however, arrived at Daphne, near Antioch, a hundred of the most eminent Judeans again appeared before him to complain. After also listening for appearance' sake to the dull-minded Hyrcanus, he would have put them to death in a fury, had not Herod entreated him to be content with simply making them prisoners. The two brothers he now appointed tetrarchs under Hyrcanus as king. On his way to Tyre, a thousand Judeans were once more in waiting on the shore with bitter complaints, warned in vain by Herod and Hyrcanus. Antony gave orders to his cavalry to strike them down as rabble troublesome beyond conception, and force them to be quiet, and he took this occasion to put the prisoners just mentioned to death. In the meantime, after the Roman monster

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, 2; 13, 1; cf. Plut. *Anton.* cap. 3.

[2] The documents containing these decrees of the Triumvir, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 12, 2–6, are certainly genuine.

[3] For instances of this see *Ant.* xiv. 11, 4, in the case of the Samaritans, 12, 1, of the Tyrians, 14, 3, of the Rhodians, and others below.

had quitted Syria, the country was overrun in the year 40 B.C. by the Parthians, who had been called in by the other Roman faction itself; and, while Lysanias, the son and successor of Ptolemæus,[1] came forward as mediator, the Parthians under their prince Pacorus and their general Barzaphernes undertook to secure for Antigonus his father's sovereignty, in return for the promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred daughters of the principal families. It cannot be denied (though Josephus seeks to conceal the fact as much as possible) that even with these associates Antigonus was most willingly received and supported by the greater part of the Judeans. How far the Babylonian Judeans had any hand in bringing about this result, as had been the case a century and a half previously,[2] we do not know; but we see the 'two brothers' suddenly crippled. While the Parthians were on the march along the coast, under command of Pacorus, and through the interior under Barzaphernes, they were received with the greatest joy, first of all at the glorious woods on Mount Carmel, and subsequently a small body detached by Pacorus (and led by the royal butler, also named Pacorus) was welcomed at Jerusalem itself. After a battle in the midst of the market place, the attacking party made their way into the temple. Here Herod attempted to shut them in, but his sixty guards were burnt, with their houses, by the people themselves, and all the rage of Herod availed him little. The people, streaming up to the feast of Pentecost, even compelled him to retreat into the Baris. It was in vain that Herod went skirmishing through the suburbs on the north; the Parthians, who had hitherto remained before the walls, pressed into the city with Antigonus. Phasael found himself compelled to repair with Hyrcanus to Barzaphernes, who was still in Galilee, and negotiate with him, while the cunning Herod, scenting treachery in that quarter, preferred to stay behind in the capital, watched by two hundred Parthian horsemen and ten of their nobles. In Galilee Phasael saw with bitterness the whole people in rebellion against the 'two brothers,' while he was himself conducted to Ecdippa, on the coast, where the principal Parthian camp was probably situated. It was in vain that he offered the Parthian commander a much larger sum than Antigonus had promised. Saramalla, the wealthiest man in that part of the country, who had contrived to initiate himself into the Parthian secrets, advised him through his friend Ophellius to flee at once. He nevertheless allowed himself and Hyrcanus to

[1] P. 404. [2] P. 285.

be outwitted and made prisoners. Herod, also, was to be enticed under some specious pretext before the walls of Jerusalem and seized; but he received timely warning through some faithful followers, and was further informed of his brother's capture. As crafty as he was proud, he accordingly resolved to flee in secret the same night, with all his treasures and adherents, and in particular to carry with him his future bride and mother-in-law, as well as the women of his own house, who would have suffered the most after his fall. He had to face the gravest difficulties and dangers at the hands of the Parthians, and was pursued with still more violence by the Judeans, so that on one occasion he was about to kill himself in despair; but he nevertheless succeeded in reaching the almost impregnable fortress of Masâda, at the southern end of the Dead Sea, where he left the women to the care of his brother Joseph. Antigonus thus became master of the kingdom, and immediately assumed the high-priesthood, under his Hebrew name of Mattathias.[1] He further gave orders that Hyrcanus should be carried away to Parthia, having first caused his ears to be cut off to disqualify him for the office of high-priest.[2] He would also, perhaps, have put Phasael to death, if Phasael had not anticipated this step by killing himself soon after he was made prisoner by the Parthians;[3] and he let the Parthians pay themselves as they pleased. The town of Marissa[4] was destroyed from some cause not wholly clear; it was probably desirous, as a town of Idumean origin, still to adhere to the fallen Idumeans.

5. Herod, on the other hand, hastened first of all towards Petra, to seek the aid of Malchus, the successor of Aretas,[5] the great friend of his father,[6] in collecting a large ransom for his brother, whom he believed to be still alive. Repelled from this place as a miserable fugitive, he made his way to Egypt, to Cleopatra, who would gladly have given him a command in her army. With true insight, however, he used every effort, in spite of

[1] His Hebrew name is now only known from a few coins with Greek and Hebrew letters, which have come down from his time; see Barthelemy quoted by Bayer in the appendix to the *Vindiciæ*, p. ix; and Eckhel, *Doctr.* iii. p. 480. All the coins of Antigonus, however, which have been hitherto discovered, have been of a peculiar kind.—Herod, on the other hand, and all the members of his house, only employed Greek letters on their coins, but avoided (with the exceptions to be explained below) every image of men or gods upon them. Both of these facts are very distinctive; see those published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, pp. 65 sq., 271 sq.

[2] See the *Alterth.* p. 316.

[3] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2, 1, with xiv. 13, 10; the comparison shows what hatred was felt by many for Antigonus.

[4] Pp. 350 sq.

[5] See Nabatean coins of מלכו בן חרתת in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1864, p. 287 sq.

[6] Pp. 397 sq.

the autumn gales then raging, to reach Rome. There he found in Antony (especially as the latter was then busily planning his Parthian campaign), and also in Octavian, as the heir of Cæsar, the great friend of Antipater, the most willing patrons; and within seven days he succeeded so far as to obtain a decree of the Senate appointing him king of all Judea in its wider sense, and declaring Antigonus the enemy of the Romans.[1] In the meantime Antigonus pressed the fortress of Masâda very hard; nothing but the unexpected fall of abundant rain saved the friends of Herod, who were reduced to despair through want of water. The Roman governor of Syria, Ventidius, advanced to recapture Jerusalem, but, like his lieutenant, Silo, he was very sluggish over the enterprise. It was said, indeed, that they were both bribed by Antigonus. Without the fiery zeal of Herod, the Idumean party would clearly have soon been everywhere suppressed; but he, with his new dignity and his still prouder hopes, managed to overcome the thousand difficulties of every kind which still stood in his way, and thus made the war which now followed for the possession of the country and lasted nearly three years, one of the most instructive events of the history.

In the spring of the year 39 B.C. he landed at Ptolemais with as many troops as he had been able to collect upon the way. In spite of his new royal dignity and his alliance with Rome, the greater part of the people were against him. Only the former friends of the Idumean house and many wealthy persons, who preferred tranquillity above everything, were in his favour. A very few, like Sameas[2] and his teacher the Pharisee Pollio, had a further reason for remaining quiet, that they saw through the hollowness of the patriotic party also; and when at last Jerusalem was besieged they even advised its surrender.[3] Herod was obliged, therefore, in fact first of all to conquer the whole country; and in spite of his uncommon abilities this was a matter of sufficient difficulty. It was above all necessary for him to hasten to the relief of Masâda; but he took the precaution of first subduing Galilee and then Joppa, receiving but feeble support from the Roman general. Meanwhile numbers of men gathered round him, attracted by his talents: he relieved Masâda, captured also the fortress of Rêssa in the south,[4] and advanced to besiege Jerusalem. From this city the

[1] Josephus gives himself a great deal of trouble to no purpose, *Ant.* xiv. 14, 5, to prove that Herod had really only sought the royal dignity for an Asmonean, viz. the brother of his wife; but in that case he could have been no Herod.

[2] P. 407.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1, 1; cf. p. 398.

[4] The position of this fortress, which is also spelt Θρῆσσα, can only be inferred

Parthians had withdrawn some time before into Northern Syria, and Antigonus wavered to and fro in his critical task of struggling against Herod as well as against the Romans. He protested to the Romans that if they would not have him as king, they should at least only replace him by another member of his house. He sought to acquire the favour of the Roman general, and even rivalled Herod in making the best preparations for the Romans for their camp in the impending winter; but yet he was obliged to attempt to cut off the supplies which Herod procured through Jericho out of Samaria, which from hatred of Jerusalem was strongly devoted to him, and he was unable to prevent the Romans from themselves occupying and plundering Jericho, near which the two Judean parties were violently struggling. During this winter (B.C. 39–38) Herod had, indeed, no rest. He despatched his brother Joseph to Idumea to prevent any 'revolutions' from breaking out there; he placed his wives in security in Samaria; marched in person against Galilee, the greater part of which had gone over again to Antigonus; after a severe combat vanquished the 'robbers' at Arbêla, east of the chief town, Sepphoris, which he had previously taken; and, through his youngest brother, Pherôras, restored the important fortress of Alexandreum,[1] as the nearest bulwark against Jerusalem from the north. Not yet, however, was the whole country tranquillised, and when the tyrant thought that he had at last enslaved all Galilee, many of the most desperate took refuge with wife and child in caves under the most inaccessible cliffs. These he now ingeniously cleared out by letting down some of his mercenaries in baskets suspended from above by ropes, but the process was accompanied with the most atrocious cruelties;[2] and yet he had scarcely taken his departure to Samaria when the whole country was again in flames against his governor, and he only succeeded in restoring some amount of quiet by severities still more oppressive. When the Parthian campaign was half over, Antony sent two legions, with the cavalry appertaining to them, to his aid; but when their leader, Machæras, entered the country he was thrown into such confusion by an embassy of Antigonus (and also, it was said, by his bribes) about the whole subject of the dispute, that he treated the Judeans on either side as enemies. Upon

from *Ant.* xiv. 13, 9; 15, 2, and the corresponding passages in the *Bell. Jud.*; lying far to the south, it is perhaps identical with רִסָּה, Num. xxxiii. 21 sq.

[1] P. 382.

[2] Especially the setting on fire of the caves, so that those who were shut up within were suffocated in the smoke: an act of cruelty justly made the subject of reproach against the French in the Algerian war.

this Herod resolved to hasten to Antony, who was then at Samosata, on the Euphrates, and was thoroughly tired of Syrian affairs. He brought him fresh resources, and by new services rendered himself so acceptable to him that Antony promised him all support, and in particular the assistance of two more legions under the command of the valiant general Sosius (or Sossius).

It was now, however, high time for him to return; his kingdom had yet to be conquered, and up to the beginning of the year 37 B.C. everything went very unfavourably. His brother Joseph had allowed himself to be drawn into a battle near Jericho, and had been defeated and slain. All Galilee was again in rebellion, and through the fury of the oppressed many of Herod's adherents had even been hunted into the lake. The far south, too, was in a ferment, and Machæras had been obliged to throw himself into the fortress of Gitta.[1] These events had also stimulated to an incredible degree the courage of those who had been for two years shut up in Jerusalem. It was resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and the turn which affairs had so far taken was regarded as the premonitory sign of the final coming of the great help of heaven. Messianic hopes woke up in assurance of speedy fulfilment; and Antigonus despatched under Pappus against the Roman general Machæras and against Samaria an army, which encamped at Isanas.[2] Herod was at Daphne, near Antioch, when the news of this reached him. With two legions caught up upon his march he hastened furious to the south. He made his way safely through Galilee, and then fell on Jericho and its neighbourhood. There is no parallel to the cruelty with which, in order to avenge his brother's death, he set on fire five cities near Jericho, slaying at the same time two thousand men. The army of Pappus made a brave resistance, but was defeated, and Herod caused even the unarmed to be strangled in immense heaps. The terror which he excited now became general, and had it not been still winter, he might have captured Jerusalem without delay. He preferred, however, to conduct the siege quietly in better weather, availing himself of the experiences of Pompey twenty-seven years previously; nay, he was now so

[1] The common reading, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 17, 2, places this Gitta in Idumea, so that we could not suppose it to be that situated in Samaria; but in *Ant.* xiv. 15, 10, the language of Josephus is less definite, and that it really did lie in Samaria is confirmed by *Ant.* xiv. 15, 12.

[2] This place, *Ant.* xiv. 15, 12, for which, however, we find Cana, *Bell. Jud.* i. 17, 5, should therefore be looked for not too far from Gitta, and is perhaps the present Azzun to the south of it. It is true that in the passage cited from the *Bell. Jud.*, it is only the position of Herod's camp which is mentioned; still it is probably the same place.

sure of his speedy and final victory that he married his royal bride in Samaria during the siege. Sosius, also, with his powerful army, now advanced for the first time from Phœnicia against Jerusalem; and an immense force of Roman and Judean troops gradually gathered around the city, which was now completely invested. The summer of 37, however, brought heavy toils to both besiegers and besieged. Within the city was a large and exceedingly active party, ready to fight to the death, and well practised in all the arts of defence, while many put their hopes in the invincibility of the holy place. Special zeal for the cause of Antigonus was displayed by the sons of Bâbâs, who were related to him, and enjoyed great esteem among the people,[1] as well as by many others belonging to the noblest families. Moreover, in consequence of the proximity of the sabbatical year,[2] there was a great want of provisions throughout the whole neighbourhood, while the besieged had collected all its previous produce for themselves. The first wall was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen. The outer part of the temple was next captured, not, however, without reducing some of its buildings to ashes, and with it the lower city. The besieged then retired into the inner temple and the upper city, asked for animals for their daily sacrifice, and continued their defence undaunted. This rendered the final assault the more ferocious and reckless, when the Judeans in Herod's forces were no less wanton than the Romans. Herod restrained the Roman soldiers, it is true, from desecrating the temple and plundering the city, rewarding them out of his private fortune. Antigonus, however, who at length with shameful faint-heartedness gave himself up to Sosius, was dishonourably executed at Antioch by Antony, at Herod's request.[3] It happened that Jerusalem fell on this occasion, as it had fallen twenty-seven years before under Pompey, on the great fast day; and thus did a Mattathias bring to a close the last real elevation of Israel, which his ancestor Mattathias had formerly begun.

[1] Cf. *Ant.* xv. 7, 10.

[2] *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2; xv. 1, 2. According to what has been already said, p. 343, there had been fourteen such years, or ninety-eight ordinary years. This estimate agrees exactly, and consequently contains an important confirmation of all further computations of this period.

[3] Cf. the brief narratives of these events by heathen writers, Strabo, in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1, 2; Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, and also Plut. *Anton.* cap. 36; Liv. *Epit.* 128. Strabo in particular gives due prominence to the fact that this dishonourable execution of a king against all usage (by the axe) was only allowed by the Romans, because it seemed to be absolutely necessary on Herod's account for terrifying the Judeans. In his *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 46, Strabo also says some very severe things about Herod, who had then only been dead a few years.

III. Herod and the Ruins of the Asmoneans, 37–4, B.C.

Having thus attained dominion over the whole country by his own ambition and violence, together with Roman aid and under the dreaded protection of Roman supremacy, Herod maintained his power almost unchallenged for a period of thirty-four years, until his death.[1] During his reign there were not wanting intelligent men who highly admired his daring energy and his very successful rise in the world; who even discerned in the accidents of his life marks of a special divine protection;[2] who attached themselves to him with unchanging fidelity, and served him gladly with all the abilities which they possessed. Those among his servants who were entrusted with the highest posts of power remained loyal to him even after his death. Such were his secretary, the orator Nicolaus, belonging to an eminent family of Damascus,[3] Ptolemæus,[4] brother of Nicolaus, keeper of the great seal and minister of finance, and a number of military officers. In Nicolaus, in particular, he possessed a servant of inestimable ability and faithfulness, whose equal he would have sought in vain. Famous also in the sphere of heathen literature, this personage[5] was himself sprung from a very wealthy family. At an early age he was a highly educated Peripatetic, and was well versed in history. He was an extremely clever poet, orator, and administrator; he could entertain princes—even Augustus—agreeably; and he was besides, both in learned pursuits and in public

[1] This number is quite firmly established by data so exact as Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 33, 8; *Ant.* xvii. 8, 1. According to this, therefore, Herod died about three years before the Christian era. On the harmonising of this with the New Testament and the chronology of this period generally see vol. v. [German].—On a new biography of Herod see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. pp. 230 sq.

[2] For instance, when in the last war he went just in time out of a house, whose roof fell in immediately after, or when, unarmed and even unclothed, he escaped from the danger of falling into the hands of armed enemies, as is related at length in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 15, 11, 13; cf. xv. 6, 7.

[3] Josephus does not say that he was a Judean; but it is certain that there was a large Judean community in Damascus, to which he might have belonged, p. 239; there was no need for him, however, as a Hellenist, to be a better Judean than his master himself. If the Damascene who, according to Eustathius on Dionys. *Periegesis*, v. 976, wrote the drama of Σωσανὶς or Σωσαννή, were the same, we should possess a still more distinct proof; for that Nicolaus wrote dramas is also stated by Suidas under *Nicolaus*; but when we find that he also states that his father Antipater, when on his death-bed, ordered him to sacrifice τῷ Διί, we see that we must not infer too much from this.

[4] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9, 4 (Herod had given Ptolemæus a village near Samaria, xvii. 10, 9); 8, 2; xvi. 7, 2; 8, 5; 10, 5, 7. The trifling contradiction between *Ant.* xvii. 9, 3, and 4 is insignificant; cf. further *Bell. Jud.* i. 24, 2; 33, 8; ii. 2, 1, 3 (where the same contradiction also occurs); 4, 3; 5, 1.

[5] We are better acquainted with him from the important fragments of his biography, Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Grec.* iii. pp. 348–355; yet this appears to me not to have been written by himself, but probably by his brother.

affairs, an absolutely indefatigable worker. He did not seek court service for its rewards or pleasures; on the other hand, though extremely popular and highly esteemed among the most powerful Romans of his time, he always kept himself like a true Peripatetic in a wise simplicity and retirement, and found his chief pleasure in the occupations of a literary man. When he had once, however, entered the service of Herod, who was about ten years older than himself,[1] he continued uninterruptedly faithful to him, although he did not always approve of his actions: and in his great work on universal history in one hundred and forty-four books,[2] which he began, indeed, during the lifetime and in part for the entertainment of the king, he described his whole career after its close with as much minuteness as partiality and affection. Though probably Judean in origin, he was, however, in disposition completely heathen, like his sovereign; and it is therefore less surprising that in narrating his master's life he often employs language of concealment or palliation of which even Josephus openly expresses his disapproval.[3]

But even if we contemplate the personality of Herod apart from his friends and flatterers, we cannot deny that there have rarely been united in any ruler so much tenacious strength of mind, so much almost inexhaustible address and sagacity, and so much inflexible activity, as were combined in him: even the surname of the Great, though only applied to him subsequently by a misunderstanding of a Greek expression,[4] he at any rate merits within the series of his own family and in the circuit of the sovereigns of the century. Loving power and command above everything, he was yet not insensible to the blessings of

[1] As we learn from his biography, *Op. cit.* p. 353.

[2] The fragments which have been preserved are printed, with some new ones of larger extent, now published for the first time, in Müller's *Fragm.* iii. pp. 356 sqq. Perhaps his life of Augustus also originally formed only a section of this gigantic work. Such a writer would certainly be able to call to his aid many tributary hands, and his hundred and forty-four books remind us of the hundred and forty of Livy.

[3] *Ant.* xvi. 7, 1.

[4] Josephus first employs this surname in the history of the family of the Herods, *Ant.* xviii. 5, 4. It might, therefore, be reasonably conjectured that originally the name simply meant, in Hebrew fashion, *the elder*, in contrast to the younger Herod (Antipas) and others; as we find Ἑλκίας ὁ μέγας, *Ant.* xviii. 8, 4; and in the exactly corresponding case of *Agrippa the Great*, *Ant.* xviii. 2, 2; xviii. 5, 1, 4; xx. 5, 2, we might simply suppose a contrast intended to Agrippa II. as the younger of this name. But if this Agrippa was designated on a coin ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC (Eckhel, *Doctr.* iii. p. 492), because he once more ruled over all Palestine in its wider extent, it would have been still easier to give Herod a similar title (although the coins of his reign hitherto found do not bear the word ΜΕΓΑC), and it may be from this source that the surname should be derived. In that case it only contained the same sort of boast as that of an Indian prince of the present day, who calls himself Mahârâjah; and in fact Agrippa, at any rate in the last passage cited, *Ant.* xx. 5, 2, is not called simply ὁ μέγας, but, as on the coin, ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς.

honourable tranquillity and the arts of peace. After such tedious and desolating struggles, the whole country longed for rest, and accordingly the labours of Herod for the external prosperity and honour of his house and his people found a most happy response in the similar need of repose which was then so forcibly experienced throughout the whole Roman empire. And yet the end of his reign was destined to be practically the end of the new dynasty established by him with such prodigious effort; and what was much worse, his memory was to be justly cursed by his contemporaries and by posterity, and his whole career upon the throne, with all its outward success and splendour, was to be irremediably disastrous and full of affliction; so that there has scarcely ever been a sovereign whose life, passed in the enjoyment of all possible power and glory, terminated more painfully in itself or more mischievously for the kingdom at large. The greater the personal sins and incurable errors by the aid of which he had attained power, the more inevitable was it that they should combine with the deeper causes of the irremediable corruption of the hagiocracy, in the form it had then attained, to spin out the eternal thread of human affairs to this melancholy end.

Perverse and sinful, however, as Herod might be upon the throne, through his own fault, it is still a fact not to be overlooked that the period of the history of Israel and the hagiocracy in which his life fell was on its side also too perverse and weak to prevent him from developing and maintaining such dispositions when in power. The gravity of his guilt consisted simply in this,—it was but a single error, yet of a most frightful and detestable nature—viz. that he chose to govern by the aid of all the contradictions and perversions into which the hagiocracy was sinking deeper and deeper. His system as a ruler was to leave the established religion of Israel untouched in outward honour, and he had not the least intention of playing the part of an Antiochus Epiphanes; he knew in fact too well that if he did so, the fate of that prince would soon overtake him. As the sovereign of Israel, therefore, he even submitted himself outwardly to its religion as far as possible, and promoted the well-being of its confessors, as far as this course harmonised with his own royal advantage. These objects, however, were only pursued in the same way as any other external interests of life and government; his heart was not remotely touched or guided by the truths of the religion; and neither by his origin nor his position did he ever find himself either inwardly or outwardly constrained to adopt them. In

the case of the Asmoneans, their origin in a purely national struggle for the true religion, as well as their priestly descent and their possession of the high-priesthood, led them as strictly as possible to its genuine observance and sanctification; and whenever they diverged from this object, everyone had the right to sharpen their conscience and recall them to their primitive duty. But Herod had been placed on his throne by the Romans; he was a layman; and his position in Israel, therefore, was that of a foreigner, who only adhered to the religion of Israel out of prudence, so far as appeared absolutely necessary. There still lurked in him even a strong element of the coarse tiger nature to which the ancient Idumeans had accustomed themselves, which burst forth with the utmost vehemence as soon as ever the object in view was power and outward honour. He had not the remotest desire himself to be high-priest, and thought he had done quite enough when he filled up the office at his own discretion, and made over to his nominee the duty of caring for sacred things. He did not wish to come into collision with the schools of the Pharisees and others, which were then at the height of success, provided they would only conduct themselves peaceably towards him: but the truths which they taught were a matter of perfect indifference to him. He wanted to be a Judean; but he went much further than previous sovereigns in keeping the people in check by means of foreign mercenaries from distant lands, such as Gallians, Germans, and Thracians.[1] His only object was himself, his own interests and passions, and he considered himself entirely justified in gratifying these, provided only he maintained erect the inward tranquillity and the outward honour of the nation, which the Asmoneans (as he used to say, and in part with truth[2]) had been unable to uphold. He was fond of the splendour and the magnanimity of royalty; nor had he the least hesitation in rendering services also to foreigners and heathen; nay, he would even display towards them a special munificence and generosity,[3] as though he found a secret pleasure in thereby indemnifying himself for the Judean constraint which he was in other respects obliged to place upon himself; while, on the other hand, he had a peculiar hatred for the nobly born of his own race (the Eupatridæ, to borrow a Greek expression), and continually persecuted

[1] *Ant.* xvii. 1, 1; 8, 3; Octavian presented him with four hundred of Cleopatra's Gallic spearmen; *Ant.* xv. 7, 3.

[2] Cf. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 3; xv. 11, 1.

[3] Besides the cases already cited from his earlier days (p. 410), see those after he became king, *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 11 sq.; *Ant.* xv. 9, 2; xvi. 2, 2; and particularly xvi. 5, 3; xvii. 11, 2; and the strong expression of Josephus put off till xix. 7, 3.

them,[1] as in fact the circumstances of his position compelled him to do. Such was the attitude in Israel of this despot, still a Judean and yet no longer a Judean, still less an Israelite in the high sense of the word. The real and deeper evils of the time he could not remove, with all his violence and cruelty, for he would not even distantly recognise them; and consequently, when the tranquillity which he enforced came to an end with his death, the final overthrow was all the more speedy and desolating. This was in fact only the signal for the inner defects inhering in this as in every hagiocracy to reveal themselves with all the more force. The hagiocracy was not openly and fundamentally contradicted by Herod, although he had at heart no honour for it, and in some cases even transgressed many of its prescriptions. But it was unable to make him a better and holier man than he was; it had allowed him to grow up with this nature, and during the thirty-four years of his reign it had not the smallest power to improve him, or make any deeper impression upon him. For it is its peculiar danger to encourage the outward veneration of an old-established religion, which is not, however, understood in its real depth or applied in all its vitality. What was only, therefore, a characteristic possibility in the shape offered by the hagiocracy, was hardened in Herod into the most terrible sin; and if it was the guilt of this particular individual to have given practical shape to this offence, the hagiocracy, by the mere fact of its tolerance of him and its inability to arouse any fundamental opposition to him, or even, in its need of outward tranquillity, to dispense with him, revealed its own great weakness and helplessness. Herod was cunning enough to see into its feebleness and secretly laugh at its impotence; he was mean enough to employ them for his own purposes and passions, while outwardly willing to attach himself to it;[2] he was even so dastardly and base as to

[1] Cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 26, 2, and further the complaints of the Judean embassy before Augustus after Herod's death, *Ant.* xvii. 11, 2, and also in Jerusalem, *ibid.* 9, 4; it is clear, moreover, from these passages that there was very great arbitrariness exercised in the collection of the heavy taxes.

[2] In this respect another powerful Idumean, and older contemporary of Herod, Costobar, was somewhat more honourable. He was descended, according to Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 7, 9 sq.; xvi. 7, 6; *Bell. Jud.* i. 24, 6 (cf. also *Ant.* xviii. 5, 4), from an ancient Idumean priestly family, which served the god Coze (on this deity see Tuch, *iiber die Sinaï-inschriften*, p. 73, and the new Nabatean inscriptions; the Nabatean god קצין, in the inscription in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1864, p. 286, is unquestionably the same). He fought valiantly under Herod, and was appointed by him governor of Idumea and Gaza, and was soon married to his sister Salômê, after she had lost her first husband Joseph; but he always entertained a secret aversion to the Herodeans, and to the whole Judean system; and would gladly, through the instrumentality of Cleopatra, and subsequently of Alexandra, have set himself and all the Idumeans once more free from Judeanism. In this respect he was a remarkable man for his age. The same name recurs again

use the money which he drained like blood from the people he despised and from its hagiocracy chiefly in procuring honour and glory in the heathen world, which was now, as he well knew, the seat of sovereign power.[1] The hagiocracy had already begun to show under the Asmoneans that it is precisely the strongest party in the state which it is least able to sanctify; it now reveals the same incapacity still more incontestably, nay, in the most striking instance possible. But this does not remove the great personal guilt of Herod, nor excuse the characteristic course in which his career as a ruler was inevitably to develop from the warm present to its final goal.

1. Herod had not acquired royal power without committing various and grave crimes against the Asmonean house. He had completely overthrown a dynasty with which he had nevertheless found it expedient to ally himself in marriage; he had overthrown it without being competent to govern in any radically better way, or to found a better dynasty; nay, he had not even attained a clear idea of what was requisite for this object in such a community. He had overthrown it without being summoned or encouraged to do so by the majority of the people; he had even defied the manifest wishes of large numbers of the best men in the nation. From the beginning, therefore, he was neither secure in his own conscience nor in popular opinion, while in the eyes of the nation as well as in his own he was nothing more than a Roman subject, and he was compelled to make it a constant aim to satisfy Roman potentates, and their friends and servants too. One of his first acts after taking possession of Jerusalem was the execution of forty-five of the leading partisans of Antigonus, whose whole property he appropriated to himself. This excessive thirst for money he displayed continually; the bitterest complaints of the oppression of the taxes he received with scorn;[2] and it was only from prudence that he sometimes on occasions of extraordinary rejoicing remitted small portions of the tributes im-

still later in a kinsman of the Herodeans, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, 4; *Ant.* xx. 9, 4.

From the time of Antipater, we again hear a good deal of the condition of the Idumeans. Their names, for instance, were partly Judean, partly Greek like Herod, partly old Idumean like Phalion (*Ant.* xiv. 2, 3), Phasael, Pherôras, Costobar (cf. Κοσβάρακος Μαλίχου Ἰδουμαῖος in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* iii. p. 524), a faithful picture of the mischievous mixture then prevailing in their usages and ideas.

[1] It is curious to see how in one passage, *Ant.* xvi. 5, 4, Josephus rises to the attempt to combine the wholly different views of Herod which were already current. But his inability to find any higher quality in him than ambition, and his endeavour to derive everything from this one source, prove how little he was capable of grasping his character with any real depth, or of judging him correctly.

[2] *Ant.* xv. 1, 2; xvii. 8, 4; 11, 2.

posed on his subjects.[1] Even those of his former opponents whom he allowed to live, he never ceased to torment, while, on the other hand, he honoured the Pharisee Pollio and his disciple Sameas,[2] because during the siege of Jerusalem they had advised the surrender of the city, though only in despair of any better fate. Against his knowledge and will, Costobar,[3] who was at the head of the guard of the city and country, removed the sons of Bâbâs,[4] who had hitherto been persons of so much influence, to a quiet place, and even obstinately denied afterwards that he had been privy to their transfer.—But even after he had succeeded through the terror of these years in carrying out all his plans, he could not eradicate that new affection of the people for the surviving ruins of the Asmonean house, which was growing up in secret with surprising vigour. The few remnants saved from the shipwreck, in part subdued by the consciousness of their own, even if lesser, guilt, had not the most distant idea of attempting to shake his power. But his evil conscience and his sleepless suspicion led him at the very beginning of his reign, without the least outward compulsion, to weave a tissue in whose poisonous meshes not only were these almost innocent survivors wholly destroyed, but his own malice prepared for himself a torture which, with its interminable and speechless agony, grew keener and keener throughout his whole reign.

The grandfather of his bride, and his own great benefactor, Hyrcanus, whose only fault had been too much good-nature, particularly towards Herod, had been for three years living in Babylonia.[5] He had been carried there by the Parthians as a prisoner, but he was respected by them, and highly honoured by the numerous and still eminent Judeans residing there, on account of the vicissitudes of his life, and his lofty office. Herod, however, ambitious and anxious at the same time, zealously urged him to return. The old man allowed himself to be persuaded,[6] received once more in Jerusalem the reverence due to him, but could not again discharge his high-priestly functions.[7] Hence Herod at once designated to the office a person entirely devoted to him, named Ananel, who belonged to another high-priestly family,[8] and had previously removed

[1] *Ant.* xv. 10, 4.
[2] P. 413.
[3] P. 421 *note* 2.
[4] P. 416.
[5] P. 412.
[6] In the *Arm. Chron.* of Moses of Chorênê, ii. 23–26, 28, there are some long stories of the way in which Hyrcanus was released from Parthia, and also of the military relations of the Armenian king to Herod and his son, the tetrarch Antipas. But they widely differ from our other authorities, and so far no one has been able to trace them out in detail.
[7] P. 412.
[8] Cf. *Ant.* xv. 2, 4 with 3, 1. Subse-

from Babylonia. There was still a scion of the Asmonean house qualified for the high-priesthood, in the person of Aristobulus, a brother of Queen Mariamne;[1] and his mother Alexandra cherished the very just wish that the office might remain open for this young heir, who was then only sixteen years of age. Herod, however, was evidently desirous to seize the favourable opportunity to make the high-priesthood from this time quite subject to himself, to divest it of its hereditary descent in the Asmonean or any other family, and only to leave it as much power as the letter of the law required. This, however, if one chose to interpret it so, demanded nothing more than that the high-priest should be a descendant of Aaron. Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law,[2] a woman of great judgment and activity, had not previously believed him, her son-in-law, capable of the most infamous actions, and by her wise advice had once rendered him the most important services when he was hard pressed by the Parthians.[3] On this occasion, however, she was afraid to mention to Herod openly her wishes for her son, and applied for mediation to Cleopatra, the powerful mistress of Antony, who was then passing his time with her. This voluptuary, thereupon, desired Herod to send him the youth, who, he had heard, was exceedingly beautiful. To this Herod could not consent, and he suddenly cut all further proceedings short by actually making the youth of seventeen years old high-priest, committing in so doing a double offence against established usage, by appointing a person under twenty-one years of age to the high-priesthood,[4] and arbitrarily deposing one who was already consecrated. His mother-in-law, however, had now become an object of complete suspicion and hatred, and he confined her to her residence. Yearning for freedom, she resolved to flee with her son to Cleopatra, but her attempt was frustrated by the treachery of a servant, who dreaded the anger of the king. Herod at first behaved as though he bore no resentment. At the Feast of Tabernacles, however, the youth of eighteen years was received with too joyous acclamations by the people, and the king accordingly caused himself to be invited to a rural feast given by his mother-in-law at Jericho, and there gave secret orders to his servants to strangle him as they were sporting in the bath.[5]

quently, he was again appointed by Herod, xv. 3, 3.

[1] P. 408.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13, 6.

[4] Contrary to the law referred to in the *Alterth.* pp. 322 sq.; cf. the precedent already mentioned, pp. 270 sq.

[5] According to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 22, 2, some Gallians were concerned in the act as mercenaries.

With this crime the last hope of the Asmoneans seemed to be taken away, but the hypocritical dissimulation and feigned grief of the Idumean could not deceive the unhappy mother, and at her instigation Cleopatra managed to persuade Antony to summon him before his tribunal to clear himself of the charge. Herod easily wheedled the voluptuary into letting him alone. In his bovine brutality, however, and dark jealousy, he had charged Joseph, the husband of his sister Salômê, in case he should not return, to put to death his beloved wife Mariamne. When he came back, therefore, he was enraged to find that his secret had been betrayed, and to learn that the two Asmonean princesses had formed the design, if he should not return, of placing themselves under the protection of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. His sister Salômê, who was of a disposition entirely similar to his own, dexterously raked up the fire of his groundless suspicions; and he accordingly executed Joseph, put Alexandra in chains, and almost went so far as to kill his royal wife.

These events took place in the year 35; so early had he laid the foundation of the most mischievous discords and abominations in his own house! With Antony, also, he had lost favour. Cleopatra, who had succeeded in persuading him to put Lysanias[1] to death as a traitor, and who tormented him continually for the possession of Judea and Arabia, contrived to extract from him, besides all the cities of the coast, the cession at least of certain Judean and Arabian districts, in particular of the extremely productive country around Jericho.[2] In his first fit of rage at this, Herod was even desirous of secretly compassing her death; but he allowed himself to be persuaded by his advisers to farm these districts again under her. All this operated so prejudicially upon his fame that the friends of the Asmoneans began to stir once more in many parts of the country, and he was obliged to besiege for a considerable time the fortress of Hyrcania,[3] of which a surviving sister of Antigonus had taken possession.[4] Thus drew on the year 31, with its war for the world between Octavian and Antony. Herod intended to lead all his troops in person to the aid of the latter in the great contest. Cleopatra, however, sought to involve

[1] P. 411.

[2] According to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 3; *Ant.* xv. 7, 3, he must also have ceded to Cleopatra Samaria, and, on the eastern side of the Jordan, Gadara, p. 388, and Hippus, p. 236. Cf. the recently discovered Egyptian-Greek inscription in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1864, pp. 420 sq.

[3] P. 382.

[4] This is passed over by Josephus in the *Ant.*, probably from mere neglect; he had briefly alluded to it in *Bell. Jud.* i. 19, 1.

him in a war with the Arabian king, Malchus, who had let the payment of his tribute fall into arrears, in which she hoped if possible to get rid of him. He was obliged, therefore, to march across the Jordan at the head of Egyptian and Judean troops. This war was not without peril, owing, in particular, to the secret instructions of an Egyptian general, Athenio. Herod was victorious at Dion;[1] and further east, at Kanatha,[2] he had already gained a victory in the field, when Athenio caused the inhabitants of the city to make a sudden attack upon him in a country most difficult to traverse. By this stroke he induced the wavering Arabs to rally once more, and won so absolute a victory that he actually captured the whole Judean camp at the village of Ormiza, where the majority of the troops had taken refuge. Herod now found himself limited to arduous petty warfare; and a terrible earthquake, which in the spring of this year carried off thirty thousand persons and caused fearful desolations through the country, crowned his disasters, so that he was obliged to retreat across the Jordan, and the Arabs overran everything with increasing boldness. It was only by great efforts that he revived the exhausted courage of his troops,[3] marched again across the Jordan further to the south, and contended for a long time with the Arabian general Elthem, for a mountain fortress near Philadelphia. With the capture of this stronghold he at last brought to a close this exceedingly bloody war, and compelled the Arabians throughout the whole country to recognise him as their supreme sovereign.

The defeat of Antony at Actium seemed as if it would necessarily involve the fall of Herod also; and his position was now generally despaired of. For years he had been most zealously devoted to the powerful reveller. Up to the battle of Actium he had sent him large resources; and even after his defeat he remained faithful to him. Not till Antony declined to follow his advice and put Cleopatra to death, did he abandon his cause and prevent further auxiliaries from joining him.[4] With his

[1] P. 391.

[2] In Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5, 1, we should, according to *Bell. Jud.* i. 19, 2, read Καναθά for Κανά; the most north-eastern city of this name is certainly intended here, as perhaps also in p. 391.

[3] The tolerably long speech of Herod to his soldiers, which Josephus had inserted in *Bell. Jud.* i. 19, 4, is replaced by a still longer one in *Ant.* xv. 5, 3; for from the beginning of the career of Herod, where the history entered quite into the Greco-Roman atmosphere, he imitated more and more the custom of Greco-Roman historians in inserting long speeches; moreover, the contents of the address in the *Bell. Jud.* perhaps no longer satisfied him, as it breathes in fact a very heathen spirit, and too cold for a Pharisee.

[4] Namely, by the Gladiators, as Josephus mentions by way of addition in the speech of Octavian, *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 2; *Ant.* xv. 6, 7; cf. the commentators on Josephus, and also Plutarch's *Anton.* cap. lxxi.

feline nature, he had as accurate a perception of the requirements and position of the Roman leaders as of his own circumstances, and he was firmly resolved, with the utter shamelessness of a man who had vowed the most steadfast loyalty to every master provided only he remained in power, to go to meet Octavian. He was afraid, however, that Hyrcanus, who was now eighty years of age, might in his absence become the soul of a general rising. He sought, therefore, to find a pretext for executing him. This was supplied to him by the conduct of the injured Alexandra, who was arranging for the secret flight of all her family to the Arabian prince Malchus, in Petra. A weak-minded servant betrayed the plan to the tyrant, before whom even more formidable opponents trembled. With a show of law he at once caused the last male descendant of the Asmoneans to be executed;[1] he handed over the administration of the kingdom to his brother Pherôras, secured his Idumean relations in the fortress of Masâda,[2] and shut up Mariamne with her mother in the fortress of Alexandreum, with orders to put them to death if he did not come back as king. Octavian, however, allowed himself to be at once won over in Rhodes by his apparent openness, recognised him as king, and permitted Herod to accompany him to Egypt, to Ptolemais, and Antioch. By his magnificent presents and the services he rendered, those who were now in possession of power were even disposed to increase his dominions; they restored to him all that Cleopatra had taken away through Antony, including the sea-coast from Gaza northwards to what subsequently became Cæsarea.[3]

Intoxicated with joy, he at length returned to Jerusalem. In accordance with all precedents it was almost inevitable that his appearance should speedily be the signal for the most terrible blows. He might have known beforehand that the order to put his wife to death would easily be betrayed a second time. One of the two officers to whom he had confided it, Soemus, had been induced to reveal it to the two imprisoned Asmonean princesses; and how could they, whose nearest kinsmen Herod had killed without a shadow of cause, receive

[1] The contradiction shown up by Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 6, 2 sq., between the official and the popular representation of these events is in fact only of apparent importance.

[2] P. 412.

[3] What were the precise conditions of the vassalship of Herod and his successors to the Cæsars we do not exactly know. Probably Herod was not bound to pay any annual tribute to Augustus, but was to render assistance in war, and adopt the Roman laws of trade and customs. Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 22 (where he takes the year of the first covenant of Herod with Augustus as the basis of his chronology), speaks of quinquennial tributes, which Antipater and Herod had had to pay, but the whole representation is obscure.

him again with cheerfulness! His beautiful wife, who had borne him five children, he still loved beyond everything, with the fierce animal passion peculiar to him; but he had little by little cast too deep a gloom over her feelings to have a right to expect from her any real return of affection, and yet he demanded it. To this was added the incessant irritation between her and his sister Salômê and his mother Cyprus, who were only too closely akin to him in disposition, and could neither comprehend nor endure the pride of one who was royally descended and had the feelings of a queen. For some years this unspeakable affliction dragged on.[1] At length Salômê availed herself of a moment when the variance between the royal pair was at its height, to excite in her brother, for whose welfare she always pretended to be tenderly concerned, suspicions of the fidelity of his wife, the agent she employed being the king's cup-bearer. With a wantonness which from this time became habitual to him, the monster wrung by torture from this weak man a knowledge of the secret betrayed by Soemus. Upon this he executed not only Soemus, but also his wife, the latter under the veil of judicial procedure. Deeply lamented by Pherôras, the king's brother, still more by Costobar[2] (who wished to save her by sending her to Parthia), and by all whose eyes were not blinded, she went to her death with the proud composure of a queen, unlike her mother, whose courage now forsook her. Immediately after, however, the tyrant, who had thus himself without any reason (as he was obliged to confess upon reflection) destroyed his dearest and proudest possession, was overcome by such intense anguish and such fury against himself, that he sank from one violent and dangerous illness into another, and was, in fact, given up by everyone. It was in vain that he sought consolation in solitude, threw off all the cares of government, and repaired to Samaria, where he had in former days led his Mariamne home.[3] But as soon as he learned that Alexandra, who in the general expectation of Herod's approaching death, was desirous of at any rate securing the succession for her daughter's sons, was intending with this object to get possession of the two castles in Jerusalem, the tiger in him awoke from its death-like sleep. Hastily collecting his strength, as though the hope of once more gratifying his deepest desires had brought back all his energy, he executed

[1] According to Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, 4, it was only one year; but if the twelve years after the fall of Antigonus, mentioned in *Ant.* xv. 7, 10, are correct, these embarrassments were not brought to a close till the year 25.

[2] P. 421 *note* 2.

[3] P. 416.

not only his mother-in-law, but along with her other distinguished persons on whom the slightest suspicion rested, even though only from days long forgotten. Among these were Costobar and the sons of Bâbâs, as Salômê had now disclosed the relation which subsisted between them and the hiding-place in which the latter were concealed.[1]

2. Herod was now himself again. Moreover, after his late murders, he felt himself released from the last ties of his Asmonean kinship, so that there was the less restraint upon the indulgence of his favourite inclinations; and he accordingly plunged eagerly into a number of peaceful undertakings of various kinds, which might in part console him, through the gratification of his own wishes, and in part increase his popularity with his Roman masters. His first step was to establish in Jerusalem itself every possible description of public games, both those which had been practised by the Greeks from ancient times, and had been naturalised in the eastern world by the successors of Alexander, and also the more savage Roman games, with their contests of wild beasts. He built a theatre in the city itself, and did not forget in doing so, by images and decorations, to flatter his patron Augustus. An enormous amphitheatre was erected close to Jerusalem. He spared no money, moreover, to impart the utmost splendour to the games, and invited all the surrounding nations to assist at them. The primitive elements and simple beginnings of these public games had formerly existed in Israel as in every other nation, and the drama in particular had at an earlier period attained a tolerable development.[2] But the Greek and Roman games, as they were now presented, were of so exceedingly artificial and peculiar a character, and seemed to be in consequence so inseparably linked with heathenism, that they inevitably gave offence to the more conscientious Judeans. The Mosaic prohibition of the worship of images[3] was already interpreted with such rigidness, in conformity with the scrupulous spirit of these last centuries, that Herod was obliged to take the trouble to show them how absurd it was to regard the representations of the nations subdued by Augustus as idolatrous images. The superior refinement of the national feeling, however, was evinced in the abhorrence of the brutal contests of wild beasts which was felt by the greater number. How

[1] The reasons for the execution of Lysimachus and Gadias-Antipater, Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 7, 8–10, subsequently forgets to explain (on a certain Dositheus cf. *Ant.* xv. 6, 2); probably they were all connected, or at any rate friendly, with the Asmoneans.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 282.

[3] Vol. ii. pp. 125 sqq.

deeply the popular energy was broken was revealed in the patient endurance of these heathen innovations, which had been the cause, a century and a half before, of the outburst of the great Maccabean war. Ten men, however, with a blind man among their number, swore to assassinate the king in the theatre; and when, betrayed by the secret body of informers which the king maintained on a very elaborate scale, they had bravely suffered death, the people tore the spy to pieces. Upon this, feeble women were compelled under torture to confess who had been the most guilty parties, and vengeance was inflicted on whole families for the murder of the spy. Herod himself, however, was all the more active in increasing the fortresses which he had built against the people.

Before the death of Antony he had fortified as powerfully as possible the two castles in the southern part of the city and to the north of the temple; to the latter, previously called Baris, he had given the new name of Antonia.[1] He now converted five other places into strong fortresses. Three of these lay in a line in south-west Galilee, as a defence against Phœnicia. The first was the tower of Strato, on the coast south of Carmel and Dora, a small place originally fortified by the Ptolemies, which he now transformed into a large city under the name of Cæsarea (with the prefix probably of Augusta),[2] and which soon surpassed all the neighbouring cities of the coast. Further east was a second place (perhaps the ancient Megiddo), where he settled some picked mercenaries whose term of service had expired, from which he gave it the name of Legio; and north-east of this was Gabatha, west of Mount Tabor, which was now called the City of Horsemen, as the cavalry soldiers who had served their time were located in it.[3] Besides these he fortified the ancient Heshbôn, east of the Jordan, and Samaria. For the latter he had always entertained a partiality;[4] and now, under the new name of Sebastê (Augusta), he not only considerably increased it, but he also adorned it with a new and splendid temple,[5] which he evidently erected to suit the spirit and usage of the Samaritan religion, as he had long felt himself superior to Judean prejudices. Moreover, as he always promoted and protected commerce and industry with

[1] *Ant.* xv. 8, 5; 11, 4.

[2] Cf. *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* iii. pp. 220 sq.

[3] Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 8, 5 (cf. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 1), does not, it is true, actually name the middle one; he even seems to confound it with the third; meanwhile, I think it may be recognised in Legio. The situation of Gabatha (or Gaba) is more particularly described in Eus. *Onom.* under Γαβαθών, and is also marked on Kiepert's map; and we thus get the circle of fortresses indicated above.

[4] P. 414.

[5] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 2; *Ant.* xv. 8, 5.

the greatest zeal as a certain source of royal revenue, he had a double object in founding Cæsarea. It was erected with the most admirable care and perseverance, and was to serve at once as one of the most commodious places of commerce and the proper harbour of Judea; indeed, it was with the harbour that the construction of the new city was begun, and it was wrested, as it were, with enormous moles from the waves of the sea.[1] The pertinacious labour which he bestowed on it is strange enough. The place was by no means easy to adapt for a harbour; and even before its destruction in the Middle Ages it had wholly fallen into ruin as a port. Besides, the ancient Joppa lay nearer to Jerusalem, and had a harbour, used in all ages, though not very convenient nor roomy. But he probably could not endure a town which the Asmoneans had zealously raised into importance, and had viewed as their family estate.[2] This proud new city he could regard entirely as his own creation; and he accordingly established it from the beginning 'for every nation,'[3] and erected it with all the splendour of a completely heathen place. In doing so, as well as in his lavish gifts to foreign heathen cities, temples, and religions, he came into direct collision with the duties of a Judean; but he excused himself with the plea of the consideration which he was always obliged to pay to the sovereign Romans and to their commands.[4] The building of Cæsarea occupied more than ten years. It was really a new capital of Judea; it was not completed till the twenty-eighth year of a reign which in its splendour rivalled all the world, and it was then consecrated in the midst of the most brilliant festivities, which were attended and extolled by visitors from every land. In the far south, also, he restored Anthêdon, on the coast, which had been destroyed a hundred years before,[5] and named it Agrippias.[6] The previous wars had filled the country with ruins; and Herod found plenty to rebuild.

In the year 24, when he had fairly begun these great and costly undertakings, a series of disasters came unexpectedly upon the country, which not unnaturally appeared to the people as divine penalties for the wantonness of their ruler, and might

[1] See the more detailed description, *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 5–7; *Ant.* xv. 9, 5 sq.; xvi. 5, 1. The harbour received the special name of Augustus, about which Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 5, 1, is silent; but in *Bell. Jud.* i. 31, 3, he mentions it in passing, and it is confirmed by coins; Eckhel's *Doctr.* iii. p. 428.

[2] P. 406.

[3] This is the meaning of the words τῷ ἔθνει παντί, *Ant.* xv. 8, 5, an expression which is there used again in a similar way of the new city of Samaria.

[4] *Ant.* xv. 9, 5.

[5] P. 388.

[6] *Ant.* xiii. 13, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 8. Drusias, between Antipatris (mentioned below) and Sebastê (see Ptol. *Geogr.* v. 16), was also probably built at this time.

easily have crushed a weaker mind than his. Continuous drought caused a wide-spread sterility and famine; these in their turn produced grave diseases of every kind, excessive mortality, and general despair, and the dull discontent of the subjects was already threatening a general rising, while the springs of the royal revenue were dried up. With swift decision, however, the king did not hesitate to make the most strenuous efforts for the alleviation of the universal distress. In order to procure ready money he did not spare the adornments of his own palace, and he most judiciously availed himself of his friendship with Petronius, the Roman governor of Egypt, to purchase and import corn from that country. This he distributed with the greatest readiness among all the needy, either partly or entirely gratuitously. He also made provision for clothing the poor during the impending winter, and dispensed donations of seed, while he rendered similar favours far and wide to the surrounding nations. In this way, out of the general misery he earned general gratitude, both among heathens and Judeans, and reconciled many of his desperate enemies. He was also further recompensed soon enough for his unusually active care for the physical welfare of his subjects by an increase in the prosperity of agriculture, industry, and trade, so that he was soon able again to turn his thoughts to the vigorous prosecution of his great public works, and even to a number of fresh enterprises.

The greatest of these was the re-building of the temple in Jerusalem itself. In this work he endeavoured to rival Solomon, although he was not impelled to it by love of the religion to which the temple was dedicated, but by a vain desire of fame; perhaps also by the expectation that when it was completed it would secure him from the Judeans no less gratitude than they had shown him for his efforts to rescue them from the famine. It was, indeed, fitting that the temple erected by Zerubbabel[1] should be replaced in more prosperous times by a larger and more magnificent edifice, if in these later days the true religion was still to be connected with a temple at all. The book of Enoch had promised a grand new temple in the future,[2] and earlier rulers had made various changes and extensions.[3] No sooner, however, did Herod announce his

[1] Pp. 101–113. The temple described by writers like the author of the book of Aristeas (pp. 244, 249), and Hecatæus in Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 22 (pp. 247 sq.), is that of their own time, i.e. the temple before Herod; and this is one of the proofs that they wrote before his day. But their descriptions are not sufficiently exact.

[2] Book of Enoch, xcii. 14 (xci. 13 ed.) Dillm.

[3] Pp. 273, 325.

design[1] than his well-known disposition excited all sorts of mistrust. He was obliged, therefore, to proceed with great caution, and submit to all the priestly prejudices which were then in force. In particular, he refrained from removing the walls of the old temple until he had completed all the preparations for erecting those of the new. These were then raised, in exact accordance with the requirements of the expounders of the law, by a thousand priests trained to architectural construction, and wearing the sacred priestly garments; so that after the preliminary labours had been accomplished by other instrumentality, the work was performed by the priests alone, and the whole edifice seemed to have been erected by sacred hands. The length of the temple was extended to one hundred cubits, and its height to one hundred and twenty.[2] This elevation, however, was only attained in the centre, the two sides being lower. The walls were constructed very much like those of Solomon, of white blocks of marble of great breadth. The door on the east, however, was formed, as in the Mosaic tent,[3] merely of coloured curtains, woven with a pattern of purple flowers and pillars. The only novelty, so far as we know, consisted in the great golden vine fixed over these curtains as a symbol of the divine blessing on the country and the people. This vine was a miracle of contemporary art of the most costly description. Of the division of the chambers within and the style of the temple porch we have little precise information. The erection of the temple was commenced in the year 20, and was completed in a year and a half.[4] The king lost no time in carrying out his design, and had the satisfaction of celebrating the consecration amid great rejoicings on the part of the people, with magnificent pomp and splendid sacrifices, on the anniversary of his accession to the throne; and the story soon became current that in order not to interfere with the rapid progress

[1] Among the proofs that the preparatory speech of Herod to the people, *Ant.* xv. 11, 1, was very freely drawn up by Josephus, is the fact that the language used in it about the history of the temple of Zerubbabel is in entire accordance with the representation elsewhere given by Josephus, p. 128; but the height of one hundred and twenty cubits, which Herod assigned to the new temple, was hardly adopted without reference to the similar number already discussed, vol. iii. p. 236, and probably shows that the Solomonic temple also, at any rate in its upper chambers, equalled the height of the temple porch. On the description of this temple in the Mishna, Mass. Middoth, see vol. vi. pp. 715 sq. [German.]

[2] After the lowest twenty cubits were concealed in the reign of Nero, Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, 11, by a new structure built up against them, the temple only appeared to be one hundred cubits high. This is the meaning of the words *οὗς . . . . ὑπέβη*, Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3 *ad init.*

[3] Cf. vol. iii. p. 239.

[4] *Ant.* xv. 11, 1, 6. In *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 1, Josephus places the commencement of the building three years earlier, by which he probably means the beginning of the preliminary preparations.

of the work, no rain fell during the whole time except in the night.[1] In the erection, however, of the extensive and no less splendid buildings which completed the sanctuary, he spent eight years more. The temple itself stood in a great square (each side being one stadium, i.e. 125 paces, in length), and was surrounded by magnificent cloisters; and both temple and cloisters were raised on the basis of the substructures laid by Solomon, so solid had been the workmanship of a thousand years before! From the great east gate ran a special double cloister, erected by the previous sovereigns, to the entrance of the temple.[2] The utmost splendour, however, was lavished on the southern cloister, as though the remembrance of the former royal distinction of this portion of the ground[3] were still to be perpetuated, the name of the King's Cloister being bestowed on it. This was composed of one hundred and sixty-two Corinthian colnmns,[4] twenty-seven feet in height and of enormous thickness, placed in four rows, so that it really consisted of three arcades running side by side from east to west. As in the temple, the centre was half as wide again as the side aisles, and twice as high; the whole was executed with the utmost possible art. All this constituted the inner sanctuary, together with the great altar on the east in front of the temple. Herod himself, not being a priest, could not enter any of these enclosures—neither the temple, nor the space around the altar, nor the cloisters of the priests. A few steps lower on the mountain he next built the so-called court of the people, which was approached from the inner sanctuary by three great gates on the south and three on the north, while the eastern gate, which was the largest and most beautiful of all,[5] led on the south and north to the outer court, as also to a special forecourt for women. Inscriptions over the outer forecourt forbade any but a Judean to enter under pain of death; but around it Herod hung in proud display the trophies of his victories over foreign nations, particularly the Arabians, as consecrated gifts. Such was the temple of Herod: his successors, however, found much to add to it.

A short time before the rebuilding of the temple, Herod had

[1] *Ant.* xv. 11, 7.

[2] *Ant.* xv. 11, 3 *ad fin.* The sovereigns here designated are certainly the same who have been already partly referred to, whose cloisters Herod left standing as they seemed well built.

[3] Vol. iii. pp. 250 sq.

[4] Probably not strictly one hundred and sixty-four, forty-one in each row from east to west; but the two central ones stood in front by themselves. The circumference of each pillar was as much as three men could surround with extended arms; see the further description in *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

[5] Cf. also Acts iii. 2, 10; Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, 7; and on the forecourt of the women, *Contr. Ap.* ii. 8.

commenced the erection of a new and splendid palace, rivalling Solomon in this respect also. It was specially designed to provide sumptuous accommodation for illustrious strangers, and was composed of two wings, named after Augustus and Agrippa. The site selected for it was at no great distance from the Antonia, in the upper (or southern) city, opposite the south-western cloister of the temple; and it was approached across the deep valley from the most southern of the four western gates of the temple, while from the eastern gate of the temple a subterranean passage led to the castle of Antonia.[1] In the northern city a Greek race-course was constructed.—About the same time he made the hill where he had first defeated Antigonus,[2] about sixty stadia south-east of Jerusalem, into a fortress called Herodium. There he built a magnificent castle, and, though it required an artificial supply of water, it remained for a long time afterwards a place of great importance, and contained many residents.[3] In later years he erected a new city in a contrary direction north-west of Jerusalem, at Caphar-saba,[4] where there was an abundant water-supply. This he named Antipatris, in honour of his father. In the neighbourhood of Jericho he also perpetuated the memory of his mother in a Cyprus, and of his brother Phasael in a Phasaelis;[5] he also gave the name of the latter to a lofty and splendid tower on the wall of Jerusalem.[6] Two other similar towers erected by him, and resembling small fortresses, were designated respectively after his murdered wife Mariamne and one of his friends (probably an officer who had fallen early in his reign) named Hippicus. The Asmonean fortresses of Hyrcania, Alexandreum and Masâda, he refitted,[7] only, however, because he valued them as places of strength. He also placed a marble monument over the ancient graves of David and Solomon. His sole reason for doing so, however, as the initiated at any rate were aware, was because in the later years of his reign he had once opened them for the sake of the treasures which it was believed were hidden in them. They

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, 3; 11, 5, 7. In this palace he entertained Agrippa, who was received with festivities, xvi. 2, 1, 4. According to xx. 8, 11, the foundations had already been laid by the Asmoneans. On its situation, cf. further xvii. 10, 2. Cf. also Philo, *ad Cai.* cap. 38.

[2] P. 413.

[3] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* i. 13, 8; 21, 10; 33, 9; *Ant.* xiv. 13, 9; xv. 9, 4; xvi. 2, 1; cf. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. p. 480, ed. 1856. It is surprising that the monuments of Herod, or the sepulchres of the kings, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* v. 3, 2; 4, 2; 12, 2, are not mentioned by Josephus among Herod's buildings; they were probably destined for all the other members also of the royal house.

[4] P. 391.

[5] The ruins of it have been discovered in the modern Fasâil, further north of Jericho.

[6] *Ant.* xvi. 5, 2.

[7] *Ant.* xvi. 2, 1; on Masâda, see *Bell. Jud.* vii. 8, 3 sq.; cf. ii. 17, 8.

were found to contain many valuables; but the fate of two men employed in the search filled him with a secret fear which he now sought in regular heathen fashion to expiate.[1] In addition to all these, he possessed palaces in all the principal cities throughout the country.[2]

To the campaign of Ælius Gallus against the Arabs he despatched five hundred picked mercenaries;[3] and his three sons by Mariamne, and subsequently his other sons as well, he sent to Rome to be brought up in the neighbourhood of Augustus and his other Roman friends.[4] The friendship entertained for him by Augustus and Agrippa had been for some time rising higher and higher. To their previous gifts they added also the ancient provinces in the north-east, on the other side of the Jordan. These were in the possession of a certain Zenodorus, who had farmed the greater portion of the principality of Lysanias, whose family had been re-instated by Augustus after the death of Cleopatra. Zenodorus was neither able nor willing to destroy the robber bands with which they were overrun, while Herod had a practised hand for exterminating them.[5] Augustus and Agrippa, accordingly, refused to listen to the repeated violent complaints of the citizens of Gadara[6] against Herod; and after the sudden death of Zenodorus from vexation they further gave him the rest of his possessions, namely, the fertile district in the north around the sources of the Jordan. Here Herod erected a magnificent temple in honour of Augustus, not far from Paneas, which had been founded by Greek settlers.[7]

He even accompanied Augustus and Agrippa on their journeys in Asia, as a friend and adviser; and with the greatest zeal made their favour his sole object. Among the heathen in foreign countries, also, he always displayed the utmost magnanimity, generosity, and sympathy, so that the Roman authorities were the more ready to grant his requests for the maintenance of the privileges of the Judeans residing among the heathen.[8] These enjoyed much reflected splendour from the sovereign of their fatherland, and, in whatever quarter of the Roman empire

[1] *Ant.* xvi. 7, 1.

[2] As at Sepphoris in Galilee, cf. *Ant.* xvii. 10, 5, where there was also a great depôt of arms, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 4, 1; in Jerîcho, *Ant.* xvii. 13, 1; in Ascalon, *Ant.* xvii. 11, 5; east of the Jordan in Amâth (p. 388), *Ant.* xvii. 10, 6 (for which, however, we have Βηθαραμάθ in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 4, 2); in Cæsarea, Acts xxiii. 35.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, 3; Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 4, 23; cf. Eckhel, *Doctr.* iii. p. 496.

[4] *Ant.* xv. 10, 1; xvii. 1, 3.

[5] P. 407.

[6] P. 400.

[7] See the details in *Ant.* xv. 10, 1–3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 4; 21, 3. The district of Paneas (modern Banias) here described has been examined in recent times with special care by De Forest, and described in the *Journal of the American Orient. Soc.* ii. pp. 235–248. The name Οὐλαθά, near Paneas, is probably identical with الحولة, or rather the Aramean ܚܘܠܬܐ, i.e. the Lake of Merom.

[8] See the very minute account in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2, 2–5, comp. with xii. 3, 1 sq.

they were dispersed, they lived in security and honour during his reign.[1] Many Babylonian Judeans, also, priests, lawyers, and horsemen specially trained in Parthian warfare, were attracted by his fame, and entered his service. In the last years of his life he established a whole series of equestrian defences of this kind in a fortified place called Bathyra, in the north-eastern corner, to protect this robber district, which continued in a very disturbed state; and he encouraged the prosperity of the settlement by immunity from taxes.[2] In his own dominions, however, he was careful about promulgating new laws, evidently to avoid any unnecessary collision with the Pharisees and other parties in the schools; and his decree for the punishment of thieves by banishment from the kingdom was received with great astonishment and dissatisfaction.[3] Besides the occupations already described, his favourite pursuits continued to be hunting and exercises of arms, in which he always excelled everyone.[4]

3. When, some time after the great famine, he remitted a third of the taxes;[5] when, in a great assembly, he could boast of his measures for the welfare of the Judeans all over the earth;[6] when he had rebuilt the temple in splendour amid the acclamations of the people; when, further, by his excellent understanding with Rome he had so increased the rising veneration for the Judean religion, which was then spreading through the world, through the new zeal of its missionaries,[7] that even members of the imperial house, and other eminent Romans, bestowed special gifts upon the temple[8]—his reign appeared to be not without a blessing, and the sins of his earlier years to be wiped out. He relaxed nothing, it is true, of his watch upon the people, and even sometimes supplemented

[1] See the six decrees of Roman commanders to the Cyreneans and others, Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 1–7. The document already mentioned, pp. 240, *note* 5, 242 *note* 3, in which the community of Judeans at Berenice offer their public thanks to the Roman governor of Cyrene, M. Titius Sextus, also falls in this period, probably in the year 13 B.C., if the fifty-fifth year there specified is to be reckoned from the year 67 B.C., when the Roman supremacy over Cyrene began; see Franz in the *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* iii. p. 537 sqq. By the nine archons there named we are not, however, with Wesseling and Franz, to understand the chiefs of the Judean community, but those of the whole city, by whom alone such a decree could have been adopted. The Judeans do not speak in their own persons, and only the city magistracy could assign the place of honour in the amphitheatre to the memorial tablet of thanks.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, 1; xvii. 2, 1–3. Ritter's discussion of its situation in *Erdbeschr.* xv. p. 826, is better than that at p. 203.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 1, 1; cf. the *Alterth.* pp. 156, 212 [3rd ed. 416, 247; Trans. 314, 186].

[4] *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 13, comp. with *Ant.* xvi. 8, 4; 10, 3.

[5] *Ant.* xv. 10, 4.

[6] *Ant.* xvi. 2, 5 *ad fin.*

[7] P. 360.

[8] *Bell. Jud.* v. 13, 6; cf. ii. 17, 3; Philo, ii. pp. 588 sq., 592; Suet. *Aug.* cap. xciii.

the secret agency with which he hourly surrounded his subjects, by his own personal investigation.[1] But, though himself in constant fear, and unable to govern without the influence of fear on others, there seemed no reason why the inflexible tyrant should not at any rate remain in this position undisturbed until his death. The most wanton ruler, however, always finds certain limits to his power, which the most iron will is forced to notice, and, if he is wise, regards. From all whom he did not exactly choose to put out of his way he exacted the most stringent oath of submission; yet he exempted certain Pharisees whom he felt obliged to spare, and all the Essees.[2] A special story was related of the Essee Manahem, who had predicted to him when a boy that he would hereafter be king. When subsequently asked whether he would continue to reign prosperously, and, if so, for how long, Manahem replied evasively, yet was not molested by him.[3] This unexpected tolerance affords a signal instance of what his extraordinary disposition might have become if he had not crushed it from the very first. But the errors of the commencement of his reign had been too grave; its termination is the most melancholy possible. It seemed as though his career was to teach, by the most striking example, the lesson of the inevitable correspondence between beginning and end. The national spirit was too completely broken, and the turn of events which led to the terrible close was consequently to proceed from the very quarter in which he had before most deeply sinned, although, after the violence of the storm, it seemed once more calm. This source lay in the circle of his own kindred, within and without the pale of royalty; it was painfully hidden in the recesses of the hearts of his own family.

Of the three sons of Mariamne who had been sent to Rome, the youngest was dead; the two others, Alexander and Aristobulus, as the descendants, through their mother, of the Asmoneans, were the objects of tranquil joy and hope on the part of the nation; and it seemed as though the people would indemnify themselves by the sight of these princes, who would be his rightful successors, for stifling their rage against the feline Idumean himself. This was openly apparent when their father fetched them from Italy, and tended all the more to increase the suspicions conceived by Salômê and the rest of the former enemies of their mother against the innocent youths.

[1] *Ant.* xv. 10, 4.
[2] P. 374.
[3] *Ant.* xv. 10, 4 sq. This treatment, however, at any rate as far as the Pharisees were concerned, was subsequently changed for the worse; xvii. 2, 4.

At first, however, Herod would not listen to them, and married Aristobulus to Berenice, a daughter of Salômê herself; and Alexander, the elder, to Glaphyra, a daughter of the Cappadocian king, Archelaus, who was, of course, obliged,[1] before her marriage, to embrace the Judean religion. This step, as they lived in matrimonial happiness, seemed to have prevented any possibility of family quarrels; and Herod appeared to be, at any rate in some degree, repairing, in the persons of her sons, the great wrong which he had committed against his beloved wife and all her Asmonean kindred. But the shade of Mariamne allowed no one any peace, least of all those who felt themselves guilty of her murder; and the ancient notion that the sons would be obliged hereafter to avenge their mother was still deeply rooted among the older members of the Idumean house, and leagued itself with their other villanies to drive them into the utmost atrocities. Salômê and Pherôras, the brother of Herod, whom he had already, through Augustus, designated as tetrarch,[2] never ceased to suspect the two youths, and inspire their father with dread of them. Herod, already half giving way to his obscure fears, adopted the most perverse expedient. He had an elder son, named Antipater, borne him, before his accession to power, by a woman named Doris of common origin and disposition. This young man, not being born in the purple, had no claim, according to traditional notions, to the throne. Herod now sent for him to the court, and soon afterwards for his mother also, who, after his marriage with the Asmonean princess, had been put away; and made this young man a sort of spy over his two step-brothers, placing more and more confidence in him every day. From this time Antipater was the incarnate fiend of the royal house. In his person all the atrocious wickedness inherent in the family and in the age was condensed into the utmost vitality. If Herod had less conscience than his father, Antipater was more destitute still, but in cunning and indefatigable activity he was the equal of both. Herod, at least, still felt for his kindred a tender sort of cat-like affection, but from this Antipater was perfectly free; his sole motive was the most consummate selfishness.[3] With the most innocent air he contrived to make the two brothers objects

[1] Cf. also the popular story of her dream, towards the close of her life, after she had taken two brothers, against the law, *Ant.* xvii. 13, 4; and the similar change demanded of Syllæus, *ibid.* xvi. 7, 6.

[2] Over Peræa, with a revenue of one hundred talents, as we must infer from *Ant.* xv. 10, 3, comp. with *Bell. Jud.* i. 24, 5; 30, 1, 4.

[3] From the life of Nicolaus (in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. p. 352) we see, it is true, that as the enemy of Antipater, he is not likely to have spared him in his history; but the worthlessness of his character is clear enough.

of more and more suspicion to their father, and if their life at court had previously been a torment, it now became almost unendurable, while their sighs and tears served continually to provoke fresh accusations against them. Herod now sent his eldest son, whose disposition evidently most corresponded to his own, with every compliment to the court of Augustus. Even from that court, however, Antipater managed to pursue his father incessantly with suspicions of the two youths, and Herod was about to give free course to his apprehensions when a sort of obscure dread of the judgment of the Roman world made him resolve himself to visit Augustus, and take them with him, and seek his decision on his accusation against them. Without delay, therefore, the three presented themselves, together with Antipater, before Augustus at Aquileia. The smallest investigation into the circumstances of course disclosed the emptiness of the suspicions against the two princes, and after Augustus had reconciled the father with his sons they returned, apparently in perfect friendship, to Jerusalem. Herod, however, had secured from Augustus the dangerous liberty of determining the succession at his own pleasure. In the meantime, the revolted Trachoneans, in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom, had been again subdued by his generals; and the king announced to a great assembly of the people in the temple that he had designated his *three* eldest sons as his successors in the order of their age, and hoped to reign in peace until his death.[1]

These events took place about the year 10 B.C.; but Herod had no sooner placed the eldest over the heads of the two sons of Mariamne in the succession than the result proved how little his tiger soul was in fact improved. There is, indeed, an almost inevitable element of mischief in the ambiguous position of courts which consider themselves powerful and yet are dependent on a larger state. Men who as true princes stand high above their subjects, and yet know in their turn that they are simply dependent on a still more powerful foreigner, have little interest in developing the real virtues of nobility and government. If they only succeed in keeping the favour of their own sovereign, they may treat their subjects as they please, and yet live on without care, and pursue with all the more security their petty aims and passions. Nothing in all history works greater harm than these small courts which

[1] *Ant.* xv. 10, 1; xvi. 1, 2; 3 sq. It is curious how Josephus abbreviates in the *Ant.* the long speech of Herod to the people in *Bell. Jud.* i. 23, 5; but from this point onwards he compresses a great deal in the *Ant.*

have so irresistible an inducement, so just an apparent pretext, and so unlimited an opportunity, for becoming and continuing corrupt. This is the lesson even of so many of the little courts of Germany; and the great Roman friends of Herod were no less to be blamed than himself, for they looked with pleasure on these miserable petty courts, and themselves created and protected them so long as they had not yet sunk them deep enough to enable them to make the country a province of their own. At Herod's court there was not a single person of pure purpose who was also capable of resisting such corruption with judicious boldness. The members of the royal house were all of different dispositions, but these were, almost without exception, of the most base and selfish kind. And this internal evil grew with Herod's advancing years, when there seemed less and less reason to fear him, while yet his passions, like his suspicions and his cruelty, increased with his age, and he continued to display in every department, and particularly, therefore, in wickedness, the most extraordinary activity. After the murder of Mariamne, he had married the daughter of Simon, son of Boêthus, a priest of Jerusalem, whom he had for that reason made high-priest, showing as usual the same absolute arbitrariness in giving away this supreme dignity, though he always bestowed it upon a priest. He had also taken by degrees seven or more other wives, among them being a Samaritan woman, and after his death loud complaints were made by many of the best men in the nation of assaults on the chastity of their daughters.[1] In addition he had procured three very handsome eunuchs, one even to 'put the king to sleep;'[2] and these worthless creatures were of great consequence at the court. There were thus plenty of sources of irritation and turbulence in his household. The most mischievous disturbances continued, however, to be excited by his brother Pherôras, on whom he wished to force one or other of his daughters; to a still greater extent by Salômê, and worst of all by Antipater. Of these latter, Salômê, who had become a widow for the second

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, 3; xvii. 1, 3; 4, 2, xvi. 7, 5, cf. xvii. 11, 2, and also the intimation about Pannychis in *Bell. Jud.* i. 25, 6. According to these statements, Simon was the son of a priest named Boêthus, who had been driven to Alexandria; but subsequently, in *Ant.* xix. 6, 2, Josephus confuses these names.

[2] *Ant.* xvi. 8, 1; cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 24, 7. From both these passages it is clear that, in accordance with the shameful Greek fashion of his father, and so many other degenerate persons of the day, the young Alexander had already misused these three men as ἀρσενοκοίτης (1 Cor. vi. 9; Rom. i. 27; 1 Tim. i. 10); and it is probably unnecessary therefore in the first passage to amend τοῦ παιδός into εἰς τὰ παιδικά. He may also very likely have formed the intention of finding out various things from the eunuchs as the confidants of his father; but that he had proceeded any further is improbable.

time, but had not yet tamed her passions, was perpetually terrifying him with half-true reports and tales; but as she always represented herself as the only person who cared for him, she invariably got off with impunity. Antipater spent his time partly in Jerusalem and partly in Rome. All the intrigues and disquietudes, however, were always concentrated in the end on the heads of the two sons of Mariamne. Even their brides were no longer spared. Glaphyra, as the daughter of a king, was prompted to use insulting language against her sister-in-law Berenice and the wives of Herod, who were women certainly of great beauty but of low birth and disposition; while Berenice was employed as a spy of the most private utterances. No sooner had the brothers proved their innocence in one affair than they fell into another; for Herod could not in his secret heart see why they should not, as the avengers of their mother, murder him just in the same way as he had without cause murdered her and all her relations. He sought, therefore, with the utmost avidity for proof of their guilt, listened to every accuser without distinction, and tortured to death all who could be imagined to be in any way accomplices of the brothers. The most eminent, loyal, and innocent among their friends he hunted from the court, and fell into a perfect mania for executing or imprisoning every one who was even remotely an object of suspicion. He threw Alexander into chains. The prisoner, apparently from weariness of his life, made the strangest and most nonsensical confessions, and everything was in the utmost confusion, when, just at the right moment, Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, appeared on the scene. He came uninvited, but like a protecting spirit, by calmness and wisdom to settle Herod's disputes with his sons and others. Herod himself then set off for Rome, to announce there the composition of the scandals which were gradually becoming notorious through the whole Roman empire.[1]

During his absence, Syllæus, an Arab chief who was trying to dispossess king Obodas and subsequently his son Aretas, and vainly besought Herod for his sister Salômê, gathered round him about forty powerful malcontents, popularly called the 'arch-robbers,'[2] and stirred up afresh the dissatisfied Trachoneans in the north-east against the king and his subjects. Herod had at an earlier period been placed by Augustus on a

[1] See further *Bell. Jud.* i. 13–25; *Ant.* xvi. 7, 2–6; 8, 1–6. The expression of Augustus about Herod and his sons in Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4, is well known.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* i. 20, 4; *Ant.* xv. 10, 3.

footing of entire equality with the Roman governors in Syria, and in this position he was intended to co-operate with them. He thought it allowable, therefore, with their consent, to take immediate vengeance on the Arabian. He invaded Arabia, destroyed the fortress of Raepta,[1] and transported three thousand Idumeans to the north-eastern district, which was in a most desolate condition, and was exposed to all the Arab incursions. Syllæus, however, proceeded to Rome, and on his accusation Augustus expressed the bitterest disapproval of these arbitrary border wars, so that the Arabs were emboldened to undertake distant expeditions for booty.[2] Herod despatched his private secretary, Nicolaus, to Augustus to meet the charge, but was soon obliged to entrust him with much more important commissions.

The terrible position of his two sons was now fast advancing to its ultimate crisis. There was a certain Lacedæmonian named Eurycles, who used to go round to all the courts and popular assemblies of the time, a parasite, a braggart, and a money-sucker. This man had contrived at Jerusalem to get into the confidence of Alexander, but he was treacherous enough to betray to Antipater in Rome some ill-humoured words which he had let fall. Antipater hastened to request him to communicate them to his father.[3] Herod at once caught fire only too readily. He sought everywhere for hostile witnesses against his sons, and wrung out by torture confessions of every description. But there was not a word of truth extracted except the statement that they had intended to flee in secret to the king of Cappadocia, and thence perhaps to Rome. An ambassador from this king was then at the court, and Herod, with scornful ridicule, endeavoured to make Alexander and Glaphyra themselves declare this design in his presence.[4] The hoary tyrant, however, thought he had already grounds enough for accusing his sons before the imperial tribunal, and for this purpose despatched his court chamberlain, Olympus, and the Roman Volumnius, who was then deputy governor in Syria, to join his secretary, Nicolaus, at Rome. Nicolaus was an exceedingly able negotiator, and in the Arab-Judean dispute he had already contrived, by taking advantage of the quarrels among the Arabs in Rome, and the base misconduct of Syllæus, to render Augustus very favourably disposed

[1] Probably identical with Ragaba, p. 392.

[2] *Ant.* xvi. 9, 1 ; cf. 4, 6.

[3] In contrast to this Lacedæmonian, Euaratus of Cos was famous for his conscientiousness, as is clearly related in *Bell. Jud.* i. 26, 5, but only very obscurely in *Ant.* xvi. 10, 2.

[4] See the details in *Ant.* xvi. 10, 1–7.

to Herod.[1] He accordingly empowered his old friend to deal with his children as he pleased if they were traitors, but he enjoined him not to punish too severely an attempt at flight; advised him to hold a court of arbitration, composed of the Roman governor of Syria, the king of Cappadocia, and other nobles; and recommended Bêrytus, where numbers of Romans then resided, as the place of meeting. The brutal father followed these instructions so far as to establish a tribunal of one hundred and fifty nobles, but only allowed it to listen to his own accusations and receive his proof. He did not invite the king of Cappadocia, and did not permit his sons to appear, but kept them in chains in a neighbouring village. The issue of this infamous spectacle was that the Roman governor Saturninus, with his three sons and some others, urged clemency, but the majority of the false judges condemned the prisoners, who had not even been heard in their defence. The whole country, not daring to speak out, followed with anxious silence the tragedy enacted in Phœnicia. The rest of the Herodean family had been long alienated from the two princes, who were half Asmoneans. Only an old soldier, named Têrôn, father of a friend of Alexander, dared to utter the truth both before the people and the unnatural father himself. But the only result was to draw out another false accuser in the person of the king's barber, and to accelerate the end. Têrôn himself, his son, the barber, and three hundred persons accused of complicity with the two princes, were stoned by the common people, under Herod's orders.[2] The princes themselves were brought to Samaria, and there strangled—at the very same place where their father had celebrated his marriage with their mother. The best proof of their innocence is found in the fact that the younger and less independent, Aristobulus, never separated himself from his brother, but like a wild beast at bay was at last driven with him almost to madness.[3] Had they remained alive and actually come to the throne, they could hardly have realised the hopes of so many nobler minds in the nation, which were only directed upon them out of abhorrence of their father and an obscure impulse towards something better. That they

[1] This is related at length in *Ant.* xvi. 10, 8. In the *Ant.* (although he abbreviates a good deal contained in the *Bell. Jud.*) Josephus endeavours in the life of Herod to narrate all the circumstances with the utmost minuteness, as though he desired from this point, at any rate, so far as his authorities and researches allowed, to compete with the best Greek historians, and compensate his readers for having been so dry in the earlier sections of his work.

[2] The mob was ready enough to give these proofs of Herod's autocracy also in the connected case at Jericho; *Ant.* xvi. 10, 5; cf. 11, 7.

[3] *Ant.* xvi. 10, 5; for the whole story see further, *Bell. Jud.* i. 26 sq.

were capable of removing the real evils of their time there is not the smallest evidence. But it was not for this cause that their father murdered them.

Herod was now within four or five years of his death. His once iron constitution was beginning to give way, and he was more and more disposed to hand over the affairs of state exclusively to Antipater, who had now returned from Rome, and who, in spite of his diabolical dissimulation, was universally regarded among the people as the real murderer of his step-brothers. Herod had always taken considerable trouble to form alliances by marriage among the members of his own family; and though by so doing he had drawn upon himself a great deal of vexation, he endeavoured even now to repair as far as possible the calamity that had happened to his two sons by advantageously engaging their infant children to others of his own near relations. But even this proceeding was displeasing to Antipater, and he contrived to make it a source of pain to his father. The family of Herod, with his kindred, had now become exceedingly numerous, and, as regards particularly its grown-up members, it only consisted, after the last of its nobler hearts had perished with the young princes, of persons who each felt the greatest hatred and fear of the others. Herod was himself the best of them, while they each had special reasons for either desiring or dreading his death for themselves and their own advancement. It was above all desired by Antipater, whom he had nourished like a poisonous snake in his own bosom, and for whom his father was now living too long. Salômê, at the strong wish of Herod and of the Empress Julia[1] (Livia), had at length married again. Her new husband, Alexas, was one of Herod's trusted agents, and as she saw no other support, she remained as faithful as possible to her brother after her fashion, making it her special business to discover all the secret intrigues going on at the court. The childless wife of Pherôras, however, originally a mere slave, on whose account he had insulted Herod by rejecting the offer of first one and then another of his own daughters, entered into a close connection with the Pharisees. This body, to the number of more than six thousand, refused to take the oath demanded by the king, in a wholly unprecedented manner, of allegiance not only to himself and his family, but also to the emperor. They were punished by a fine, but the wife of Pherôras reimbursed them for their losses, and received from them the promise that the

[1] This appears to be Josephus's own statement, *Bell. Jud.* i. 28, 6. correction, *Ant.* xvii. 1. 1, of his former

crown should be taken from Herod and fall to her with Pherôras and the children who were to be begotten by Pherôras through the magic power of a eunuch named Bagôas.[1] It is of course obvious that the whole body of the Pharisees was not concerned in this foolish promise; but the circumstance is important as a sign of the extent to which even among them the feeling against Herod had increased.[2] The most guilty of the Pharisees and other partners in the secret were now executed by Herod's orders. Antipater, who had certainly gone far enough with the wife of Pherôras, preferred visiting Rome again in the character of successor-designate to the throne, there by costly gifts to win anew powerful friends, and to be able to continue from that distance with more security his game of intrigue against his father.

Here he again met Syllæus,[3] who was likewise labouring in his own way to compass the death of Herod by bribing one of his body-guard.[4] Antipater himself, however, was to be recalled in quite another manner to Jerusalem.—Pherôras had at length, at Herod's express orders, taken his departure for his principality (the tetrarchy), on the other side of the Jordan. He was thus removed to a distance from the gloomy atmosphere of domestic intrigues, although he obstinately refused to yield to Herod and dismiss his low-born wife, who, with her enchantments, was in very ill favour at court. Soon after this he died. Up to the time of his death he had been loved by Herod with real sincerity, and he was equally sincerely mourned, in spite of having some time before declined even to visit the sick king. After his solemn burial, Herod received an earnest and apparently very honest demand that he would investigate more closely the circumstances attending the sudden death of his brother; it would probably appear that he had been poisoned. The torture was at once put in operation, and the confessions obtained by it threw a grave shadow not on the enchantress wife of Pherôras, but on the mother of Antipater; and in the further prosecution of the inquiry it came to light that Antipater had sent some poison to his uncle Pherôras, which he was to employ against the king. Pherôras had at first accepted it, but shortly before his death repented and had it burned. The most eminent persons were involved in this con-

[1] The meaning of the last words, *Ant.* xvii. 2, 4, is that Bagôas would be all powerful, and, as father (minister) of the future king, would effect even this miracle. Haverkamp has quite mistaken this meaning.

[2] P. 438.

[3] P. 442.

[4] See further, *Ant.* xvii. 3, 2. Even in Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 4, 23 sq., the character of this Nabatean Syllæus appears in a very unfavourable light.

spiracy. Among them were Theudiôn, brother of the mother of Antipater, and the high-priest Simon,[1] who was now immediately deposed. In consequence of this, Herod also disinherited his son Herod, who was the grandson of Simon and next in age to Antipater, having previously designated him to follow Antipater in the succession. By-and-by, however, another messenger of Antipater was discovered to have arrived from Rome, with fresh poison for his father, and upon this Herod sent for him at once, taking every precaution, and without giving him any cause for suspicion. The monster, who, though not yet declared sovereign, had already destroyed so many innocent persons by his serpentine wiles, failed in a surprising way to perceive any of the fatal snares now at length laid for himself. It was in vain that he was warned upon his journey not to hasten to his father; hardly had he arrived at court when he was harshly addressed as 'murderer of father and brothers.' Everyone who had formerly been dumb before him through sheer fear, made haste to bring fresh accusations against him, which were only too true. Summoned to his trial in the presence of the Roman governor of Syria, Quintilius Varus, he endeavoured at first with the most wanton audacity and the utmost address to deny every charge, and had almost produced a change in his father's feelings, when Nicolaus and Varus convicted him so overwhelmingly that his father found himself compelled to write to Augustus about him. Shortly after, however, it further came to light that he had actually communicated to the empress, by means of Acmê, a Judean woman in her service, a forged letter from Salômê, intended to ruin Herod. Upon this, Herod wanted to execute him without a moment's delay, and was with difficulty persuaded to keep him in strict custody till he should have sent a fresh statement to Augustus and received his reply.[2]

In the meantime he became very seriously ill, and made a will by which he appointed his youngest son Antipas as his successor, excluding his sons Archelaus and Philip, as he was still too much under the influence of the suspicions against them infused into his mind through Antipater's letters from Rome. As soon, however, as the critical nature of his illness became known, and a report got abroad of his death, a furious popular tumult broke out. The immediate cause of it was the great golden eagle which Herod had placed over the grand entrance into the temple out of flattery to Rome. It was looked upon as a heathen idolatrous image set up actually in

[1] P. 441. [2] *Ant.* xvii. 1, 1 sq.; 2, 4; 3–5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 28–32.

the holy place; and there is indeed no doubt that the Roman eagle was the real idol of every nation, and its image was viewed with divine veneration. This eagle was now torn down and destroyed. The secret impulse of the rising went, however, a long way further. Herod was regarded as the great transgressor of the law, and two teachers of the law, very eminent for their learning and exceedingly popular with the young men, Judas the son of Sariphai, and Matthias son of Margaloth, had striven to inspire the new world in Jerusalem with a marvellously vigorous love for the old law, which would not shrink from death itself. Upon this, the tyrant, as he had done in previous episodes of the same kind, gathered up his strength again, sent at once for the representatives of the people (i.e. the nobles), and addressed them from his couch in the severest terms, so that they had some difficulty in pacifying him. Matthias and his immediate associates were brought down to Jericho (Herod's favourite place for festivals of pleasure or of murder), and were there burned alive. The high-priest, who was also called Matthias, was deposed, as he appeared to be remotely implicated.—Shortly after this, the king's agonising and horrible internal disease[1] increased with the utmost violence. Shrinking, however, from death, he had himself conveyed to Callirrhoë, south of the Dead Sea, where was a warm spring, much visited in the Greek period. By the advice of his physicians he was dipped in an almost suffocating bath of heated oil, and was then carried back to Jericho, where he distributed large sums to his mercenaries and friends. At the same time he assembled the representatives of the people, shut them up in the Greek race-course, and made Salômê and her husband swear that before the news of his death was made public they would have them all cut down, so that there might be a general mourning for him throughout the country;[2] for he knew well enough that his death would create general rejoicings in the nation. A last gleam of pleasure was afforded him by the arrival of a favourable reply from Rome; but immediately after his agonies increased to such a degree that he would have killed himself, had he not been prevented by his cousin Achiab. Antipater, in his bonds, tried to employ this moment for securing his release, and when Herod heard of it he ordered him to be executed forthwith and

[1] See the description in *Ant.* xvii. 6, 5.

[2] As the order was never executed, the truth of the whole narrative would seem open to doubt, if it were not probable that Herod was in a special rage with the deputies of the people, as he had recently let them go unmolested, and yet the feeling of the country was by no means improved.

buried ignobly at Hyrcanium. The honour of the two murdered princes was now fully re-established in his own eyes and in those of the whole world; and he himself had suffered the severest punishment in the diabolical life and death of his favourite son. He had, however, just time by a new will to undo the injustice which he had been induced shortly before by Antipater's intrigues to inflict on his sons Archelaus and Philip, and he died five days after issuing the order for the execution of his first-born. At his death all the prisons were full of prisoners, many of whom were very old.[1]

IV. The Herodeans until the Direct Supremacy of Rome over Jerusalem, 4 B.C.–6 A.D.

The first act of Salômê and Alexas was to release the deputies of the people who were shut up in Jericho,[2] and to proclaim the king's will to the army which had already taken the oath of allegiance to Archelaus. In accordance with its provisions, Archelaus, the son of a Samaritan woman named Malthacê, and next in age to the disinherited Herod, was to have the crown and the supreme authority over all the realm. Antipas (whose full name was Herod Antipas, and who was often called Herod simply[3]), to whom the throne had been previously assigned, a son of the same mother, but the youngest of all, was to be tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. Philip, another legitimate son by a certain Cleopatra of Jerusalem,[4] was to be

[1] *Bell. Jud.* i. 33; *Ant.* xvii. 8, 4; *Hist.* of Moses of Chorênê, ii. 26.—The question of Herod's massacre of the children at Bethlehem, and of the year of the birth of Christ, belongs rather to the history of the latter.

[2] According to *Ant.* xvii. 9, 5, this was done by Archelaus, but this statement is a mere oratorical flourish.

[3] As, for example, in the popular language of the New Testament. Many of the Herodeans gradually adopted the name of Herod absolutely, just as the successors of Cæsar called themselves Cæsar. Coins, also, have been discovered on which Archelaus is designated HP. EΘN.: see Osborne's *Palest.* p. 486; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1862, p. 271.

[4] The principal passage on the sons and wives of Herod, *Ant.* xvii. 1, 3 (in a shorter form in *Bell. Jud.* i. 28, 4), comp. with xvii. 4, 3; 6, 1; 8, 1; 9, 4; xviii. 4, 6; 5, 1, 4; 7, 1, is not so clear as might be wished. Probably, however, the mention of Antipas before Archelaus in xvii. 1, 3, is merely an oversight; and the expression about Philip, xvii. 8, 1, Ἀρχελάου ἀδελφὸς γνήσιος, must be simply a contrast to the illegitimate sons of the king. The mention of the mother of Antipas, xvii. 9, 4, like that of Ptolemæus, is probably only a repetition by mistake out of § 3; although the same particulars are found in the *Bell. Jud.* The two sons further named in xvii. 1, 3; cf. xviii. 5, 1, 4, Herod and Phasael, who were not brought up in Rome, and attracted no attention, are to be reckoned among the four princes in Jerusalem at the time of Pilate, whom Philo mentions, *Leg. ad Cai.* 38. If Antipas was the younger brother of Archelaus by the same Samaritan mother, an explanation is afforded of the fact that his father bestowed on him the second principality in dignity and revenue; for that assigned to Philip was evidently the most insecure, and the most difficult to manage.—Besides, according to Luke iii. 1 sq., the town and district of Abila in the north-east was still in the

tetrarch of the north-eastern provinces. Salômê was to have some small districts which might be regarded as Herod's private estates, of which one lay in the south-west, with the important towns of Jabneh and Ashdod,[1] and another in the finely cultivated district around Jericho, named Phasaêlis.[2] In this distribution the original idea of a tetrarchy, i.e. of a kingdom divided into four portions, with a king taking precedence of the other three princes if only in dignity and right of supervision, was strictly carried out, although the name had been already applied somewhat more freely in other cases. Very considerable bequests were made to Augustus and other Romans as well as to various relations and friends. None of these directions, however, were to possess the force of law until they had been confirmed by Augustus. According to the terms of the will, Archelaus commenced provisionally to exercise his royal power. He first arranged for his father a most splendid burial in Herodium, where he had built himself a last resting-place.[3] When the seven days' mourning prescribed by law had expired, he assembled the people in the temple and promised to reign with a gentleness which should repair many of his father's cruelties; but he carefully avoided being saluted as king. With these favourable promises on the part of their new sovereign the people seemed satisfied.

The cruel execution of Matthias and his associates,[4] however, was still too fresh in remembrance; and the first royal banquet was interrupted towards evening by a concourse of persons demanding revenge. Archelaus attempted with mild words to allay their increasing turbulence, but his efforts were fruitless; the stream of people, as always happened in such cases, rapidly increased through the approach of the Passover. Archelaus next despatched a force of armed men, but so far from being able to restore tranquillity they were insulted during the sacrifices by the tumultuously disposed, and violently assaulted. Upon this, he sent the whole army against them, which, after flooding the city with the blood of three thousand men, frightened the rest into flight. Order being now apparently re-established, and some other necessary changes having been effected, Archelaus embarked for Rome to deliver to the emperor the signet-ring of his deceased vassal, and to secure the confirmation of Herod's last will. Many other members of Herod's family, however, also proceeded thither at the same

hands of Lysanias, a descendant of the Judean prince previously mentioned, pp. 411, 436.

[1] P. 335 *note* 4.
[2] P. 435.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] P. 448.

time, each with the object of pursuing his own special interest. Foremost among these were Salômê and Antipas. The latter was desirous of finding some means of sustaining the previous will by which he was designated king; and was warmly supported by most of the others, particularly by Salômê and her son Antipater. Every Herodean, however, would have liked best to receive as large a territory as possible for himself and hold it simply under the protection of the distant emperor and one of his generals, who were always being changed; and it was this condition which was then called liberty.[1] In the meantime, the adroit old secretary Nicolaus was at work, in entire accordance with Herod's last will, on behalf of Archelaus, and Augustus seemed disposed to confirm him in the sovereignty, in spite of the violent denunciation of an Antipater, son of Salômê. Augustus had, however, some doubts as to his perfect ability to govern so extremely turbulent a people, and consequently still withheld his final decision.

He was soon, in fact, to find only too abundant grounds for further deliberation. The departure of the would-be-king to Rome, the evident want of unanimity on the part of the Herodeans among themselves and their dependence on the dreaded Romans, the rising which had been put down with so much bloodshed, the sudden removal of the terror inspired by Herod, and the consideration even in silence of the whole past, all helped to kindle in the twilight of this uncertain interregnum a devouring fire far and wide, whose outbreak Philip, who had been left behind by Archelaus at the head of affairs, attempted in vain, although the ablest of the Herodeans, to extinguish. Now that the pressure was suddenly taken away, the most various tendencies and forces had opportunity to exert themselves boldly; and thus these few months witnessed a second prelude to the final overthrow of Jerusalem, corresponding to that already enacted,[2] and of an equally diversified and terrible character. Nor do we observe merely the reappearance of the same efforts which the heavy hand of Herod had repressed for thirty-four years; others of a still worse description were added, drawn forth for the first time by the character and actions of this upstart. Not until now did events begin to disclose on a large scale how deep was the corruption produced by his reign.

The nation in general, it may be said, now felt, in the presence of the growing danger of the Roman power, the

[1] *Bell. Jud.* ii. 2, 3; *Ant.* xvii. 9, 4, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ τέταχθαι, μάλιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὑπὸ [2] Pp. 414 sqq.

same aversion which it had formerly entertained to the supremacy of Herod, and had then openly exhibited with such undaunted pertinacity. The greed of Sabinus, who had been despatched to Jerusalem by Augustus with a special commission, was destined to bring this feeling to a speedy outbreak in this sultry interval. Augustus was afraid that Herod's death might be followed by disturbances in Palestine, and Sabinus was, therefore, to watch the course of events as deputy-governor of Syria, and in particular to guard the treasures of Herod, which were supposed to be very great. At the joint request, however, of Varus, the governor, and Archelaus, he consented, first of all, to remain in Cæsarea. Nevertheless, after the departure of the latter, he repaired to Jerusalem. Varus had suppressed the first outbreak of the insurrection there, and retired, when that was accomplished, to Antioch, leaving a legion behind in the city. Here, by his eager search for treasures, Sabinus offered such gross provocation to the multitude which assembled at Pentecost out of the whole country, that he was hard pressed with his legion at all the principal posts in Jerusalem, took refuge in the lofty tower of Phasael,[1] and sent to Varus at Antioch for help. Long before assistance could arrive from that quarter, the struggle had burst out within the city. The Romans, being unable to defend themselves from the Judeans, who fought from the top of the temple cloisters, and were protected in the temple, set fire to the cloisters. By this means a portion of these splendid structures was destroyed, and a very large number of Judeans were killed, while the Roman troops penetrated into the sanctuary, and plundered it of much of its treasures, Sabinus himself securing four hundred talents. This disaster, however, and the robbery of the temple treasures, produced (as was invariably the case) such an intensely bitter feeling, that the struggle against the Romans, who had shut themselves up in the fortifications of Jerusalem, broke out afresh before the city walls; and the majority of the royal generals and troops (with the exception of the Samaritan regiments, the valiant leaders Rufus and Gratus, and a few others), together with some members of Herod's family themselves,[2] joined the insurgents.

The cry for the freedom of their country now ran through the length and breadth of the land. Achiab, the cousin of Herod,[3] who was stationed in its centre, was compelled by a

[1] P. 435.

[2] This fact is clear from the passing remark of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 5, 3; *Ant.* xvii. 10, 10, according to which Augustus finally passed sentence upon them in Rome.

[3] P. 488.

strong band of mercenaries, formerly in Herod's service, to withdraw into almost inaccessible regions; while, beyond the Roman jurisdiction, the numerous districts half or wholly heathen over which Herod had reigned, rose up in opposition to this new liberty, and bloodily demanded their own. Among the Judeans who were striving for their national freedom, there was no one who correctly understood what it was actually to be; and, consequently, the majority who had taken up arms availed themselves of their rare opportunity simply to rob and plunder. Those, however, who in this wild turmoil of impulses of every description, suddenly let loose after long artificial suppression, regarded themselves, or were regarded by others, as a little more powerful, set themselves up everywhere as kings, as though they could succeed as easily as Herod in acquiring royal power, and had no less, but rather, in virtue of their hostility to the Romans, more right to it than he and his sons. Among these may be named in particular Judas, a son of the Hezekiah[1] with whom Herod had had such numerous contests, who appeared at Sepphoris in Galilee; on the other side of the Jordan, Simon, a former slave of Herod, distinguished for his beauty and physical strength, who found a large number of adherents, assumed the crown, and yet took special pains to destroy the palaces built by Herod in Jericho and elsewhere;[2] and in the narrower area of Judea, Athronges, once a poor shepherd, with four brothers all ardently devoted to him, and a regularly organised military discipline and royal council. These and numerous others were all contending against one another at the same time; but, by doing so, they inflicted much more injury on the Judeans themselves than on the Romans, and they could not be subdued until great havoc had been committed. Athronges and his brothers, in particular, held out for a long time under the reign of Archelaus.

When Varus at length advanced with two new legions and four regiments of cavalry, he found numerous towns and princes ready to assist him with auxiliary forces, out of hatred to the Judeans and the Herodean family. Troops were furnished, for instance, by the inhabitants of Bêrytus in Phœnicia, and the Arabian king Aretas.[3] The large army thus collected first of all subdued Galilee, chastising Sepphoris with the utmost severity. It then advanced as far as Samaria, without in any way annoying the city, as it had remained tranquil, while the Arabs destroyed the adjacent Arûs, which belonged to one of

[1] P. 407.

[2] This *Simo* is the only person out of this whole period mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

[3] P. 442.

Herod's courtiers,[1] and south of that the fortress of Sappho.[2] Varus next burned Emmaus,[3] where Athronges and his brothers had slaughtered a Roman regiment, easily put to flight the Judeans besieging Jerusalem, and set free the Romans shut up within the walls. The penalty inflicted in revenge was heavy: the mere number of those who were crucified, apart from those who were otherwise punished, was two thousand. A further rising of ten thousand men in Idumea was dispersed by Varus at the outset; and the whole proceedings were reported by him to Augustus.[4]

In spite of these events, however, he permitted a deputation of fifty persons, freely chosen by the people, to lay before Augustus himself their request to be placed under the immediate supremacy of Rome. This step gave for the first time clear expression to the change of popular opinion, which, strange as it might at first sight appear, proved to be only too well founded, when thoughtful Judeans took account of the circumstances of the age. When once the possibility of escape from the Roman supremacy had passed away, and that this was the case fresh proof had just been afforded in abundance, all discerning minds, not prepossessed in favour of the Herodeans or rulers like them, might really regard the direct supremacy of Rome as relatively better. This, at least, would remove from the country those vampires who, under the pretence of the power of national princes, were, nevertheless, only Roman servants, and who, as experience had shown, treated their people with contempt, and made their private interests and enjoyments their sole object. The calmest and most judicious persons might, at any rate, consider this last and hitherto untried expedient for releasing themselves from the grave evils of their time as the best within their reach, in spite of its questionable character. Many other nations were now living under the sway of Augustus in perfect tranquillity and content; the free practice of their religion had been confirmed to them by treaties; and the Judeans residing out of Palestine, beneath the immediate rule of Rome, felt themselves entirely secure. It was thus, no

[1] P. 417 *note* 4.

[2] The exact position of this place, like that of Arûs, has not yet been discovered, unless it is the modern Sâwieh (Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 272, ed. 1856), which lies on a hill on the road from Samaria to the south, and suits the description in Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, 9.

[3] P. 310.

[4] The war of Varus, 'eighty years before the destruction of the temple,' has not been forgotten in the *Séder 'Ôlam Rabba*, cap. 30, but with a sort of grim joke his name has been confounded with the somewhat similar sound of the ancient Asuerus (p. 72 *note* 3), and, by a further confusion with the first Assyrian conqueror, vol. iv. p. 150, appears as אסוירום פול.

doubt, the best and most peacefully disposed who received from Varus himself, in regular legal form, permission to ask for what was called Autonomy [1] (freedom from vassal princes); and more than eight thousand Judeans in Rome supported before Augustus the petition of their co-religionists.

Augustus, already unfavourably disposed towards Archelaus through the influence of Sabinus, listened to the long complaints of the fifty deputies, and would probably have been willing to grant a request so flattering to Roman ambition, had he not already half acceded to the requests of Archelaus, and considered it better to pay as much regard as possible to the last will of his old friend Herod. This, therefore, he at length confirmed, with a few changes, insignificant in appearance, and yet of great moment. Archelaus simply received the promise of ultimately obtaining the crown on condition of good behaviour and not again provoking such complaints on the part of his subjects. For the present he was obliged to content himself with the title of Ethnarch. In the next place, Gaza, Gadara (which had made such loud and bitter complaints against Herod [2]), and Hippus,[3] were made free as 'Hellenic cities,' i.e., were placed immediately under the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria. The two last of these, together with other cities in the north-east on a similar footing, constituted from this time forwards the oft-mentioned Decapolis.[4] In other respects Augustus showed himself very magnanimous towards the Herodeans, and even added the castle at Ascalôn to Salômê's domain, which was only, however, to be a subdivision of that of Archelaus. The annual taxes of the territory of Archelaus were estimated at six hundred talents, although he was to remit a quarter of the imposts on the city and province of Samaria, in reward for their loyalty; [5] those of the territory of Antipas were fixed at two hundred, of Philip [6] at one hundred, and of Salômê at sixty.—After these decisions had been arrived at, there further appeared before Augustus a young Judean, who was given out as the murdered Alexander.[7] He had been brought up in Sidon, but through his strong resem-

[1] *Ant.* xvii. 11, 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, 1.
[2] P. 436.
[3] P. 236.
[4] Mark v. 20; vii. 31; Matt. iv. 25; Jos. *Vit.* 65; *Corp. Inscrr. Græc.* iii. p. 234. According to Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, 7, the largest city among them was Scythopolis, often mentioned above. According to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 16, who really enumerates ten cities, Damascus was to be included among them, which is nowhere intimated by Josephus. See also vols. v. vi. [German.]
[5] P. 453.
[6] The names of the provinces which fell to him are enumerated in order from south-west to north-east, Gaulonitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, in Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, 8.
[7] P. 444.

blance to the deceased prince had deceived a large number of persons. It was as if the powers agitating the age would not be complete without the Asmonean, though only in a phantom form. The emperor detected the imposition at once.[1]

The Herodeans now each took possession of his dominions. Archelaus was fond of calling himself Herod, as even his coins prove;[2] but there were other ways also in which he was too anxious to play the part of his father, and he would not take warning from experience. He deposed two high priests, we do not know on what grounds; and, like Herod, he took pleasure in building, particularly in Jericho and its fertile neighbourhood, where he also founded a city named Archelais[3] to the north. In severity and cruelty, however, his conduct also resembled his father's, and his subjects made complaints about it before Augustus. Upon this the emperor sent his ambassador, also named Archelaus, who was then in Rome, to bring his master before him with all speed; he would not listen to his worthless excuses, confiscated his treasures, and banished him to Vienne, in Gaul.[4] He was then in the tenth year of his reign.[5]

His whole territory, and with it in particular Jerusalem itself, was now handed over without delay to a deputy-governor of Syria, and the main portion of the holy land was thus at length placed beneath the direct supremacy of Rome. This event had been long impending, and to many Judeans might even appear advantageous. The freedom and the new aspiration which the hagiocracy had acquired under the Greek rule had long since disappeared. Through the instrumentality of the Asmoneans and still more of the Herodeans, the Macedonian supremacy had now passed into the direct sway of Rome, and that change which, even fifty and to a still greater extent one hundred and fifty years before, was viewed by the people with horror as their greatest peril, was now actually welcomed for the moment by many and honourable men as a benefit. That Israel could no longer exist as an independent nation, and that even the hagiocracy could bring to it no permanent salvation, might have been learned from the ultimate fruitlessness of the prodigious exertions of the Maccabees.

[1] See further, *Ant.* xvii. 12.

[2] P. 449 *note* 3.

[3] Still mentioned in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* v. 15, but not yet discovered again, although we might conjecture that the name Basahje, somewhat north of the well-known Phasaelis, has arisen out of Βασιλική, טור מלכא.

[4] It is surprising how quickly Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 13, 2, passes over this; according to *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7, 3, the Samaritans also accused him. These events are briefly mentioned by Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. 2, 46; and Dio. Cas. lv. 27.

[5] Cf. also Jos. *Vit.* 1.

Without, however, having in the least degree given up, or even being able to give up, the kernel of its unique national endeavours, claims, and hopes, it had arrived, almost in the midst of the outward glory of the hagiocracy, at the worst and final necessity. To this it submitted in spite of its bitterness, and yet it seemed to render all its high demands and expectations absolutely incapable of fulfilment. Instead of the sovereignty of its God in everything and above everything, it had got the arbitrary power of a foreign all-dominating human sovereign. Instead of the heathen supremacy of Greece which it had shaken off a hundred years before with gigantic struggles, it had got the much more violent heathen supremacy of Rome. Yet outwardly it was still a people, and in spite of all the oppressive vicissitudes of five hundred years, it had continually increased in strength and in self-consciousness; and now in the fresh glory of its peculiar science and literature it felt with greater pride than ever that it was the 'people of God.'

V. The Development of Nationality, Literature, and Science in the later Greek Age.

It is a fact beyond doubt and of great significance for the final unfolding of the history of Israel, that the nucleus of the people, at any rate,—in spite of the great vicissitudes of its outward destinies, in spite of the increasing infusion of Roman elements, and the frightful dissolution produced by the tyranny of Herod, and in spite of its dispersion among the heathen which daily became more mischievous,—was still on the whole loyal and steadfast in the maintenance of its nationality, and did not permit any other object even now to lead it astray from its higher endeavours and its eternal hopes. The Asmoneans might lose sight more and more of what rose before the nation as its ultimate and highest goal; a Herodean dynasty which was in effect of alien birth, might be restrained only by worldly prudence from publicly mocking its sacred objects and its faith in a higher divine destiny yet awaiting it; but even in its lower strata the nucleus of the people remained true. Through the bitter disappointments and the dark tyrannies of the last hundred years the spirit of the nation had lost much of its soundness and rectitude, yet its secret heart still vibrated with the powerful new aspiration which the Maccabean days had generated.

Of this we have seen the proofs on the surface of the national history as it has been already explained. Not all the insolent

acts of the later Asmoneans, not all the altercations of the schools disputing for the leadership, not all the frightfully oppressive and crushing force of Herod and his coadjutors, could stifle the conviction that the community of God was destined to some other purpose in the world than that to which they wished to apply it. And this conviction was always stirring, in open utterance or in silence, in public tumults and risings, or in despair and hideous suppression, in the glorious doctrine of immortality which enabled the champion for his faith to rejoice in death, and finally, as though to exhaust all possible sources, in the demand for simple subjection beneath the Romans. Men like Herod and his confidential agent Nicolaus of Damascus might lament in private, or even publicly before the emperor, over the perpetual love of disturbance and the stiff-necked pride of the Judeans, and regard such ineradicable faults simply as evils no less inexplicable than tiresome;[1] but for this constant unrest there were only too good reasons, and it mocked at the complaints of all who had hitherto attempted to subdue it.

Still more powerful than the violent public outbreaks of discontent were the quiet counter-workings of the wit and the involuntary play of the imagination of the people. These were never still. The last prince Archelaus, for example, had taken to wife the beautiful Glaphyra, who had formerly been married to his brother,[2] although she had children by her first husband. In so doing, he transgressed the law; and it was immediately related among the people that her beloved Alexander had appeared to her in a dream and severely reproached her for having dared after his death to take for her husband first of all the Lybian king Juba, and now even his own brother Archelaus; soon after this, it was added, she died.[3] In no more moving and emphatic manner could the popular voice condemn this breach of the law on the part of its reigning prince.

Between the heathen and those who were dispersed in the Greek or Roman empire or who came into nearer contact with them, there was kindled towards the expiration of this period over a wider and wider area the fire of an irreconcilable hatred. The wild outbreaks of this feeling could only with difficulty be restrained; on its obscure impulses much light has been already thrown. Among the number of these Judeans there were many, no doubt, whose own bent and disposition were entirely heathen, and who only remained Judeans for the sake

[1] Cf. Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, 2 *ad fin.*; *Ant.* xvii. 11, 3.

[2] P. 439.

[3] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7, 4; *Ant.* xvii. 13, 4.

of external advantages. They only cared for Judeanism in contrast to heathenism in so far as it appeared to them in its freedom from idolatrous worship and from many other superstitions to lay down the same views which many free-thinking heathens regarded as true, and which the Greek philosophical schools were accustomed to teach. To this class belonged such men as Herod, his private secretary, Nicolaus, and others like them. But, after all, the great mass still held fast to the ancestral faith, as it was then taught from Jerusalem as its centre for the benefit of the whole world. Regarding themselves, in respect of religion, as a people specially distinguished by God and elevated far above the heathen, with a glorious past and a still more glorious future, celebrating their peculiar usages with as much tenacity as publicity, and yet in trade and commerce desirous of making profit out of the heathen and eager in the pursuit of their worldly privileges and rights, they were incessantly goading on the suspicions and hostility of every class among the heathen. 'The Judeans hate all men and are hated by all,'—such was the common saying at the end of this period among Greeks and Romans.[1] Most of the Judeans were in fact clever enough not merely in religion, but in many of the affairs of life and government, to find out the weak points of heathenism, which was now rapidly sinking lower and lower. So long, however, as the ruling Pharisaic school, while requiring strictness in religion, demanded it only in matters of law and custom, Judean pride and sagacity in their opposition to heathenism were simply perpetual sources of provocation and animosity. That the true God and the true religion, with its constitution, its law, and all its sacred objects, were the everlasting refuge of Israel in the vicissitudes of years, and formed its perpetual superiority and privilege over all heathenism, remained the constant consolation of all pious minds. Under the blinding yoke of Pharisaic maxims, however, there were certainly but few who, while surrounded by Greeks and Romans, could still grasp the pre-eminence of Israel with such acuteness, confidence, and pride, and yet at the same time with such childlike innocence, as the author of the book of Wisdom.[2] The depression and want of spirit on the part of many of the most active minds, particularly after the total collapse of the Maccabean elevation, became so deep and lasting as even to make themselves felt in literature by standing

[1] See in particular 3 Macc. iii. 7, 19; vii. 4; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 3; *Contr. Ap.* ii. 10; and more on this subject below.

[2] See Wisd. of Sol. xii. 22; xv. 2 sq.; cf. i. 6.

abusive epithets of certain persons generally known as national enemies, such as Antiochus, and by other violent expressions of excited helplessness;[1] while in earlier and better times the constant national enemies are at most characterised by some brief witticism, such as 'the uncircumcised.' The depth of the humiliation of which the nation was conscious in the course of this long period, and the intensity of the yearning with which, in its enforced inaction, it learned to wait for a grand permanent deliverance to come, did but habituate many people all the more to the idea of instantaneous and wonderful divine acts; and the marvels of the ancient history in the sacred books were now as zealously read as they were in their individual significance imperfectly understood. In no age consequently did the unhistorical spirit grow so rapidly and dangerously. It was now no effort to many writers to imagine and to describe how Heliodorus when on the point of desecrating and plundering the sanctuary had in a moment fallen paralysed to the ground, but had been cured again in an equally short space of time by the prayer of the high-priest;[2] or how Habakkuk had been transported with his repast by an angel from Palestine to Babylon in an instant, and in another instant had been carried back again;[3] while the fire in which Daniel's three friends were to have perished is depicted soon after the composition of the book of Daniel in colours infinitely more glowing.[4] The tremendous tension, however, and the violent convulsion of mind which is revealed in such conceptions and narratives, and to which the whole history of Israel rises with growing vehemence, further seeks an outlet in various ways in the most sudden and violent revolts, examples of which have been already cited.

So long, however, as there was a solid nucleus of the nation residing round about Jerusalem and in Galilee, labouring just like a regular people and cultivating the soil, the great majority of them being contented with their lot, less injury would be inflicted by these isolated excesses and more general dangers. Not yet had hatred from without so penetrated to the core of the nation, while it was engaged in tranquil labour undisturbed around its hearth, as to become unendurable.

[1] Violent epithets of this kind are chiefly found in the second and following books of the Maccabees; see also Dan. *Apocr.* iii. 32 [Song of the Three Holy Children, ver. 9], and other passages.

[2] 2 Macc. iii.; 4 Macc. iv.

[3] Dan. *Apocr.* xiv. [Bel and the Dragon] 33–38; cf. a similar instance in the case of Buddha and the Buddhists in the *Journ. of the American Orient. Soc.* iii. pp. 65 sq.

[4] Dan. *Apocr.* iii. 46–50 [Song of the Three Holy Children, 23–27], comp. with the canonical edition, iii. 22 sq.

The contests of the schools with their one-sided efforts would easily, after raging for a time, slide off again, like the passion for destruction on the part of individual tyrants, from the calm and healthy dispositions of an ordinary man, provided he was still bound by pure love to a sure fatherland, and felt himself a member of a grand community which nothing could shake. Nor may we overlook the fact that in spite of all its wide dispersion the nation still possessed a solid nucleus with a country of its own, and with this retained the possibility of every higher development and of the reparation of its injuries. More than five hundred years had elapsed since its second settlement, and during all this time this steadfast centre had withstood every fresh storm, had sent down its roots deeper and deeper, and spread out its branches wider and wider. The national contentment also, its ingenuousness, its mirth and cheerfulness, were still, when times were at all endurable, on the whole unbroken.

—The most perfect means, however, of tracing the deepest movements of the national life of these ages are supplied by their literary remains. Even under circumstances which gradually became so extremely depressed and gloomy, literature developed itself with an activity and variety which increased as time went on. It flourished, as we must infer from distinct traces, not only in the holy land and among the Hellenists, but also among the eastern Judeans beneath the Parthian sway; though it must be added that none of these books, originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, would ever have come down to us but for their power to outlast their own age, conferred on them by their being early translated into Greek, and being kept up by the Hellenistic culture, and still more by the Christian, which followed closely in its steps. All these works, it is true, bear, on the whole, to an even greater extent than those of the earlier periods of the third stage of the history, the stamp of close dependence on the older writings, which were regarded more and more comprehensively as holy; so completely did the nation feel, as its worldly position sank lower and lower, that it was dependent solely on the power and truths of the most enduring of its older works, and so exclusive was the connection of its noblest and most vigorous powers in life and action with the past. For this reason the inner deficiencies and imperfections of the general literature of the age become more and more apparent, especially after the terrible fall which followed the brief upward impulse of the Maccabees. The languor and diffuseness of the language, hardly capable of

condensation or of any higher flights, especially in prayers and descriptions, are carried to their utmost bounds.[1] The different forms of literary style and art are mingled together more mischievously than before, and the perfection and beauty of the execution suffer more severely still. And, besides this, the Greek element, both in language and method of delineation, now makes its way further and further into the most characteristic thoughts and forms of the spirit of Israel. Yet, in the midst of this literature as it clings to the mighty trunk of the past like a creeper which nothing can shake off, many a noble shoot rises with surprising boldness and beauty; and, viewed as a whole, it shows with what indefatigable energy the depressed spirit of Israel still strove, amid all the vicissitudes of the age, to hold fast to its eternal hope, and, at least, to avoid again losing the blessings of its earlier days.

1. The greatest independence, relatively, is now exhibited by a branch of literature which, in the better times of the nation, never flourished till after other departments had reached their prime—viz., contemporary history. The age which followed the Maccabean victories took, as we have seen, a higher flight, and their description became, accordingly, a favourite subject of all literature. The high-priestly journals, which were probably kept up continually after the foundation of the new temple, but which until the Maccabean times contained but little, must have been elevated, after the Asmoneans became high-priests and national princes, to the rank of the previous annals of the kingdom.[2] The monarchy under Herod, following the ancient custom, recorded its own as well;[3] and both, it is clear, were now easily accessible. But the glory of the Maccabean days of suffering and victory, as was soon felt keenly enough when it began to fade, had been so great that the memory of it could not fail to produce a crowd of genuine national books. Several of these have come down to us, and in default of better names are designated in general 'Books of the Maccabees.' They all extol a larger or smaller portion of the events of the period; but, although not so far separated by the dates of their composition, they are so extraordinarily different in historical contents and feeling as to afford a further very clear proof of the depth and rapidity of the fall which followed that upward impulse to more glorious deeds.

[1] As in the additions to Dan. iii. [Song of the Three Holy Children], in some portions of the book of Enoch, and elsewhere.

[2] That this really took place, follows also from 1 Macc. xvi. 23 sq.

[3] These Josephus had himself read, *Ant.* xv. 6, 3.

The work to which a sound feeling has always assigned the first place in this latter collection was not, it seems, written before the death of John Hyrcanus.[1] On the other hand, it was assuredly composed immediately after his reign, when the insolence of Aristobulus I. had cast the first dark clouds over the new present, so that the remembrance of the serenity of its opening was the more stimulating. The events between the beginning of the Maccabean elevation and the accession of John, which were here to be described, had occurred only about thirty to sixty or seventy years before. It was possible, therefore, for a zealous and clear-sighted investigator to form a faithful conception of the period from records and public documents, from oral narrative, and in part also from personal experience, and to describe it with corresponding accuracy. The author was probably one of the first who embraced the whole compass of these thirty or forty years in a popular narrative, and his work still breathes the freshest inspiration of the peculiar elevation and glory of the time. In simple language it reproduces the clearest recollection of the full and many-sided truth of this great age, and its various development; but with the same simplicity of feeling it suffers itself in some passages to be carried away by the sublimity of the events which it relates to a higher flight of representation.[2] It does not deny the elevating self-consciousness of Israel, and, in particular, of its pious souls. It specially commends Simon as the 'prince of the pious (or sons of God),' and its original superscription briefly mentioned this double nature of its contents, and gave clear prominence to this object of the whole work.[3] But, in

[1] This follows from the conclusion, 1 Macc. xvi. 23 sq., where the author does not, it is true, mention the death of this prince in so many words, because it was unnecessary to do so, but he makes it sufficiently understood that all his acts were already entered in the public annals of the kingdom.

[2] See, for instance, the passages already noticed, pp. 324 sq., 334, and some others elsewhere.

[3] The superscription Σαρβηθ σαρ βανε ελ, which, according to Origen, quoted by Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* vi. 25, stood at the head of the book (we may, at any rate, assume that in this passage the first book of Maccabees is intended, although the expression τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά sounds quite general, and the name must therefore have been gradually applied to the rest of the books which were closely attached to it), is most probably to be understood as שרביט שר בני אל, 'the sovereignty (lit., the sceptre) of the prince of the sons of God,' certainly a somewhat highly embellished expression, but there was a tendency in the Semitic books to aim at this sort of elegant play of sound in their superscriptions. In the narrative of the book, it is true, we do not find the pious designated 'sons of God;' but the 'pious' and 'holy,' whose history is here extolled in sharp contrast to the 'sinners,' are essentially such, cf. 3 Macc. vi. 28; and Simon, according to 1 Macc. xiii. 42, xiv. 47, was the first 'prince' of the pious. This enables us, in fact, to divide the book into four parts, of which the last, however, is the principal, as the history does not find its proper aim until it comes to Simon; 1) the introduction, to the death of Matthias, cc. i., ii.; 2) the history of Judas, iii. 1–ix. 22; 3) the history of Jonathan, ix. 23–xii.

doing so, it follows no further special aim, and simply permits all the glorious features of the heroes' deeds, like the general picture of the divine deliverance, to shine forth from the unvarnished representation of the history itself. In its attitude and style it closely follows the type of the older histories of Israel, in particular those of the times of the Kings, and revives, as completely as was possible in these later days, the spirit and language of a genuine old Israelite narrative, as though the ancient spirit of the people sought in this respect also to assume once more its former vitality. The writer does this, however, without any further intention, and consequently departs involuntarily, in many circumstances, from the ancient form.[1] His perfect originality, moreover, is further shown in the way in which, with all its minuteness of description, he limits himself closely to definite materials and views, and wholly excludes every other. For instance, he maintains absolute silence about the high-priests before the Asmoneans and their guilt, and at the commencement expounds solely the Hebrew view of Alexander's history.[2] The language in which he wrote was the new-Hebrew, as we know from tradition, independently of the superscription already referred to.[3] The work was, however, very early translated into Greek,[4] at a time when its recent production must have secured its correct comprehension, so that the translation which has come down to us may, in fact, very satisfactorily occupy its place.

The second book of Maccabees is of a wholly different kind. This does not appear to have been written till a hundred years later than the preceding,[5] and it affords the most evident proof of the depth to which, in the case of many members of the community, the spirit had now sunk after its previous flight.

53; 4) the history of 'prince' Simon, xiii.–xvi. Cf. also the observations in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. pp. 111 sq.

[1] As in the case already noticed, p. 334 *note* 4, where the general description of a hero is put first, contrary to the ancient usage mentioned in vol. i. p. 146.

[2] The author also says himself, 1 Macc. ix. 22, that he did not wish to record everything which he knew about a hero like Judas.

[3] See the words already cited from Origen; and Jerome, *Prol. Gal.* We are, however, justified in assuming that it was at that period of the new upward impulse of everything national, that the new-Hebrew or Rabbinic language, p. 182, in the form in which it appears in the books of the Mishnah, was first employed in literature. Further proofs of this are found: 1) in the superscription of this book, and 2) in the new-Hebrew names which make their appearance at that time, pp. 370 sq.

[4] Even the author of the Peshito, although he only made his version from the Greek, shows much knowledge of the times and circumstances, in transferring and spelling the proper names.

[5] We may consider, for instance, how very different is the language employed about the Romans in 2 Macc. viii. 10, 36, from that used in 1 Macc. On the other hand, the book was a favourite at an early period, and was very widely read, as is clear from the fourth book of Maccabees which will be hereafter explained, and from Hebr. xi. 36, comp. with 2 Macc. vii. 7.

This decline is specially displayed here in the consideration and treatment of those glorious days. The author was obviously a Hellenist, who had sojourned much in Jerusalem, and cherished the utmost reverence for the 'great and most holy temple, renowned all the world over.' In the Hellenistic countries, and particularly in Egypt (where he probably lived), he did not find sufficient respect prevailing for this temple, and for the laws in force in Jerusalem; and, in particular, the outward symbol of the sanctification of the temple, viz., the feast of its consecration,[1] was by no means so widely spread throughout his own circles as he, in his zeal, desired. His object, therefore, in this work, was, strictly speaking, simply to recommend to the Hellenists this sentiment of respect, and the celebration of the feast in the form in which it was adopted by the Pharisees.[2] In order to effect this as thoroughly and emphatically as possible, he supplies the reader, in the main portion of his work,[3] with a detailed history chiefly relating to Judas Maccabæus, whom he selects from the series of Maccabean heroes as the only one deserving of all honour. Beyond the praise of this solitary champion, however, he has a further end in view, viz., to extol the wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem and of the temple, and to explain the feasts instituted by Judas,[4] and hence he brings his work to a close before the death of his hero. But none of this detailed narrative is in the least degree due to his own researches. He contents himself, as he declares, with making an extract from the great work on the Maccabean times, which a certain Jason of Cyrene (another Hellenist) had written in five books, and in which he placed implicit trust for all his numerous particulars.[5] This work of Jason's is now lost. The indications of its nature, however, which our author supplies, show that it was written in a spirit which intentionally gave much more prominence to the miracles of the history[6] than our first book of Maccabees, and was, therefore, by no means so simple and original. Moreover, it

[1] Pp. 311 sq.
[2] Pp. 381 sq.
[3] 2 Macc. ii. 19–xv. 39.
[4] That of the consecration of the temple, x. 1–8, at the end of the first half of the whole narrative, and that of the day before Pûrîm, xv. 30–36, at the end of the second. We must clearly observe the distinction between these two divisions of the whole narrative which is drawn by the author himself; the boundary between the two being formed, in his view, by the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.
[5] According to the preface, 2 Macc. ii. 19–32, and the brief conclusion, xv. 37–39; cf. x. 10.
[6] Cf. in particular, the 'signs from heaven,' ii. 21. If the spirit and contents of the work had not suited our author more than all the books of a similar kind on that period, so as to afford him a convenient point of departure from which to construct his own representations, he would certainly not have chosen it for the foundation of his work.

traced the source of the Maccabean rising much further back,[1] and, in some respects, from more points of view, and more satisfactorily;[2] and the observations already made[3] show that it collected, with the utmost particularity, all the different accounts of the period, and even worked up together materials from divergent sources. But, on the other hand, our author does not content himself with making a mere extract from this very comprehensive work. What he selected out of it, as suitable to his purpose, he sought to embellish and vivify still further, that it might more completely fulfil his object.[4] Accordingly, he openly mingles in his narrative various higher considerations, the effect of which is to give much more prominence to the individual thinker and writer, with his peculiar conception of its events, its luminous contrasts, and the resulting truths which claim further reflection. In this he imitates the 'pragmatic' style, then common among the Greeks, which is now about, in this case, to pass entirely into the Hebrew. Where, however, detached portions and shining points in the history seem in this view pre-eminently bright, and specially calculated to promote the object of the book, and to awaken the enthusiasm of the reader, the artistic embellishment of the materials of the narrative is carried out with the utmost freedom. In the firm faith in immortality, in the resurrection and the judgment,[5] the writer looked on the championship which did not shrink from death for the true religion, the temple, and its laws, as the only conduct in itself noble and full of blessings to others; and, accordingly, by the side of the great warlike prince Judas, he also brings forward one or two separate champions out of the ordinary walks of life, to serve as so many elevated patterns for every one, and he draws their pictures with his most lifelike and captivating colours.[6] Further, the whole representation is purely oratorical, and the narrative is obliged to adapt itself to the yoke of grand words, of proud and far-fetched images, and ponderous sentences, and, indeed,

[1] In Cod. 62 of Holmes-Parsons, all these books are called Βιβλία ἀποστασίας Μακκαβαίων.

[2] That this work also continued the history further than our second book of Maccabees follows from xv. 37–39; for the last author himself intimates in this passage that he will conclude at this point, because he has related enough for his purpose.

[3] P. 318 *note* 5.

[4] As the author himself hints, ii. 24–32; xv. 38 sq.

[5] In no previous book of narrative had these beliefs been brought forward with such prominence, nor are there any representations of them within the so-called Apocrypha of the Old Testament so fully developed and so distinct.

[6] See the cases already noticed, p. 300 *note* 1. The execution of a mother after all her sons have perished, as is related in cap. vii., occurs elsewhere, also, as an example of savage cruelty practised by the Greeks; see Plutarch, *Cleomenes ad fin.*

frequently succumbs beneath this strange burden. Under these conditions, the description is for the most part very diffuse, and, consequently, in other passages it is proportionately contracted, and, especially where the subject appropriately allows it, it proceeds for a considerable space with the utmost rapidity and lightness.[1] It is, consequently, somewhat difficult to employ this book as an authority for the Maccabean history. A closer acquaintance, however, with its style and method, and the discernment of those portions in which the mere form of the historical elements predominates, enable us, in the deficiency of other and older sources, to derive from it also much genuine historical material,[2] especially for the earlier part of the history, where our first book of Maccabees is highly unsatisfactory. —The author, however, evidently felt that he did not adequately attain his ultimate object by this historically edifying representation. He therefore added to the main body of his work a short prelude as a sort of mask, which was designed immediately to subserve his purpose, and make it acceptable to the people. The collection of documents, of public communications on the part of one government or community to another, of popular resolutions and royal decrees, and the frequent employment of them as evidence in historical works, led to their being reproduced with more and more freedom, and at length entirely fabricated. We have already seen that this custom was widely spread in these centuries;[3] it is not surprising, therefore, that our author avails himself of it. He seems, so far as we can judge, to have found a fictitious epistle already in existence, in which the community at Jerusalem informed the Egyptian-Judeans that they were on the point of reviving the celebration of the ancient feast of fire (or light) as that of the consecration of the temple, adding their reasons for doing so, and calling upon them to solemnise it in like manner.[4]

[1] An eminent example of this is afforded in xiii. 18–26.

[2] I make this remark intentionally to prevent any one from forming too low an estimate of the value of this book: separate instances have already been given. The events recorded are here placed one year earlier than in 1 Macc. (cf. xi. 21 with 1 Macc. vi. 16, and xiii. 1 with 1 Macc. vi. 20); this rests on a special chronology, perhaps of African origin; see the Chronological Survey and the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1857, pp. 1100 sq.

[3] Pp. 47 sq.

[4] The epistle in i. 10–ii. 18, is written, wherever it contains narrative, in a plainer style. Though the author of the main portion of the book might have taken the trouble to produce this homely narrative, with the view of imitating the simpler language of such epistles from Jerusalem, we must nevertheless conclude, especially from the wholly different tradition related in i. 13–16 of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, that this portion was originally quite distinct from the main body of the work. To this may be added other important divergences of usage; for instance, in i. 10, ii. 14, Judas is designated by that name alone, while from ii. 19 onwards in the main portion

That some person, zealous for the honour of the temple in Jerusalem, had already attempted before our author to produce a similar feeling among the Egyptians (with the further object of preventing them from setting their own temple at Leontopolis [1] too high) may be easily imagined. This epistle was probably written in Hebrew.[2] Our author places his own translation of it at the beginning of his book, and passes with an easy transition to the main division of the book itself.[3] He further, however, prefixes a shorter epistle of similar composition and purport, as though the parent community in Jerusalem had repeated their wish, after further vicissitudes, in a second letter written twenty-one years later, and had confirmed it at the same time in the most emphatic manner by a twofold supplement of great importance, containing the earlier epistle, and the detailed historical representation. This was little more, therefore, than a somewhat artificial dress, investing the peculiar object of the whole work, which readily presented itself and was frequently employed in those days, and which was, besides, not maintained by the writer with the most perfect strictness.[4] Thus the book is little more than a Pharisaic festival-book,[5] resembling those which became so popular on a larger or smaller scale after the appearance of the book of Esther, and especially after the adoption of the Calendar already mentioned.[6]

In the so-called third book of Maccabees [7] we have nothing but a fragment of a larger book, though it is probably a fragment that has been intentionally worked up afresh. The narrative of its principal subject is brought to a close, it is true,

of the book he is called 'Judas the Maccabee,' or 'the Maccabee' only. And further, no other reason can be imagined for prefixing *two* epistles.—The representation of the origin of the book given by Valckenär, *Diatr. de Aristob.* pp. 38 sqq., although not without depth, is yet too violent and untenable.

[1] P. 356.

[2] Such words as διάφορα, i. 35, cf. iii. 6, and ὑπομνηματισμός, ii. 13, cf. iv. 23, certainly show clearly that the translator of this epistle was identical with the writer of the main body of the book, but do not prove that the epistle was not originally Hebrew. This also affords the earliest explanation of the intentional imitation of the Hebrew colouring in the epistle placed first, i. 1–9; such as καὶ νῦν, i.e. ועתה, i. 6, 9.

[3] See ii. 19. The abrupt addition of the earlier epistle, i. 10, is precisely what is usual in the intercalation of documents in those centuries. Further, the employment of the perfect γεγραφήκαμεν, i. 7, is, of course, to be understood in accordance with epistolary style: on the reading in i. 10, see above, p. 259 *note* 1.

[4] The use of the first person plural adopted in the two epistles is retained, indeed, in ii. 19–32, and recurs at the beginning of the second half of the book, x. 10; but it passes into the first person singular in vi 12; xv. 37–39.

[5] For a further discussion of many points relating to this book, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. pp. 179 sqq.; and the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1857, pp. 1095 sqq.

[6] P. 381.

[7] Besides the Greek original, this is only known now in a Syriac version.

at the end, but the beginning shows clearly that it belonged to a much larger work, from which it has simply been detached. Its language is almost the same oratorically embellished Greek which is characteristic of the writer of the previous book.[1] It was certainly composed in Egypt, but not until after the complete extinction of the Ptolemies beneath the Roman power, probably even not until after the time of Herod the Great. In fact, in its contents and spirit, it approximates so closely in many respects to Philo's political writings, that we might regard it as only produced in his day. The author's obvious design was to prove that the Judeans in Egypt had always been good subjects, and had thus acquired from the Ptolemies many honours, privileges, and liberties; the application of this to the writer's own time, when, under Greeks and Romans, the nation had become the object of increased superstition and hatred, was easy to understand.[2] Of the enthusiastic freedom, however, with which, in pursuance of this aim, he treated the scattered reminiscences in his possession, an instructive example is afforded in the main portion of this fragment. The Alexandrian Judeans annually celebrated between the fifth and seventh of Epiphi (i.e. about the time of our July) a feast resembling Pûrîm,[3] in joyous commemoration of a national deliverance. A prominent feature in this tradition was their preservation from being trampled to pieces by elephants; and we have already seen what was its older form.[4] This simple representation, however, by no means satisfied our author. He wished further to connect this piece of Egyptian-Judean tradition with the great temple in Jerusalem. He had doubtless heard of the presence of Ptolemy Philopator on one occasion in Jerusalem,[5] and he accordingly transferred back to him the story which was related of the hatred of Ptolemy Physcon against the Judeans.[6] 'This mad king,' so ran the tale, 'in spite of all the counter-entreaties and prayers of the priests and the people, had determined (and at the time of the writer

[1] The two works agree even in the selection of single rare words and images, such as *ἀγέρωχος*, 2 Macc. ix. 7; 3 Macc. i. 25; ii. 3 (see also Wisd. of Sol. ii. 9); and further, in the insertion of pure Greek proper names, simply to express in an elegant Greek form Judean objects and ideas, such as *Scythians*, 2 Macc. iv. 47; 3 Macc. vii. 5; *Phalaris*, 3 Macc. v. 20, 42. Even an Iambic line finds its way in from some dramatist, *εἴ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παλδῶν γοιαί*, 3 Macc. v. 31. In other respects, however, the style of the language of 3 Macc. is so different from that of 2 Macc. that it is impossible to refer them to the same author.

[2] For the correct apprehension of this object in the narrative, see in particular iii. 1–7; v. 31; vi. 24–28; vii. 7. That the author had in his mind simply the *δυναμεῖς*, i.e. the soldiers, rather than the Ptolemies, is clear from iii. 7; v. 29, 44; vi. 21.

[3] P. 231.

[4] P. 357.

[5] P. 283.

[6] P. 357.

the emperor Caius had resolved to do the same thing, at any rate by means of his statue) to make his way into the temple. In the last moment of his impious attempt, however, he fell speechless to the ground, suddenly paralysed by God's own hand. This event so deeply embittered his feelings that after his return to Egypt he gave orders that no foreigner should thenceforth set foot in the sacred places of the Judeans, while they themselves were in the space of forty days either to be initiated into the Greek mysteries and put on an equality with the Alexandrian Greeks, or to be registered as ordinary subjects (with inferior rights) and branded with an ivy leaf as the sign of Dionysus.[1] But few Judeans, however, were seduced by these threats; and when even numbers of well-disposed Hellenists took their part,[2] the king issued a second still more severe proclamation against them, so that the joy of their enemies over their certain destruction was unbounded. An immense number of Judeans who would not submit to the royal orders were collected in the race-course[3] before the walls of Alexandria, where they were to be trampled to pieces by intoxicated elephants. On the first day, however, their fate was averted by a heaven-sent lethargy on the part of the king, of inordinate length; on the next, by a forgetfulness of the present and a remembrance, inspired from the same source, of the great services rendered of old by the Judeans; while on the third, at the last moment, a heavenly vision terrified the elephants and drove them back upon the armed guard. In this way the king's feelings were so completely changed in favour of the Judeans that, mindful of the loyal adherence they had shown to his ancestors, he confirmed anew all their previous rights, permitted them to inflict penalties on the apostates,[4] and even lent his royal aid to the celebration of their annual feast in commemoration of this deliverance.' This is a brief abstract of a book which would be most correctly designated, like the work previously discussed,[5] a little festival-book. In accordance with the custom of these later days, the narrative is lengthened out considerably through the insertion of long prayers and royal

[1] See ii. 27–30. The allusion to Dionysus evidently sprang from a malicious reference to the vine, as the symbol and arms of Jerusalem, p. 340; which, however, cannot be proved to have been employed before the times of the Asmonean princes.

[2] That the better heathens might even be well-disposed and helpful to the Judeans, is also a leading subject of the representation; see especially i. 27; iii. 5, 6, 8–10; v. 41; in addition to the purpose of showing that the faithful, even in foreign lands, are not overlooked by God, vi. 15. In all this we seem to be reading Philo!

[3] This feature almost reminds us of the event at Herod's death, pp. 448 sq.

[4] This is made specially prominent, vii. 10–12; cf. pp. 337 sq.

[5] P. 468.

decrees. Its animating spirit, however, is derived almost exclusively from the books of Esther and Daniel and other later productions of the same kind. It introduces the standing personalities of pure fiction even into the representation of human affairs,[1] and its importance to us arises almost exclusively from the vivid picture it affords us of the feelings and aspirations of a large number of Hellenists. The book was intended to meet Caius and his demands with a prophetic historical picture.—In the meantime, so far as this fragment brought into view the sufferings and deliverances of champions of the faith who lived in the Greek times, although before the Asmoneans, many might regard it as a 'Maccabean book,' and attach it to the others of the same name.

This, therefore, was the course of the development of the historical literature relative to the last great age of the people. It was contained in books both very numerous and highly diversified, of which but few remains have been preserved to us;[2] but they were of such a kind that the want of historical feeling, with which the nation was oppressed through the whole period far more than in any preceding age, rapidly increased, and finally threatened to overgrow everything. Such writers, however, as Nicolaus of Damascus,[3] though they may have related the fortunes of Israel at a remote, or even a recent era, were too completely heathen in heart to be mentioned here.

While periods which lay at no greater distance than one or two centuries were thus unhistorically apprehended and loosely dealt with, it is not surprising that the conceptions of yet more

[1] The 'famous Egyptian priest Eleazar,' vi. 1, is certainly a purely fictitious personage, the name Eleazar (Lazarus) being often employed in this age to denote an aged confessor of the true religion in accordance with the type given in 2 Macc. vi. 18 sqq.; the typical character of the name is even brought clearly into view in 4 Macc. vi. 5 (according to the reading ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἐλεάζαρος), vii. 1, 4–6, 9, 10, where he is even called 'our most holy father' (πανάγιος).

[2] Some of the Greek Fathers still spoke of four books of Maccabees, though whether they all understood by the fourth that which is now commonly so designated, is very doubtful. There was a 'book of Josephus concerning the Maccabean age,' which, judging from the traces in G. Syncellus, *Chron.* pp. 474, 510, 527, contained a general Greek-Judean history, though it can hardly have been identical with the work described as *Macc. Arab.* [5 Macc.] p. 228 *note* 1; moreover, the description of the second book of Maccabees noticed in the *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 340 B.A., which embraced the period from Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great to Demetrius I. and the death of Judas, would not suit our present 2 Macc. Besides these, Sixtus Senensis discovered the fourth book in the life of John Hyrcanus already mentioned, p. 343 *note* 1, and, judging by his brief account of its contents, its loss is certainly much to be regretted.—The work called Πτολεμαικά (in Athanasius' *Synopsis Scriptorum Sanctorum*) probably contained a history in particular of Ptolemy Philadelphus, portrayed in the style of the book of Aristeas, pp. 249 sqq.; Credner's conjecture on the subject (*Zur Gesch. des Kanon's*, p. 144) is so far unsupported.

[3] Pp. 417 sq.

distant ages were not more strict, and that the works thus produced (of which some at any rate are still preserved) should hover between history and fiction. The writer of the book of Aristeas already referred to [1] directs his gaze exclusively to the brilliant period of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the beneficial relations which then subsisted between this king and the Judeans. He had obviously made himself acquainted with the personages and circumstances of the time, and brings out of it, as well as out of still older history, many traditions which must have had an historical basis and which we have no reason for entirely despising. But his real aim was quite different from that of explaining the origin of the widely diffused Greek translation. At a time when all genuine royalty had long been completely annihilated, both in Egypt and in Palestine, he wished to show how the true king would love and seek true wisdom, what he ought to do and what to leave undone, how he should behave in every situation of life and in every department of his office; and the mirror which he holds up in this book to the degenerate kings of his day is clear enough.[2] True wisdom is, in his mind, identical with the knowledge of the true God and his law, the God whom even the heathen adored, although so often without knowing it;[3] but if there is any heathen prince who has not yet advanced far enough in knowledge and wisdom, let him ask the true wise men, i.e. those skilled in the law at Jerusalem, and learn of them. It was at this point that the remembrance of Ptolemy Philadelphus first entered. With fiction as daring as the description is kindly, it is related, under the form of a long account given by Aristeas to his brother Philocrates, that the good king had received the Seventy-two from Jerusalem with high honours, had taken much pleasure in wise colloquies with them at table, and commissioned them to perform this important literary work. Eloquent and captivating descriptions of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, of the holy city and the holy land, of the priests and the homage paid to them and to their temple by the king, all of which Aristeas is supposed to have seen on the occasion of his embassy, are gracefully woven in. In contrast to the many almost over-grave and gloomy productions of this period, this

[1] Pp. 249 sqq. That this really was written under the Ptolemean power, and before Herod, is further clear from the fact that it describes Jerusalem just as it was before his time, and in particular, like the first book of Maccabees, vol iii. p. 123 *note 5*, calls Zion ἄκρα τῆς πόλεως, p. 113.

[2] The witty speech about public informers (Haverkamp's edition of Josephus, vol. ii. p. 118) is charming after times like those of Herod, p. 437, but would have had no point before.

[3] See in particular p. 105.

work is exceedingly cheerful and pleasing in tone, though not specially profound, and while fiction preponderates it embodies many valuable historical traditions.

Least of all was the age conscious of any necessity for the closer examination of the older history. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the endeavour to survey with comprehensive glance the spaces even of the most remote history, and frame them into some sort of conception, had for some time been very active,[1] and in addition to this a still more active effort was powerfully aroused [2] to recognise the sacred feasts and festival seasons in their higher significance. This twofold endeavour was the principal source of the book of Jubilees already discussed.[3] By the side of this movement there ran another, which became stronger and stronger. This was the attempt to elaborate further many points only briefly indicated in the primitive history of the Pentateuch or elsewhere in the ancient history, and in particular to supply the names and dates which appeared to be deficient. Of this also an example may be seen in the book of Jubilees, but a more instructive instance is afforded by a history of the twelve patriarchs, with which we are acquainted now only through the use made of it in later works.[4] And thus, in this department also, there was certainly a very busy literature in active progress.

2. Works of the latter kind pass almost imperceptibly into those designed for mere exhortation and general instruction. Freedom of narrative and of the instruction which it conveyed, was now, however, even carried to such an extent that the writer would transfer into any period of the past that seemed to him appropriate, events and circumstances which he foresaw or desired in the future. In doing so, his only object was to present to the reader, in the light dress of narrative, that which he saw in his mind's eye impending or which he longed for in faith, as having already happened, and, consequently, as intrinsically more possible and certain. In such cases as these, therefore, the narrator takes no pains to reproduce with the strictest faithfulness the historical features of the past and of actual tradition. He employs the names of persons and often also of localities simply as images of the present and future, and as lightly drawn riddles of which the solution is desired. Of this prophetic-poetic style of narrative (for so it may be briefly termed) we may trace a beginning in most of the

[1] P. 348. [2] P. 380. p. 79.
[3] Vol. i. p. 201. Cf. also the observations in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. [4] This has been further explained in vol. i. p. 380 *note* 2.

narrative passages of the book of Daniel.[1] An example on a larger scale, and, as a work of art, quite perfect, is afforded by the book of Judith, a production which is neither history nor epic, but which, if it must be more precisely designated, may be called prophetic-poetic narrative. There is no doubt that the writer desires for his own day that bold deed, divinely undertaken and divinely blessed, which he brings into view in his heroine Judith. If an enemy of the community of God were marching with overweening presumption and power to its destruction, might he fall with his whole army by its trust in God, its innocence, and its wise courage, as Holofernes fell before Judith and her fellow-citizens! This is his wish and anticipation, and it is to this point that he desires to excite the mind by the charm of this narration. We may assume with tolerable certainty that this work of fiction, originally written in Hebrew [2] but only preserved in a Greek translation (and in some other old versions made from the latter), was produced in the reign of the Asmonean prince John. It was at the time when the Seleucidæ,[3] after outwardly subduing the Judeans who were boiling over with fury and made the most strenuous resistance, had marched with an immense army to the countries of the east to bring these once more also under their yoke; and in Jerusalem it was not hard to foresee that if they returned victorious, they would chastise the ever unruly Judeans with the utmost severity.[4] Upon this the poet asked himself the question, what ought to be done on the part of the Judeans, in fact, of the first Judean city on which the Syrian wrath might fall? In reply, he paints in glowing colours the picture which arises in his mind, to stir enthusiasm and emulation. Even a weak woman, if she is the true heart in the true community, may in the very first city

[1] See *die Propheten des A. Bs.* ii. pp. 559 sqq. [iii. pp. 298 sqq. 2nd ed.]

[2] The traces of a Hebrew original are not so prominent in the Greek of this book as in the book of Tobit; but they are clear enough in many passages. Moreover, Hebrew was the only language at hand for a book certainly intended solely for Palestinian Judeans; and no single satisfactory reason can be adduced, even in the usage of separate words, for supposing that Greek was the original language. Two or three passages, in which the translator had in his mind the words of the LXX (for instance, viii. 16, cf. Num. xxiii. 19; xi. 19, cf. Exod. xi. 7, and *ἐπίμικτος*, ii. 20, often found in the Pentateuch for עֶרֶב) afford as little proof in this case as in the book of Tobit, that the author himself wrote in Greek.—There is probably an allusion to the book of Daniel in xi. 7, cf. Dan. ii. 38.

[3] It might be conjectured that the book was intended to refer to the Romans, about the time of Pompey's siege of Jerusalem; but there is not the least trace which carries us to the Roman period in any way whatever; and the fact that, out of all Asia Minor, only Cilicia is mentioned as being in the possession of the Assyrians, i.e. of the Syrians, and is made so prominent (i. 7, 12; ii. 21, 24), unites with every other indication in pointing very clearly to the later Seleucidic period, in which Cilicia always played an important part.

[4] P. 345.

render the most wonderful aid in delivering the oppressed fatherland. That is the fundamental idea of the picture, in which the writer, though he nowhere alludes to it, certainly had the example of Jael [1] in view. The Syrians, however, were then once more the lords of the Judeans, even if only for a time. The poet, therefore, intentionally selects a period apparently long past, and carefully veils the dangerous names of the present, while in his delineation of the circumstances themselves he is the more careful to let the actual present shine through for every thoughtful mind. The hostile people, accordingly, though in reality the Syrians, are always called Assyrians, their capital being Nineveh, and are carefully distinguished from the Chaldeans;[2] but instead of specifying any real king of the Assyrians (and there would have been no use in actually doing so), the narrator sets up Nabuchodrozzor (the Chaldean) as their monarch, obviously for no other reason than that in later generations he had come to be regarded as the type of all cruel oppressors. This Nabuchodrozzor, however, is then transferred into the age of the second temple,[3] and, like Antiochus Epiphanes, he is described as exterminating all religions and deifying himself alone.[4] Accordingly, he marches [5] victoriously against the north-eastern countries, here designated by the old-biblical name of Media, and their king, who in like manner bears the name Arphaxad, by which is meant the similarly sounding Arsaces. Many countries and cities, however, which he regarded as subject to his sway, as far as the Ethiopian boundary,[6] having rejected his summons to send him additional auxiliary forces, immediately on his return he prepares with the most vehement indignation to make war on them just as Demetrius II. actually did after he came back from Parthia.[7] For this purpose he despatches his

[1] Judges iv., v.

[2] Through the whole book the term Assyrians is invariably repeated; only in xvi. 10, cf. ver. 4, for the sake of poetic variety in the verse, do we find the Persians and Medes substituted; the Chaldeans appear in quite another connection, v. 6, cf. vol. i. p. 384 *note 6*.

[3] According to iv. 3; v. 18 sq.; the description, however, is very appropriate to the condition of the nation, when just released once more from the Syrian slavery.

[4] According to iii. 8; vi. 2.

[5] Allusion is also made in i. 6, to the numerous scattered inhabitants of the eastern countries, which had at once attached themselves to Demetrius II., just as to Antiochus Sidêtes; and further, to the expedition of John, p. 345, since ἡ ὀρεινή in this book (even in i. 6; ii. 22) always denotes the proper Judean territory. The strange name υἱοὶ Χελεούδ or Χελούδ (a better reading in some MSS. i. 6, for Χελεούλ) was probably a current nickname, 'sons of the mole,' חלד, for the Syrians.

[6] Egypt was regarded by the Seleucidæ after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as rightfully belonging to them.

[7] Even the chronology of the years of the Assyrian, i.e. of the Syrian king, supplied in i. 1, 13; ii. 1, fits in very well. If Demetrius II. began to reign as the acknowledged king in B.C. 145, his brother Antiochus, who carried on the

general Holofernes (or Horofernes);[1] and every one of the original readers could readily discern from this name of contemporary occurrence though only of the general on the enemy's side, to what period the book was really intended to refer. To this personage many countries in the north and east immediately submit, as well as all the fortified cities on the Phœnician coast as far as Egypt—the army of Demetrius II. having actually advanced in the same way in the war against Egypt as far as Pelusium.[2] Upon this, Holofernes marches from Phœnicia with a large army against the northern boundary of the hill country of Judea, with the intention of first of all reducing the fortified city of Betylûa, as this place with some adjacent towns formed the road from Galilee into this hill country.[3] In Jerusalem, however, under the active watchful-

government after he was taken prisoner, certainly undertook the great Parthian campaign about twelve years afterwards; and after he had fallen, and Demetrius II. had returned, the latter undertook his expedition to Egypt in the year 128–7, that is, in his seventeenth or eighteenth year; for he continued reckoning by the years after he came to the throne, in spite of the intervening period of his brother's administration, as Antiochus had only reigned on his behalf; and hence, at the time of our author, this computation was no doubt generally adopted. The statement in i. 15 may probably have served to announce the report of the events in the far distant east.

[1] The formation of this name shows that it was of Persian origin; and it was probably sufficient for the author that a general of this name had already become renowned and dreaded under Demetrius I.; Polyb. xxxiii. 12, or *Excerpt. de Legat.* 126; and in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. xiii.; Diod. *Eclog.* xxxi. *ad fin.*; Just. *Hist.* xxxv. 1. The Cappadocian Prince Orrofernes, so notorious, according to Ælian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41, as a wine-drinker, is certainly the same, and has obviously supplied his contribution to the picture of Holofernes in our book. We have no mention whatever of any older Holofernes of similar fame; if, therefore, the original readers of the book read nothing but this name, they could not fail to discern with ease to what period it was really intended to refer.

[2] As this expedition to Ascalôn, ii. 28 [iii. 1], *seems* to have been the last preceding the invasion of Judea, we may, in fact, gather from it with the utmost exactitude the date of the book. The cities on the coast are here enumerated perfectly accurately, according to their situation from north to south. The only exception is Σούρ (which cannot possibly, as is proved by i. 12, viii. 26, denote Syria); it seems to have been formed out of צוֹר, and is probably nothing but an erroneous repetition of Τύρος already mentioned; Ὀκινά very probably designates the city and district of Accho (cf. the *Abhandlung über Sanchuniathon*, p. 49); and Ἰεμναά is certainly Jabneh. Nothing more perverse can be imagined than the attempt of Gesenius to correct Ὀκινά into Δαμασκινά, and Ἰεμναά into Λεβναά (as if that could signify the Lebanon).

[3] That Betylûa (the reading of all the Greek MSS.) was a real city of the time admits of no doubt, in accordance with iii. 10–iv. 6; vi. 10–12; vii. 1–7, 18; viii. 3; xv. 3, and with the whole spirit of the book; for although such descriptions of more distant countries as we have in ii. 21–27 are very free, the author must have known and described Judea, and everything belonging to it, with great accuracy. Its situation, also, is clearly indicated in the passages already cited, both independently and in relation to the neighbouring towns. The Syrians were at first posted on the north, between Geba (probably the place of that name in Galilee already mentioned, p. 394) and Scythopolis on the west. West of Betylûa lay Dothan, discovered by Vandervelde and Robinson, not far from the great road from north to south; on the east was Belmon or Belamon, which is, perhaps, identical with the Solomonic Baal-hamon; on the north were Betomesthaim and beyond that Cyamon (cf. Polyb. *Hist.* vii. 70 *ad fin.*); all these places, with the exception of Belmon, looked on to the great Galilean plain of the well-known

ness of the high-priest Jehoiakîm (an easy alteration from Johanan or John [1]) and the high council,[2] the inhabitants have determined to make a vigorous resistance on behalf of themselves and of the whole country; and even the Ammonite prince Achior[3] warns the heathen general, from his own knowledge and out of good will towards him, to be on his guard, as this people could not be conquered unless it were involved in some transgression of the law,[4] but in return for this judicious advice he is harshly chastised and driven away. Betylûa is thus reduced to the utmost extremity. A council of war is held, and it is determined to surrender to the enemy in five days, when this calamity is averted by Judith,[5] a young widow, no less wise than beautiful, and, as her name implies, the pattern of all true Judean women. In her spotless innocence and perfect fulfilment of the law, and by her prayers, she finds strength and resolution to pass alone over a thousand swords, and before the fatal morning of the fifth day she returns to her fellow-citizens with the head of Holofernes, and inspires them to make an attack on the helpless enemy, which throws them into wild flight and achieves victory and permanent deliverance for the whole country. Would that such a heroine

Jezreel, or, as it is here called, Esdraelon. If Cyamon is identical with the modern Jâmôn, and Dothan, not far from it, with the present Kefr Adân (see both places in Kiepert's Map), as we may assume with much probability, Betylûa was then situated about where Josephus places Ginæa, and is, perhaps, only another spelling, in part dialectically different, and in part briefer, for Betgunûa (Robinson also, *Bib. Res.* iii. p. 337, ed. 1856, declares himself against the Beit-Ilfa of Consul Schultz). Thus the importance of its situation is explained. If the city originally belonged to the tribe of Manasseh, this would account for the husband of Judith bearing that name.—Further, that Samaria was reckoned with Judea, and that Galilee was easily abandoned, is quite in harmony with that period.

[1] Especially as there actually was a high-priest of that name who lived, p. 124 *note* 1, during the period of the restoration of Jerusalem, as is clear from Bar. i. 7. Hence, in the *Constit. Apost.*, Judith is placed under Darius.

[2] The manner in which the action of the high-priest and of the senate is represented throughout the whole book, is also very appropriate to the time of John.

[3] From what source the author derived this name, it is difficult to determine. It is probably a simple abbreviation from אֲחִיעֶזֶר, and, as the type of the kindly foreigner, is borrowed from Tob. xiv. 10 (cf. above, p. 212 *note* 5). In certain respects the writer clearly had Num. xxii.–xxiv. before his mind; but Achior's final conversion, xiv. 4–10, and the picture of the general relations of Israel to the surrounding nations, harmonise very well with the age of John.

[4] This is the second fundamental idea, on which the peculiar development of the whole history turns.

[5] In the usual way, her family is traced back in viii. 1, through twenty generations, to Israel: for it is clear that the number ought to be no less, although in the various MSS. separate names have dropped out of the long series; even in the Roman edition, the names Ahitub, Elkanah, and Simeon must be inserted. That she was meant to be of the tribe of Simeon follows undeniably from ix. 2; but the same passage shows also that her ancestry, like that of the governors of her city, vi. 15, was traced back to this tribe, partly because, in conceiving these warlike events, the writer had in view the narrative in Gen. xxxiv. as affording a pattern of courage, and this is the reason why we find Schechem mentioned, v. 16. This affords a *little closer* insight into the manner in which proper names were formed.

of ancient grandeur might arise again at the right place and in the right community; or, rather, would that the whole Judean community were like this Judith! That is the last echo of a narrative which affords us the first example in Israel of what we should in these modern days call a romance. It does but confirm the general truth that such imaginary narratives only arise when a once lofty past is in the far distance, and are produced out of the obscure commingling of poetry and history, when the spirit is too weak to give instruction either through the clear medium of history, so rich and full of experience, or through the elevated instrumentality of pure poetry. Pure poetry is to be found in this book also, but only in the lofty song of victory at the end.[1] The prevailing feature is narrative, written in imitation of the old historical books. It does not possess the rapid brevity and neatness of the book of Tobit, but it is also entirely free from the bombast and the introduction of heavenly appearances which were adopted in the later books of the Maccabees. The achievements of Judith are effected by the divine purity and power of her own spirit; except that, in reference to the requirements of the law, she seems quite as scrupulous as a genuine female Pharisee when the Pharisees were at the height of their power. The falsehood and dissimulation,[2] on the other hand, of which she also avails herself as one of her main weapons against Holofernes, have been regarded in all ages as allowable artifices of war. The soul of the whole book is the wild warlike enthusiasm kindled in the Maccabean struggles and intoxicated with victory. At the time of John it was still glowing with tolerable ardour, yet here and there it threatened to grow cool, and seemed in consequence to need to be reanimated by a stimulus of this kind. Admirable as it is for its descriptive art, the book contains no new and deeper truth, and no one who was well acquainted with the earlier books of the Old Testament, and had taken them to heart, had any need of this incentive. This is the secret weakness of this production, as of so many others of the same period. It needs only to be said further that it was also widely read in Greek, and was worked up in different forms, almost like the book of Tobit. What judgment is to be formed of its historical value and contents is clear from the preceding account.[3]

[1] See xvi. 2–17; the song is divided according to the rules of art into three strophes of equal length, vv. 2–6, 7–12, 13–17.

[2] This is employed by Judith in the narrative with great art; her devices, however, are too simple to require further explanation here.

[3] In his important essay on 'The Situation of the Atropatenic Ecbatana,' in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.* vol. x. pp. 135 sq., Rawlinson has also attempted to

The book of Enoch, and other prophetic compositions of the same kind, have been already discussed.[1]—Another similar work was the Ascension of Moses,[2] which is also quoted in the epistle of Jude in the New Testament.[3] Of this a large fragment in an old Latin version has been recently discovered and published.[4] It appeared during the disturbances after the death of Herod, or, at the latest, during the similar disturbances nine years afterwards.

The Greek treatment of ancient prophetic materials begins with the great Letter of Jeremiah,[5] in which a Hellenist, pursuing the path trodden by the prophet,[6] carries out in an epistle to the dispersion the method likewise first of all adopted by Jeremiah,[7] of proving the absurdity of idols. But he only succeeds in writing like a speaker who proves and exhausts his subject from every point of view; he shows not the remotest movement towards prophetic flight.

This does but bring forth all the more clearly the elevation and freedom with which the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, speaking with the voice of an ancient sage, rises above the world, and especially above the princes of his day. If it was designed in the course of universal history that the fairest and most enduring of the truths of Israel should now pass with more and more completeness and gravity into Greek thought and utterance, we must admit that the writer of this most beautiful and important of all the Hellenistic productions made a more effective step in this direction than any of his predecessors. He seems to have steeped his mind in the principal books of the Old Testament, and there recognised the eternal foundations of all true religion with such living power, that he beheld none but these pure and ever-quickening truths in all their brightness, and before this great light all the lower and imperfect elements of those writings vanished away. He had, in the same way, mastered the Greek culture, and nurtured his spirit with many thoughts and principles of the higher Greek

determine the names of the localities and the kings in the books both of Tobit and Judith; but he has not duly regarded their peculiar character and purport.—On the many baseless opinions which have been lately poured forth again about the book of Judith, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. pp. 230, 264 sq.; vi. p. 113; ix. pp. 129, 192 sqq.; xi. pp. 226–231; *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1861, pp. 693–710, 1525–1529.

[1] Pp. 348 sq.

[2] *Assumtio Mosis.*

[3] Jude, ver. 9.

[4] From an Ambrosian palimpsest: on this work see the observations in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, pp. 3–7.

[5] This is usually placed at the end of the book of Baruch as a sixth chapter. The standpoint of writing for Babylonian Judeans is strictly adhered to, cf. vv. 40 sqq., and the numerous close allusions to idolatrous usages confer on this composition a high historical value; but the strong references to the *kings*, vv. 51–56, are thoroughly Hellenistic.

[6] Jer. xxix.

[7] Jer. x.

philosophy, particularly the Platonic. So far, however, from being led to value the truths of the Old Testament less highly, he saw them invested with fresh brilliance in the light of Greek culture and wisdom, and learned to prize them all the more, without on that account despising anything worthy and suitable, which was contributed by the Greek schools of philosophy, and which, in a place like Alexandria, passed indeed almost of itself into the more loftily aspiring minds.[1] On the contrary, all his training only made him a more thorough and genuine Israelite, so that, while readily accepting whatever sound and useful ideas were offered him by Greek philosophy, he was the more determined in his abhorrence of the real essence of all heathenism, and, in particular, of the Greek tone of mind. How accurately, and at the same time with what independent and creative insight, he discerned the perverted elements in heathenism, is evident at once from the fact that he turns with the utmost boldness to all the potentates and princes of the earth, summoning them to lay hold of the true wisdom, and with it also of the true religion. Nothing reveals more clearly and forcibly the worthlessness of heathenism than the worthlessness of all the kingdoms, not excluding the Roman, which, after the expedition of Alexander, ruled and ruined the whole ancient world. It was high time that the true religion in the midst of the heathen, and, moreover, in the countries of their greatest culture and wisdom, should publicly turn to the most powerful and dreaded sovereigns, and boldly warn them of the one thing in which they were entirely wanting, and the absence of which was the cause of the futility of all their endeavours. Accordingly, the writer, in a grand discourse, i.–vi. 21, addresses directly all persons in power. He teaches them the vanity of the thoughts, words, and deeds of the worldly, and the everlasting blessings of the children of

[1] The influence of the Alexandrian philosophy upon our author has been in recent times much exaggerated. That he derived the doctrine of immortality from that source will be asserted by no one who is acquainted with the Old Testament, as well as with our author. The prominence given to *σωφροσύνη*, *φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἀνδρία*, as the four principal virtues, in viii. 7, as well as in Philo (vol. ii. pp. 455 sq., and in many other passages), 4 Macc. i. 18 sqq., v. 22 sq. (where *εὐσέβεια* is substituted for *φρόνησις*), xv. 7 (where there is a similar substitution), is certainly genuinely Platonic, and is derived solely from the Platonic school; but the appearance of these four in the passage just quoted, viii. 7, is only quite cursory, and their place in the general connection of the discussions of the book is, as it were, accidental.—Still less can it be said, that the author drew anything from any Oriental philosophy. In the fact that exactly twenty-one attributes are ascribed to the spirit of wisdom, vii. 22 sq., and that there are seven steps from the first beginning of wisdom to true sovereignty, as the highest and last stage in the order of philosophy, vi. 17–20, we may, it is true, trace the influence of that inclination of Oriental philosophy for numerical fancies, which has been already mentioned, pp. 184 sq., but nothing more.

God, and shows them that, together with every other true good, immortality and sovereignty are only obtained by life in the knowledge of God, and in wisdom. In this we seem to be listening, not to the instruction of any single individual, but to the pure and lofty voice of wisdom itself. Every sentence is wonderfully clear and elevating, keen and striking; and with incomparable mastery the writer knows precisely how to raise those at whom he aims from their unworthy eminence of perversity onto one of worthiness and truth. There is not a single word more or less than is necessary. Borne along almost exclusively by the simple charm of oracular utterances in Old Testament style, the most profound truths and the clearest images and descriptions sink irresistibly into the hearts of the hearers; and the character of the true ruler, and the manner in which he is to become so, are exhibited at the close in language of the utmost eloquence and power. It is, indeed, only the Messianic hopes of eternal retribution and judgment which here take the deepest hold; and all the turns and steps of the discourse have their original types in the Old Testament; but their reappearance here, with a creative fulness which gives them an entirely new form, and their power even in the dress of Greek language and art to move the mind so wonderfully, and to speak as one of the old Greek sages might have spoken in his own primitive inspiration,—these are the novel and unique features of the book. And this impression would, in fact, remain quite strong and unimpaired if the book concluded at vi. 21. The thought with which it opened, complete in itself, is even outwardly brought to a close; and at the same time, if it ended here, there would not be the smallest sign to betray that this discourse, or rather this garland of philosophical maxims, so naturally and beautifully strung together, was a specimen of wisdom placed in the mouth of the ancient monarch and sage Solomon. Later on, however, the author must have found it expedient to continue his work in another mode. The subsequent portion, beginning from vi. 22, proceeds, it is easy to see, from the same writer, and attaches itself to the foregoing. It is illuminated, not unfrequently, by similar lightning glances from his mind; but there is a perceptible difference in the representation and in the style of the discourse, both in its general scope and in detail. There are two considerations in particular which must have guided the author from this point. In the first place it seemed to him better to send the work out into the world clearly as an utterance of Solomon. This was the usage of the day, and kings will

tolerate direct address most easily when it comes from a king. In the second place, the writer wished to let it appear still more clearly from this point that it was a Judean who was speaking, and that the wisdom which he extolled could only be attained along with the true religion. The discourse continues, therefore (and it becomes plainer and plainer that it is in the character of Solomon), with the object of showing what wisdom intrinsically is, what is its use, and how the speaker has acquired it.[1] He had attained it early,[2] it was true, but chiefly through the sole means of earnest prayer for it, and so the discourse in vi. 22–viii. 21 passes into the prayer in ix. If it was only intended to serve the immediate purpose for which it was introduced, this prayer might easily have concluded with the general language employed in this chapter. But the author further wished to represent his wise king as making special reference to the people of God as the nation in and to which the divine wisdom had been revealed in the fullest measure, and with the greatest clearness. With ready art, therefore, he gives the prayer such a turn that the transition is easy to the historical exhibition and commendation of wisdom, as the formative and protective power of all pious souls from the beginning, and, in particular, of the people of God. With chapter x., accordingly, begins a third, viz., the historical section of the book, this element having become, in later works of this kind, more and more important and indispensable. But the art shown in the preceding portions is here lost in the subject matter; and it is only with difficulty that in the course of the interminably long prayer (such as was certainly in accordance with the taste of the age[3]) the speaker keeps up, by repeated addresses to God, the form of expression which he has chosen. The history itself does not enter into details until it reaches the Mosaic period;[4] but with this the prayer is so exclusively occupied,[5] that it scarcely touches the age of Joshua at all. It seems as if some special reason had induced the author to remain at this

[1] In the words *πῶς ἐγένετο*, vi. 22, *μοι* is implied in the writer's mind, as is in part clear from the general connection of vi. 22–24, and in part confirmed also by viii. 21, where the speaker comes to the second half of his exposition already noticed, and the word *ἐγκρατής* is used just as shortly.

[2] See in particular viii. 10; and if the question arises as to the age at which the writer attributes this discourse to Solomon, we must suppose that in contrast to the book of Koheleth, he represents the king as speaking in the high noon of life.

[3] Pp. 23 sq.

[4] See x. 15 sqq.

[5] It follows, moreover, from certain sure indications that, besides making use of the Pentateuch, the writer availed himself of one or more lost representations of the Mosaic age.—Quite independent of this are the allegories of the Law, in which he goes much further and is more decided than Aristobulus, p. 259.

lofty period of the past; and this reason it is not very hard to discover. He first of all brings to the front the idea of the true God as the being who also punishes justly;[1] and, after he has then in various ways severely chastised the folly of the worship of idols,[2] he returns in conclusion, with long and wearisome detail,[3] to the description of the inner necessity and true nature of the divine justice and retribution, and under the terrifying figure of the ancient might of the penalties inflicted on the Egyptians,[4] he delineates the everlasting night of final condemnation. With this the whole discourse returns unobserved, and yet appropriately, to the point from which it started, viz., the question of justice, of power, and sovereignty; and, so far, the book comes to a proper conclusion. Yet, though from vi. 22, and still more from x. onwards, the pregnant sayings are fewer and fewer, and the style becomes more and more purely rhetorical, while the book as a whole is unable to conceal the imperfection and weakness by which all later works are specially characterised when they attempt to rise to a loftier height, it nevertheless far surpasses all other Hellenistic productions.—So many, indeed, are the magic words and thoughts heard for the first time out of this Greek book, which remind us strikingly of the New Testament,[5] that one is even tempted to find a Christian in its author. He is, however, no other than a highly-inspired Judean; and in no single case can it be proved that he derived any one of his words or thoughts from Christianity. Of the law he says little, as he is engaged in deeper contemplations; and he rises far above the narrow-mindedness and hypocrisy of the Pharisees into shining heights; yet it is clear that in his view there is nothing holy but the contents of the law. In the case of a work maintained at such a pure eminence of thought, it is very difficult to determine its date with precision. Even in the historical portion the author only refers to Israel and

[1] Down to xii. 27.
[2] See cc. xiii.–xv.
[3] In cc. xvi.–xix.
[4] Exod. xi. 4 sqq.
[5] Such as ἀγαπᾶν, i. 1; xvi. 26; χάρις καὶ ἔλεος, χάρις alone, πίστις, ἐλπίς, and in particular the relation of father and son between God and man, with the frequent use of πάτερ in the prayer; and further, such thoughts as in xiii. 5, &c. Whether the book was read by New Testament writers and involuntarily imitated by them, is a question of which the discussion must be reserved. Suffice it to say here that the prominence of the conception of sonship is to be observed in other writings of the period, p. 463 *note* 3, and was further particularly closely connected with Solomon through 2 Sam. vii. and Ps. lxxxix. The language of Philo is often exceedingly similar; for though he frequently speaks of the πατὴρ τοῦ κόσμου or τῶν ὅλων, he also uses the expression ὁ πατήρ absolutely, *Vit. Mos.* II. pp. 18 sqq., capp. xxiii. sq., xxviii., xxxvi., pp. 106, 158, 164, 175, 179; *De Monarch.* i. 2; see also pp. 482, 546, 562, 589, and many other passages.

Egypt, to Moses and Aaron, in terms which correspond to the general elevation of his discourse. That he lived in Egypt, and wrote immediately for Egypt, follows from his reference to the worship of animals.[1] In discoursing, therefore, in that country against the potentates of the earth, he certainly had in his eye all the later kings, and pre-eminently the utterly degenerate Egyptian sovereigns, who had issued out of the empire of Alexander; and this enables us to understand why it is that, without naming the Egyptians or Pharaoh, he describes their punishment in the days of Moses as a prelude of what would happen in the Messianic age to come, with so much force, that it forms the subject on which the whole book finally discharges itself. So far, therefore, from having arisen from mere imitation of Greek wisdom and rhetorical art; this work should rather, in consideration of its central idea and ultimate purpose, be reckoned among the Messianic productions; and, unless this be taken into account, it is impossible to understand the deep glow which, with all its apparent tranquillity, streams through its veins. But for such books, there are many things which it would be difficult to comprehend in a Paul, a John, and their contemporaries. In the nervous energy of his proverbial style, and in the depth of his representation, we have a premonition of John, and in the conception of heathenism a preparation for Paul, like a warm rustle of the spring ere its time is fully come.

A great advance is made in the application of Platonic wisdom and Greek rhetoric, in what is now commonly called the fourth book of Maccabees. The authorship of this work is ascribed in the manuscripts to a Josephus, and it is, certainly, considerably later than the Wisdom of Solomon. It cannot, however, have been written by the well-known Flavius Josephus,[2] although it probably appeared not very long before his time,[3] and is here only mentioned on account of its connection with

[1] See xi. 15; xii. 24; xv. 18. Similar allusions to the worship of animals occur in Dan. *Apocr.* xiv. [Bel and the Dragon] 23–27; but this book was also certainly written in Egypt.—On various vain conjectures recently published about the Wisdom of Solomon, see the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. pp. 264 sq.; ix. pp. 234 sq.; x. pp. 219 sq.; xi. pp. 223 sqq.

[2] The ornate rhetorical language of Fl. Josephus is certainly not altogether unlike that of this book; but, as we have already seen, p. 295 *note* 1, Fl. Josephus made no use at all of the second book of Maccabees. Moreover, that the author was a genuine Hellenist, living perhaps in Egypt, or somewhere else away from the holy land, is clear from the mention of 'our fatherland,' i.e. the distant country in the holy land, iv. 5, 20, cf. 7; xvii. 8, 20; xviii. 4 sq. That Fl. Josephus, however, could not have written this enthusiastic book after the destruction of Jerusalem, is in itself obvious. We can, therefore, only ascribe it to some Josephus otherwise unknown to us.

[3] See vol. vi. pp. 556 sq. [German].

the books of Maccabees. It was produced in an age when there scarcely remained any accurate conception of the Maccabean struggles, when the Hellenists, in particular, lived in tolerable tranquillity,[1] while, however, the penetrating eye could foresee in the distance the renewal of all the fearful contests between Heathenism and Judeanism, which at last actually took place. The writer's object, therefore, is to prepare the minds of his contemporaries beforehand, and to kindle in them the same ardent love for the law, and the same courageous readiness to endure on its behalf every hardship down to the bitterest contumelies and the torments of death, which he himself feels within him. This he purposes to effect by the appropriate delineation of great historical examples; and he accordingly selects from the second book of Maccabees for striking description[2] the most glowing passages, those, viz., in which the beginning of the Maccabean persecutions, and especially the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the mother with her seven sons, are related. In order to show, after the method of the current Platonic philosophy, how easy it is to die for the fatherland and its law, he propounds the principle that thought in man can rule over all passions, and, in particular, over all fear, even of death. Having thus, in the perverse fashion of the schools, set up a single principle and deified thought, he carries out his idea in reference to the ultimate object of his work with the most dexterous rhetoric. But, however much of the art of the schools the writer may apply to the genuinely Greek portion of his book, his main purpose is, by means of the most glowing delineation of the steadfast endurance of the pains of death, and of the everlasting divine glory awaiting those champions of the law, to exhort others to like endurance and like victory. Viewed in this light, the book fulfils its aim[3] so perfectly as to be unsurpassed; and its descriptions could hardly have been more forcible even for the Christian martyrs. The whole work is composed in the form of a grand address to the 'children of Abraham,'[4] and we seem to have in it almost the solitary example, though on a scale of uncommon grandeur and art, of a Judean sermon.[5]

[1] This follows clearly enough from xiv. 9; cf. xviii. 3 sq.

[2] 4 Macc. iv. is compiled out of 2 Macc. iii.–vi. with considerable historical permutations: 4 Macc. v. sqq. contain a very free paraphrase of 2 Macc. vi. 18–vii.; cf. above, p. 300 *note* 1.

[3] This is made clear in the briefest way from passages like xvii. 7–9; xviii. 1 sq., 20–23.

[4] This proud name is the favourite appellation throughout the book, vi. 17, 22; ix. 21; xiv. 20; xvii. 6; xviii. 1.

[5] As in the Wisdom of Solomon, some of the sayings in this book, also, seem like echoes of the New Testament: e.g. vii. 19 reminds us of Matt. xxii. 31, sq.; and although this sentence is want-

Close, however, to works of the highest flight of pure ideas, there stand also books of magic, for faith in the power of magic words easily springs up, particularly in declining years, on the border of a lofty culture that is past, and links itself to words and sounds that once were potent. Works of this kind, with the magical art originally rejected in Israel absolutely as something heathen,[1] now made their appearance, and were even ascribed to Solomon.[2]

3. Great activity, finally, prevailed in this period in the repeated reproduction, alteration, enlargement, abbreviation, and fresh arrangement of older books. We have already observed instances of this in the so-called apocryphal book of Ezra [1 Esdras],[3] and in the book of Esther.[4] A conspicuous example is afforded by the form in which the book of Daniel has been preserved in the Greek Bible. When this is more carefully examined, two facts result for the general history of the literature of this age which are not unimportant.

In the first place, Daniel must have been made the subject of a new and larger work, which certainly incorporated much of the book now accepted as canonical, but elaborated many of the briefer statements of the latter at great length, and added others wholly new. The older book, which had been written between one and two centuries earlier, had been peculiarly instrumental in making the name of Daniel and his friends very popular;[5] and it is easy to understand that it was sought to collect in writing every narrative referring to him, that his name was eagerly employed as that of a great sage in the struggle against heathenism, and that many circumstances merely sketched in passing within the very brief limits of the older book, were now subjected to a further development such as seemed to correspond better to the taste of the age. Of this new book of Daniel three large fragments have been preserved.

ing in some MSS., it is perfectly covered by xvi. 25; xiii. 14 appears to refer to Matt. x. 28; and xiii. 16 to Luke xvi. 22. But there is no reason here, either, for assuming that to write such passages the author must have had the books of the New Testament before him: we simply see in them the speedy advent of the New Testament writings themselves. That the author was no Christian, but a thorough and rigid Judean, is unquestionable; and although the allusions to the faithful observance of the laws of agriculture, ii. 9, 14, do not render it impossible that the book could have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, we do not find a single trace pointing to this period, or leading us to conjecture that the writer referred in any way to Christianity, or had read any Christian books.

[1] *Alterth.* pp. 15 sq.

[2] See vol. iii. pp. 318 sq.

[3] See p. 127. If Syncellus, *Chron.* i. pp. 475 sq., gives a correct account of the brief contents of this book, it must have come down to us mutilated at the end and have originally concluded with such passages as Nehemiah iii.

[4] P. 234 *note* 1.

[5] Next to the Pentateuch, no book is cited in these days so often, comparatively speaking, as the book of Daniel.

1) The first is a narrative of the way in which, while still a boy, he succeeded by his wisdom and innocence in convicting of their crime the two aged judges who were sinfully inflamed against Susanna.[1] There was a very old legend in Babylon, as far as we can make out, that two persons of discretion, advanced in years, had been seduced by the goddess of love;[2] it is quite conceivable that in spreading to the Judeans and through them to Palestine, this Babylonian legend was mingled with traditions from the life of Daniel, and at length resulted in the narrative under consideration, which has a thoroughly Judean colouring.—2) The second is a long fragment from a very circumstantial representation of the deliverance of the three friends from the fiery furnace. In the older work this was related with great brevity,[3] but later writers were exceedingly fond of these descriptions of marvellous deliverances of the faithful. Azariah, being the eldest (or perhaps as the teacher) of the three, is accordingly introduced as uttering a prayer in the depth of their distress;[4] the glow of the fire, and the coming of the guardian angel are depicted in strong colours;[5] and a long prayer of thanksgiving is added on the part of the three, who then felt that their safety was assured.[6]—3) The third is a new representation of the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den;[7] in which it is stated that the reason for his being cast in was that he had twice convinced Cyrus in different ways of the folly of worshipping idols, and of the deceptions of the priests, who deserved the most rigorous punishments. As if Cyrus had ever venerated any such idols, as is here affirmed of him!

In the second place, some later writer must have compared this new book, which was certainly originally written in Greek, with the Greek translation of the older book of Daniel, and transferred whatever he thought proper from the former into the latter. The work thus compiled afresh has been preserved in Greek, while the intervening book, whose former exist-

[1] Most of the MSS. make this the first chapter of Daniel. [It appears in the Apocrypha as The History of Susanna.]

[2] See the brief allusion in the Korân, *Sur.* ii. 96, with the explanations of Baidhâvi and others.—With what freedom the history of Susanna was related, may be seen also from the great differences occurring in the MSS.; in some it even stood separate by the side of the book of Daniel. The arbitrary attempts of a later date to find a place for her in the genealogies, may be seen from the account in Legarde's *Anal. Syr.* pp. 91, 7 sq.

[3] Dan. iii.

[4] Greek Dan. iii. 23–45 [English Apocr., Song of the Three Children, vv. 1–22], with some changes at the beginning.

[5] Ibid. vv. 46–50 [vv. 23–27].

[6] Ibid. vv. 51–90 [vv. 28–68].

[7] Greek Dan. xiv. [Bel and the Dragon]. Some of the MSS. vary very much in this chapter, and do not name Cyrus at all: in fact, according to some of them this was an entirely separate piece out of the 'book of the prophet Habakkuk, the son of Jesus.'

ence is proved by the clearest traces, is now lost. It is only in this way that we can explain the origin and preservation of the portions which are not contained in the Hebrew book.

What uncommon activity characterised literature in general among the Hellenists, is clear from all that has just been said. In Palestine itself the language employed both for speaking and writing was certainly still that of the country.[1] The more, however, this was gradually restricted and driven into the background by the Greek and other foreign languages, the more it came to be regarded like the ancestral religion itself as a sacred object. Among the Hellenists in particular its sound was often contrasted in mysterious dread with the common heathen languages, as though it were an echo from a loftier region;[2] but for those who were born in Palestine itself, such a contrast had no real significance. With what extraordinary vigour literature and learning continued to develope in Palestine itself, may be gathered from the transition of the stiff old-Hebraic character into the easier so-called Assyrian,[3] which by this time must long have been universally effected. The Samaritans on the other hand supported their opposition to Judean usage by refusing to depart from the old Mosaic character which had become consecrated through their Pentateuch. In Jerusalem this was retained only upon coins,[4] as it possessed great similarity to the Phœnician, and in everything relating to trade the adjacent Phœnicia was always carefully considered.

4. In the more exact knowledge of natural phenomena we do not discern in this age any very active and independent interest. In accordance with the general course of its history the contest concerning the true religion was for Israel the chief consideration, both under Greeks and Romans and in the midst of all Greek science; and around this its highest spiritual endeavours revolved. In the days of the first Ptolemies, so propitious to science, Aristobulus appears[5] as the 'teacher' of Ptolemy Philomêtor. This position, however, seemed to be quite unique in the eyes of later writers, although, for a teacher of the later Ptolemies, no great amount of exact science was requisite. What efforts were made by the aspiration after a deeper and more comprehensive philosophy of history to amalgamate with the prophetic literature of this period, we have

[1] P. 464 *note* 3.
[2] See 4 Macc. xii. 7; xvi. 15; Acts xxvi. 14; cf. xxi. 40; xxii. 2.
[3] P. 107 *note* 2.
[4] Pp. 339 sqq.
[5] P. 259.

already seen in the book of Enoch.[1] The author of the 'Wisdom of Solomon' ventures on an attempt to apprehend from a historical point of view the origin of the worship of idols,[2] yet this, remarkable as it is, is not the noblest and most enduring portion of his work. The fourth book of Maccabees seeks to prove that the laws relating to food contained in the Pentateuch must correspond to the essential nature of man, inasmuch as they were given by the Creator himself.[3] In this he is quite consistent, since it appears to him that the whole history of the martyrs' agonies issued from the question of eating swine's flesh!

There was, then, but one branch of knowledge which could flourish in this age, having been rendered more and more indispensable by the history of the nationality of Israel itself, viz., that of the sacred writings. Amid all the vicissitudes of the time this continued to be actively pursued on the firm basis established by Ezra, and it evidently contributed much to keep alive and to sharpen the perception of the great truths of the writings which were then committed in quite a special manner to its intelligence and zeal. A certain amount of historical knowledge and research as well as of enquiry into the subjects within its own sphere, and of thoughtful arrangement and defence of its materials, was necessarily among the requisites of the Biblical science of the time; its teachers, therefore, were called in Greek not merely Scribes, but also Sophists.[4] Unfortunately the whole of the learned culture of the nation, and particularly of that portion of it still settled in Palestine, received soon afterwards so severe a blow through the destruction of Jerusalem and its great schools, that it is now almost impossible for us to make any definite statements about the special form which it assumed. The following general remarks may, however, be regarded as well founded.

The Biblical science of the age was always specially directed to the determination of the correct application of the laws contained in the Pentateuch. The scribe continued to be also pre-eminently a teacher of the law, although in contrast to the general designation of scribe this name gradually assumed a meaning of greater precision and distinction.[5] The fundamental

[1] Pp. 345 sqq.

[2] We refer here to the solitary examples of such an explanation given in the Wisdom of Sol. xiv. 15 sqq.; the general truth set forth in the previous verses, xiv. 12–14, will always approve itself.

[3] 4 Macc. v. 24 sq.

[4] See Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 2 sqq.

[5] The names *νομοδιδάσκαλος*, Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34; 1 Tim. i. 7, and *ἐξηγητὴς νόμων*. Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 2 sqq., also gradually come into use by the side of *γραμματεύς*, סֹפֵר; the *νομικοί*, who are obviously identical with *νομοδιδάσκαλοι*,

rules of all exposition and application were very seldom carried to any depth; and where, therefore, there was no other expedient, allegory[1] in a more or less elaborate form remained the last resort. The enthusiastic preference for the lofty past of Israel was now, it is true, busily occupied with the scenes and events of the ancient history; the ardent longing for the ultimate fulfilment of the Messianic hope now led to the most scrupulous and industrious computation of all the vicissitudes and ages that were gone;[2] and the impulse to investigate the history of the past even produced a number of new but purely learned views and modes of speech:[3] but by none of these means was a historical science to be attained. Indeed the prevailing philosophy of the Pharisees was soon itself divided afresh into very different schools, which I shall discuss presently.[4]

Another main branch of the labours of the scribes was necessarily concerned to an increasing extent with the proper division and preservation of the scriptures. That it was not exclusively the book of the law which was to be regarded as holy, was the just feeling which, in contrast to the view of the Samaritans, and in spite of the sceptical opposition of the Sadducees, continued to prevail at Jerusalem; but what books were to be placed by the side of the law as worthy of similar honour and regard was a matter of detail often requiring long investigation and experience. About the principal books there could not, indeed, be any great discussion. But there were several of which the internal value and the external authority were doubtful questions. Into this region a powerful stream of new works was continually pouring, and, moreover, the best of these were composed under the great names of the past. Between these, therefore, the scriptural science had to learn to distinguish; but this process of separation was so far from being

occur most frequently in Luke, elsewhere in the Gospels only in Matt. xxii. 35. Cf. the instance of a teacher of the law in Rome given by Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 3, 5; and also xx. 11, 2.

[1] Pp. 257 sqq.

[2] Pp. 348 sq.

[3] Cf. the view referred to on p. 245 *note* 2, and the manner in which the ancient name of Hebrews comes once more into general use and high honour, so that it is substituted for Israel, and is at least readily employed in many passages, where the style of the ancient sacred language is adopted. We find it thus used first of all in Judith, x. 12; xii. 11; xiv. 18; next in 2 Macc. vii. 31; xv. 37; 4 Macc. iv. 11; v. 3; viii. 2; ix. 6, 18; xvii. 9; and sometimes in Philo and the New Testament. Philo pushes this learned notion still further, for his favourite designation of the sacred language is Chaldee. His reason for this obviously was that he liked to connect the glory of the ancient Chaldee wisdom with Abraham, and represented Abraham as sprung from Babylon, which was in its glory in his day (cf. above, p. 475, and vol. i. p. 384 *note* 6). Josephus, on the other hand, does not adopt this usage, and shows at any rate on this point a little more sense of historical truth.

[4] In vol. v. [German]; cf. the essay *über Hillel und seine Rabbinenschule* in the *Jahrbb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. pp. 56 sqq.

brought during this period to a definite conclusion that the subject cannot be fully discussed till the age which followed the destruction of Jerusalem.[1]

But the preservation of the sacred books lay so close to the heart of the whole people and was the object of so much earnestness and persistence that the scribes could scarcely devote greater attention to it. Still more than in its constitution and its separate usages was the life of the nation wrapped up in the imperishable hopes and the ever-shining truths included in these witnesses of its own once great past. This was the feeling, more or less vigorous, in every member of the nation whose life had not wholly withered; and it afforded the firmest support for the zeal for the preservation of these books. This ardour was certainly not very acute until after it had been roused for the first time by the heathen in the Maccabean persecutions;[2] but from that period every believer would sooner have lost his life than these books,[3] although their union into a single whole was by no means definitely established, and the highest sanctity was still attached exclusively to the book of the law. In truth, however, with the ascription of inviolable sanctity to these books, a large portion of the whole history of Israel for all succeeding ages attains its consummation. Whatever might be the destinies of the nation from this time forth at the hand of God, in these books it would live on earth an everlasting life; and the eternal elements of its being were now to a great extent separated from all the perishable objects of the world.

CONCLUSION.

The third and last section of this period of the history of Israel carries us through the age of the direct supremacy of the Romans down to the second destruction of Jerusalem, and, beyond that, to the last Judeo-Roman struggles under Trajan and Hadrian, when Israel as a nation finally perished for ever. But with the events which resulted in the total and final fall of Israel is intertwined inseparably the rise of Christianity, which is absolutely ineradicable upon ground where the ancient stock out of which alone it could spring withered away for

[1] See vol. vii. [German].

[2] See above, pp. 298, 310.

[3] Jos. *Contr. Ap.* i. 8; cf. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 2; Philo, ii. pp. 574, 577; and the fragment in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. 6, 10 (ii. p. 628, ed. Mang.), according to which he even supposed that the Judeans had not changed a single letter in the law of Moses for two thousand years, but would rather die in its defence.

ever. With this a fresh element enters into the course of this history, which was now after two thousand years hastening to its close. This, however, was so novel, and, though expected, so completely transcended all expectation, that it can only be described with proper brevity and correctness in a history of the origin of Christianity. The present volume, therefore, which was intended simply to carry down the history to the time of Christ, but not to treat of Christianity, has now attained its destined goal.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF THE LAST PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL AS FAR AS A.D. 6.[1]

EGYPTIANS	ISRAEL, AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE JORDAN-LAND	CHALDEANS	MEDES. PERSIANS
B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
570 Amasis	570 Book of Ezekiel	562 Death of Nabuchodrozzor	
		561 Evil-Merodach	561 Death of Astyages. Cyaxares
		559 Neriglissar	
		555 Laborosoarchad nine months. Nabunid[3] (Belshazzar)	560 Cyrus[2]
		538 Babylon taken. Darius the Mede (Cyaxares)	
	536 Permission for the return of Israel. Zerubbabel. Joshua High-Priest	536 Cyrus	
	535 The New Jerusalem. Repulse of the Samaritans		529 Cambyses (Achashverosh)
525 Psammenitus. Cambyses	521 Haggai. Zechariah		522 Smerdis (Artashasht). Darius I.
	516 Completion of the Temple	516 Second Capture of Babylon	
	499 Jehoiakim High-Priest		
486–4 Revolt		485 Xerxes (Achashverosh)	
462–405 Inarus Amyrtæus	463 Eliashib High-Priest	465 Artaxerxes (Artashasht) Longimanus	
	459 Ezra		
	445 Nehemiah		
	419 Jehoiada High-Priest. Manasseh withdraws to Samaria	424 Xerxes II. Sogdianus. Darius II. Nothus	
404 *Saite Dynasty*		404 Artaxerxes II. Mnemon	
398 *Mendesian Dynasty*	383 Johanan High-Priest		
377–44 *Sebennyte Dynasty* (Nectanebus)[4]	351 Jaddua High-Priest. Samaritan Temple on Gerizim	359 Artaxerxes III. Ochus	
		338 Arses	
		336 Darius III. Codomannus	

[1] How far the chronology, especially in reference to the inner history of Israel, in these centuries, can be established with certainty, may be inferred from the numerous observations already made in detail: cf. also about the Sabbath years the remarks on pp. 343, 416. As far as the older high-priests are concerned, it is here assumed that Eliashib ruled for 44, Jehoiakim for 36, and Joshua for 37 years; the duration in the first two cases being determined by combining the accounts mentioned on p. 124, *note* 1, and in the latter case the number 37 being read instead of 32 in the *Chron. Pasch.* With this, also, the 60 years of Joshua mentioned in other reckonings are in accord; only in these his first year was erroneously made coincident with the first year of the *Persian* reign of Cyrus.

B.C. MACEDONIANS. GREEKS.

333 Victory of Alexander at Issus.
332 Siege of Tyre. Foundation of Alexandria.
331 Victory at Gaugamela. Onias I. High-Priest.
330 Overthrow of Darius and the Persians.
323 Death of Alexander.
320 Ptolemy I. in Palestine and Central Syria.
312 His Victory at Gaza. Antigonus and Demetrius rule in Palestine till 301.
301 Battle of Ipsus.

PTOLEMIES	ISRAEL AND THE ADJACENT NATIONS	SELEUCIDÆ	PARTHIANS
B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
	310 Simon the Just High-Priest	312 Seleucus I. Nicator in Babylon[5]	
	291 EleazarHigh-Priest		
285 Ptolemy II. Philadelphus		280 Antiochus I. Sôtêr	
	276 Manasseh High-Priest	261 AntiochusII. Theos	From 256 the Arsacidæ
247 Ptolemy III. Euergetes	250 Onias II. High-Priest	246 Seleucus II. Callinicus	
		226 Seleucus III. Ceraunus (Sôtêr)	
222 Ptolemy IV. Philopator	219 Simon II. High-Priest	224 Antiochus III. the Great	
205 Ptolemy V. Epiphanes	199 Onias III. High-Priest	187 Seleucus IV. Philopator. Heliodorus	
181 Ptolemy VI. Philomêtor and PtolemyEuergetes II. Aristobulus the Teacher	175 Jason High-Priest	175 Antiochus IV. Epiphanes	
	172 Menelaus High-Priest		
	167 Mattathias the Asmonean. Judas Maccabæus	164 Lysias and Antiochus V. Eupator	
	162 AlcimusHigh-Priest	162 Demetrius I. Sôtêr	
160 OniasIV. High-Priest in Egypt. Temple at Leontopolis	160 Jonathan. Alcimus dies		
	153 Jonathan High-Priest	153 Alexander Balas	
		148 Demetrius II. Nicator lands	
145 Ptolemy Physcon, or Euergetes II., alone		142 Tryphon and Antiochus son of Balas	
	143 Simon High-Priest	142 Tryphon	
	139 Simon Prince of the nation	138 Antiochus Sidêtês	
	135 John Hyrcanus[6]		
	133 Peace with Syria. Idumeans and others made Judeans		132–129 Campaigns of Antiochus and Hyrcanus against Parthia
		128 Demetrius II. again[7]	
		126 Alexander Zebina	
		125 Antiochus Grypus	
116 Cleopatra and Ptolemy Lathûrus		114 Antiochus Cyzicenus	
	About 108 Destruction of Samaria		
	106 Aristobulus I. King		

Ptolemies	Israel and the Adjacent Nations	Seleucidæ	Parthians
B.C.	B.C. 105 Jannæus Alexander. Greek and Judeo-Greek tyrants in various cities. The Arabians, Obedas and Aretas	B.C. 96 Antiochus Eusebes and others 94 Demetrius Eucærus 86 Antiochus Dionysus 83 The Armenian Tigranes in Syria till 69	B.C.
81 Various Ptolemies; Ptolemy Aulêtês	79 Salômê Alexandra. Hyrcanus II. High-priest	Romans 73 Lucullus in Asia	
	70 Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. The Idumean Antipater	66 Pompey against Asia	
	63 Pompey takes Jerusalem. Hyrcanus II. tributary-prince of the nation. Judea confined to the narrowest limits [8]		
	57 Proconsul A. Gabinius in Syria. Judea divided into five parts		
51 The last Cleopatra	54 Crassus in Jerusalem		53 Orodes I. and his son Pacorus
	49 Death of Aristobulus II. and of his son Alexander	49 Cæsar against Pompey	
	48–44 Antipater in favour with Cæsar	44 Murder of Cæsar	
	43 Death of Antipater	42 Battle of Philippi	
	40 The Parthians in Syria. Antigonus, their King, in Jerusalem		
	39 Herod as a Roman-Judean King		39 sq. The Parthians driven out of Syria by Ventidius
	37 Jerusalem taken by Sosius and Herod.[9] Death of Antigonus		36. Death of Orodes. Phraates
		31 Victory at Actium	
30 Death of Cleopatra	30 Herod as a Roman monarch		
		29 End of the Civil Wars Augustus	
	20 Erection of the Temple		
	9 Cæsarea built on the coast		
	4 Death of Herod. Archelaus prince of the nation over Jerusalem and Samaria. Herod Antipas tetrarch over Galilee and Peræa, Philip over the north-east		4 A.D. Death of Phraates
	5 A.D. Archelaus banished after nine years. Judea a Roman province	14 A.D. Death of Augustus	

[2] 'Cyrus reigned thirty years,' according to Deinon quoted by Cicero, *de Div.* i. 23.

[3] In the Arabic Chronicle of Hamza, p. 94, three years are correctly assigned to Belshazzar: to his predecessor, however, أوكردوس (corruption of Evil-Merodach) twenty-two years are erroneously ascribed. The same writer (pp. 82 sq.) speaks of the expedition of Alexander to Africa as the beginning of an era.

[4] Cf. Lepsius in the *Berl. Akad. Monatsberichte*, 1854, pp. 495 sqq.; on the Ptolemies *ibid.* 1852, pp. 480 sq.

[5] This is the beginning of the ordinary Seleucidic chronology, as appears in 1 Macc. On the other hand, in 2 Macc. the year 311 is taken as the starting point, p. 467 *note* 2. Clinton, it is true, *Fasti Hell.* iii. pp. 371 sqq., endeavours to disprove this; but he can only refute the view, which is of course erroneous, that in 2 Macc. the chronology is reckoned from the spring, and in 1 Macc. from the autumn. There is, on the contrary, a difference of a complete year in the chronology of the two books; and it appears, also, from other traces that the year 311 was adopted in Africa. Cf. also Martin in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1853, pp. 193 sqq., 338 sq.

[6] Corsinus, *Fasti Attici*, iv. pp. 114 sq., actually places the Athenio-Judean affair mentioned on p. 405 under Hyrcanus I., and consequently places the archon Agathocles, referred to in the document in Ol. clxiii. 3, as though the circumstance fell in the ninth year of Hyrcanus I. But while it is probable that Josephus confounded Hyrcanus II., although he is clearly designated in the words of the document, with Hyrcanus I., it cannot be determined when this archon actually held office, as his name has not hitherto been discovered anywhere: that the occurrence took place precisely in the sixth year of Hyrcanus is in no way affirmed by Josephus. Clinton leaves the whole question alone.

[7] Cf. Clinton's calculation in the *Fasti Hell.* iii. pp. 331 sq.; cf. i. p. 428. A further means for determining the date would be supplied by the statement in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 4, that Antiochus rested for two days at the desire of John, in consequence of the immediate sequence of a day of Pentecost after a sabbath.

[8] According to Jos. *Contr. Ap.* ii. 12 *ad fin.* the Judeans had maintained their freedom for about one hundred and twenty years till the time of Pompey, and had even ruled over the surrounding cities (where Greek culture prevailed). But this number is as indefinite and exaggerated as every other in Josephus. Besides, many of these cities reckoned their years from a date before Pompey, according as one or another succeeded, in the general weakness of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, in obtaining some amount of liberty: for instance, Ascalôn reckoned from the year 104 B.C. (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 182*a*). Unfortunately, however, we know little of the eras of these several towns except through coins.

[9] In the *Fasti Hell.* iii. pp. 220, 595, Clinton states his opinion, founded on certain contradictions in Josephus and also between him and Dio Cassius, that Jerusalem must have been taken in December of 38 B.C. If, however, the Parthians did not overrun Syria until 40 B.C., and Antigonus, according to Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10, 4, and other testimony, reigned for at least three years and three months, Jerusalem cannot have been taken till the year 37; and the same date results from the 107 years which, according to Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10 *ad fin.*, elapsed between this conquest of Jerusalem and its destruction. The frequent inaccuracy of the chronology of Josephus is further shown in this fact, that, instead of specifying twenty-seven years (adopted on his authority in p. 416) as the interval between the conquests of Pompey and Sosius, he ought strictly only to have named twenty-six.

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